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England plunged into a long Civil War, the close of which was marked by the execution of Charles I. and the temporary supersession of the monarchy, but it also witnessed striking colonial developments, which attained great importance under Cromwell. Moreover, during these years the value of sea-power was first realised by the British race. The period is also marked by a religious and literary activity which is connected with such names as those of Andrewes, Laud, Shakespeare, Milton, Marvell, and many others.

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Other works which a writer upon the History of

Great Britain and Ireland during the first sixty years of the seventeenth century must naturally consult, are Ranke's *History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century*, Mr. Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*, the *Cambridge Modern History* (vol. iv.), Professor Firth's *Cromwell*, Lord Morley's *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts*, and the articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* which treat of the chief actors in the history of the period. These works are but a few of those which embody the results of the latest historical investigations.

I have again to offer my heartiest thanks for the valuable aid given me by that most accurate of historical students,—Mr. C. T. Knaus, of Bradford Grammar School.

A. HASSALL.

December 1909.

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(2) **1612-1618.**—From the death of Salisbury to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.
(3) **1618-1625.**—James I. and the Thirty Years' War.

Accession of James I., 1603.—On the death of Queen Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland, the son of the famous Mary 'Queen of Scots,' became king. James Stuart, who was thirty-seven years old, had been King of Scotland almost from his birth; he now became King of England and Ireland as well as of Scotland, by right of his descent from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. and wife of James IV. of Scotland.[1] Henceforth the triple kingdom was known as Great Britain and Ireland, and has always been ruled by a sovereign living in England.

His Views on the Prerogative.—He ascended the English throne convinced that he held the kingship by divine right, and that no encroachment upon the royal prerogative could be allowed. The king's power, in his view, was a matter above discussion; 'that which concerns the mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be discussed,' was James's firm opinion; and he considered it to be 'presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that.'

He had equally definite views with regard to the limits of the power of Parliament. Though a 'good king will frame all his actions to be according to the law, yet he is not bound

[1] See page 44.

thereto, but of his good will and for example-giving to his subjects.'

His ignorance of the real character of the English Monarchy.—He was entirely unaware of the real character of the Tudor monarchy, and of the fact that it owed its strength to the way in which all the Tudor sovereigns, except Mary Tudor, acted in accordance with, and represented, the political and religious views of the majority of the nation. He was equally unconscious of the fact that, after the failure of the Armada in 1588, England had entered upon a fresh period in her history, and that with the disappearance of all danger of conquest by a foreign power the English people no longer needed a government of an autocratic character. After 1588, Parliament had entered upon a new stage in its career, and had begun to demand a greater share in the government of the country. James, learned and acute as he was, never realised this fact, and his failure to do so accounts for the strained relations which, during the greater part of his reign, subsisted between him and his Parliaments.

James's Character.—In spite of his erroneous views upon kingship, and upon the real position of the English monarchy, James had considerable abilities. He was learned; he was good-natured; he was acute. But unfortunately these qualities were marred by his obstinacy, conceit, and indecision—qualities which were certain to bring him into opposition to Parliament. He had studied under the guidance of George Buchanan, one of the most prominent scholars of the age, and in learning he was in advance of most of his contemporaries. He had given much time to the consideration of the chief political problems of his day, and was in favour of the **Union of England and Scotland, of religious toleration, and of settling international questions by peaceful methods.** He was a strong upholder of Episcopal government, and hated Presbyterianism. 'No Bishop, no King,' was his

motto, and consequently from his accession he was a consistent opponent not only of Presbyterianism in Scotland but also of Puritanism, which he thought was akin to Presbyterianism. Thus while he was prepared to grant a certain amount of toleration to the Roman Catholics, he was desirous of suppressing the English Puritans. As the majority of the members of the House of Commons held Puritan opinions, and as James desired to exercise absolute power over Parliament, it was manifest that difficulties and troubles would speedily follow his arrival in England.

Divisions of the Reign.—The reign falls into three well-marked divisions. From 1603 to 1612, the date of Robert Cecil's death, James was kept from falling into any serious blunders as regards foreign policy. Between 1612 and 1618, however, James was his own foreign minister, and while he fell out with Parliament at home, he threw his influence on the side of a marriage alliance between England and Spain. From 1618 to 1624 James had to confront the difficulties in which England was involved owing to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

During the **First Period** of the reign, from 1603 to 1612, the foreign policy of England was guarded by Robert Cecil. In 1604 the long war with Spain was closed, and in 1609 the Dutch also made with Spain a truce which practically established their independence. This truce was in some measure caused by the menace of a religious war on the Continent, in the event of the outbreak of which Spain and Austria would be opposed by France, England, and the Protestant princes of Germany. James, through Cecil's influence, had made an alliance with Henry IV. of France, who at the time of his death in 1610 was preparing to interfere decisively on behalf of the Protestant princes on the Rhine, then in danger of attack by the Austrians.

Henry IV.'s death and the chaotic condition of the Empire

tended, however, to postpone till 1618 the outbreak of that great struggle between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, known as the Thirty Years' War. Alarmed, however, at the prospect of a religious war, James arranged in 1612 a marriage between his daughter Elizabeth and the Calvinist Elector Frederick of the Palatinate—a marriage which had results little foreseen at the time. Further, in 1614, he and the Regent of France forced a temporary suspension of hostilities upon the Counts of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the claimants for the Duchies of Juliers and Cleves.

James's Domestic Policy, 1603-1612.—The success that may be said to have attended James's foreign policy during the first nine years of his reign must be attributed mainly to the influence of Cecil. James, however, acted independently with regard to domestic politics, and with unfortunate results. For during the years from 1603 to 1612 he completely alienated the Puritans, he disappointed the Roman Catholics, and he roused strong opposition in Parliament to his pretensions.

The Main and Bye Plots, 1603.—Before James had been long in England, two plots, the Main and the Bye, were formed against him. The Bye plot, 'so called to mark its slighter consequence,' was set on foot by William Watson, a Roman Catholic priest, and was joined by Lord Grey of Wilton and four other men of good position. Each conspirator had his own special grievance, but they agreed in their determination to seize the king at Greenwich on June 24, 1603. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators were imprisoned.

The Main plot was, at any rate in appearance, more dangerous. Its object was apparently to place Arabella Stuart, great-granddaughter of Margaret Tudor,[1] on the throne. Suspicion fell upon Lord Cobham, brother of one of those

[1] See page 44.

concerned in the Bye plot, and upon Walter Raleigh, who was regarded by Robert Cecil as a dangerous person. Both Cobham and Raleigh were sent to the Tower, and examined before a Commission. They were condemned to death, but after a short interval were reprieved. Cobham and Grey died in prison, but Raleigh was destined some years later to be released in order that he might discover a gold mine in Guiana. His relations with the conspirators in the Main plot are still in dispute. In any case his conviction, from a legal point of view, was glaringly unjust.

The Hampton Court Conference, Jan. 1604.—Having succeeded in unravelling these two somewhat obscure plots, James found himself before the end of the year called upon to deal with a matter which was of very great importance. A section of English Churchmen had always been opposed to the Elizabethan settlement of the religious question. They refused to recognise the continuity of the English Church; they disliked ceremonies; they wished, in a word, to render the Church Calvinistic rather than Anglican. Hooker in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* had already refuted their views, and James I., on hearing Reynolds, Dean of Lincoln, at the Conference use the word 'Presbyters,' at once concluded that the petitioners wished to introduce Presbyterianism into England, and burst into a rage. 'If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery,' he said, 'it agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil.' Having declared that he would force the petitioners to conform, James broke up the meeting. James's mistake in confusing the English Puritans with the Scottish Presbyterians had most serious results, for he alienated many of his subjects, who, later on, took up arms against his son.

After the close of the Conference, certain of the more hot-headed Puritan ministers were punished by deprivation. The number, however, of Puritan ministers deprived of their livings has been variously estimated. Probably some three

hundred feared deprivation, but, as a recent writer has said, 'it is beyond question that the whole three hundred were not even suspended, much less deprived; and, as a matter of fact, a considerable proportion of them conformed.'[1] It seems that about one hundred were suspended or silenced, and about sixty deprived. The Puritan clergy were not numerous, and the men who were deprived were by no means the most learned of their party, but appear to have been those who were 'extremely willfull and contemptuous.' The majority of the Puritan ministers remained in the Church, hoping that in the future their opinions would be accepted by the nation at large.

Results of the Hampton Court Conference.—One important result of the Hampton Court Conference was that it led to the preparation of a new—the Authorised—translation of the Bible, which appeared in 1612. It began, however, that quarrel between the Crown and the Puritan, or Low Church element, which aided to bring about the Great Rebellion. Though Whitgift the Archbishop, and a firm opponent of Puritanism, had died in February 1603, the situation remained the same, for his successor Bancroft continued in the main his predecessor's policy, though his severity towards the Puritan clergy has been greatly exaggerated.

James and Parliament.—The relations of the Stuarts with their Parliaments were as a rule unfortunate. Since 1588, when the fear of conquest by Spain had been removed, the Parliament had begun to assert its privileges, which had been more or less in abeyance under the Tudors. In dealing with the House of Commons, which was filled by men anxious to assert their privileges and still actuated by a feeling of hatred of Spain, the exercise of tact on the part of James I. was necessary. Without the confidence and goodwill of his

[1] Usher, 'The Deprivation of Puritan Ministers,' *English Historical Review*, April 1909, p. 237.

subjects he could not hope to gain their support in his foreign policy. Unless moreover he practised strict economy he was bound to become involved in difficulties with the Commons.

There is no doubt that James and his successors were in advance of the majority of their subjects in many of their ideas; but though the views of James I. were often admirable in themselves, they were as yet unacceptable to his Parliaments. He advocated, as has been already stated, peace and diplomacy in place of war; he was in favour of religious toleration; he desired the close union of Scotland and Ireland with England. On all these matters James found himself opposed by the general mass of his subjects.

James's First Parliament. The case of Goodwin *v.* Fortescue, and of Shirley.—The relations of James with his Parliaments were never satisfactory. It could not be otherwise, since James persisted in holding the theory of 'his divine right to absolute and irresponsible sovereignty.' The views which he had published on the subject some years earlier in his *True Law of Free Monarchies* rendered collisions with the House of Commons inevitable, and when his first Parliament was summoned he took the unwise step, in issuing a proclamation, on January 4, 1604, of dictating to the election officers and the electors 'the conduct which they ought to pursue,' and transferring the decision of contested elections to the Court of Chancery. When Parliament met in March 1604 it found that the first election for Bucks, by which **Sir Francis Goodwin** had been elected, had been quashed and Sir John Fortescue declared elected in his place. The Commons at once asserted their exclusive right to **determine contested elections**, successfully overthrew James's attempt to secure the return of the writs to Chancery, and ordered a new election, in which Goodwin was duly returned. In the same year they settled two other cases (Cardigan and Shrewsbury) of disputed election, and thus successfully established their privilege.

In the same year, in the case of **Sir Thomas Shirley**, who had been arrested for debt on March 15, the Commons successfully vindicated the right of Members of Parliament to **immunity from arrest.**

The Apology of 1604.—On June 10 the Commons drew up an address, known as the Apology of 1604, to the king, in which they defined their position in temperate and dignified language. The address has been described as 'conservative and monarchical to the core,' and in it 'the Commons took up the position which they never quitted during eighty-four long and stormy years.'

The Question of the Union of England and Scotland.—James was also unable to secure the support of Parliament to his project for a complete union between England and Scotland. The wisdom of such a project seems to us undoubted, and both countries would have gained from its adoption. But popular feeling in both countries was adverse, and all that James gained was a decision from the judges in 1608, in the case of one **Calvin**, that all Scots born in James's reign—the *post nati*—could be naturalised by the judges, and the repeal of all hostile laws between the two countries enacted between the reigns of Richard II. and Elizabeth.

The Causes of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605.—Before, however, this question had been settled, the famous **Gunpowder Plot** had been discovered on November 4-5, 1605.

On arriving in England James found that there were three powerful religious parties, each of which had its own aims and policy. They were the orthodox Anglicans, the Puritans, and the Roman Catholics. The Anglicans willingly used the Prayer Book, and agreed with the Church system set up by Elizabeth; the Puritans, as has been stated, desired certain changes in the Articles and the adoption of Calvinistic doctrines; the Roman Catholics, who were regarded with deep suspicion, hoped for the abolition of the cruel legislation

of Elizabeth's reign. While the Puritans were alienated from the Crown by Bancroft's insistence on their acceptance of the recognised Church ceremonies, the Roman Catholics were rendered furious by the re-enactment of the penal laws in 1604 and by James's support of these laws in February 1605.

The result of these severe measures, which had the full approval of Robert Cecil,[1] was the famous Gunpowder Plot.

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.—For that plot the action of the Government was responsible, though it was only natural that men who remembered the Spanish Armada and the many plots against Elizabeth's life should recognise that the Church of Rome was a political danger and regard English Catholics with suspicion. The attempt of the conspirators to induce Philip III. of Spain to invade England fully justified the Government in putting down the conspiracy with severity. Of that conspiracy Robert Catesby, a Warwickshire gentleman of position, was the leader, and his chief supporters were Thomas Percy, second cousin of the Duke of Northumberland; Thomas Winter, cousin of Lord Monteagle; and John Wright (a friend of Catesby), whose sister had married Thomas Percy. To these must be added Guido Fawkes, an Englishman and a soldier of fortune, upon whose courage the success of the conspiracy depended.

It was resolved by the conspirators to secure a building adjoining the Parliament House, and this was accomplished in March 1605. They then obtained the use of a cellar of a house next to the one already bought, as the cellar extended under the Parliament House. In this cellar were placed several barrels of gunpowder. The conspirators then arranged that on November 5 should take place the explosion which, it was hoped, would occasion the death of the king and of many members of both Houses of Parliament. The five conspirators

[1] Robert Cecil was created Baron Cecil in 1603, Viscount Cranborne in 1604, and Earl of Salisbury in 1606.

had, however, been compelled to take many persons into their confidence. One of these, Francis Tresham, by means of an anonymous letter, warned his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle, not to be present at the opening of Parliament. At midnight on November 4-5 Guy Fawkes was discovered in the cellar and was arrested. Of the conspirators some were killed while defending themselves at Holbeach House in Worcestershire, and the rest, including Fawkes, were executed in London. The laws against the Roman Catholics were made still more severe, though later on James and also Charles I. often suspended their operation.

The Influence of Puritanism.—In increasing the rigour of the penal laws the Commons were acting in full agreement with their own religious views. The majority of the Lower House was composed of Puritans, who dreaded the extension of Roman Catholicism and disliked the establishment of friendly relations between England and any Roman Catholic power. The House of Lords at times resisted the narrow views of the Commons, while **Andrewes**, Bishop of Winchester, and other divines explained and emphasised the historical position of the English Church, and showed that while the Church was wise in its resistance to and separation from Rome, it remained the same Church after as before the Reformation. Their efforts were to some extent successful, and first Cambridge and then Oxford cast off the Calvinistic teaching.

Finance. The Case of Bate, 1606.—Apart from religious questions, James often found himself at variance with Parliament over financial questions. 'The penny,' it is said, 'makes the Revolution,' and over the question of finance James and his first Parliament quarrelled. Instead of being economical James was prodigal of money, and soon found himself in financial difficulties. Owing to the discovery of the American mines, gold and silver had fallen considerably in value. This

was a serious thing for a king like James, whose income was partly derived from customs, tonnage, and poundage, the names given to duties upon the importation or exportation of merchandise, partly from direct taxation, *i.e.* subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths.

At first the Commons were disposed to act generously, and voted him the sum of £350,000. But owing to James's 'needless and unreasonable' expenditure after his arrival in England, the royal necessities were hardly lessened at all by the Parliamentary grant. In the year 1606 the king levied an imposition upon currants, and **John Bate** (a merchant who, having paid the duty, had removed his currants without having paid the imposition or surtax) was summoned before the Privy Council. The Court of the Exchequer distinguished between the **ordinary** and **extraordinary** prerogatives of the Crown, and declared the king's right to levy customs came under the latter head. This judgment roused the apprehensions of the House of Commons, who feared that the decision of the judges might, by securing to the Crown an immense revenue, render it independent of Parliament.

The Book of Rates.—Had James, however, been content with this victory there probably would have been no further difficulty, but he most unwisely continued his efforts to raise further sums of money. In 1608 Salisbury succeeded Dorset as Lord High Treasurer, and finding the royal finances in a semi-bankrupt condition he issued a **Book of Rates**, increasing the rates on merchandise, represented chiefly by foreign goods and articles of luxury. By selling Crown lands and by strict economy Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, brought about an improvement in the position of affairs. But the improvement was only temporary, and the king at the beginning of 1610 found himself compelled to summon the Parliament.

Reassembling of Parliament, 1610.—On February 9, 1610, Parliament reassembled and a stormy session ensued. The

Commons had many reasons for complaint. They objected to the impositions lately levied by Salisbury; they complained of the claim made by the Council of Wales to jurisdiction over the counties of Hereford, Shropshire, Gloucester, and Worcester; they were resolved to deal severely with a Dr. Cowell, who had published a dictionary named *The Interpreter*, in which he contended that the king had absolute power. Though James consented to the suppression of *The Interpreter*, he would not agree to the claim of the Commons to control taxation, and consequently no decision was arrived at with regard to 'the royal right to levy impositions.'

Over the question of the extinction of **military tenures** a long negotiation, known as the **Great Contract**, took place. At first the Commons were willing to give James £200,000 a year in lieu of certain antiquated rights of the Crown. But misunderstandings arose, and in the autumn session the negotiations fell through. Unable to arrive at any agreement with the Commons, who were profoundly angry at his extravagance and advancement of Scottish favourites, of whom Robert Carr was the chief, James **dissolved his First Parliament** on February 9, 1611.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1607-1608. — While James was struggling with his Parliament an interesting policy was being adopted in Ireland.

There in October 1604 **Sir Arthur Chichester** succeeded Mountjoy as Lord Deputy. The latter had finally conquered Ireland, but political and religious animosities still rent the country, which demanded a long period of peace and good government. For this task of ruling Ireland Chichester seemed well suited, and his endeavour to carry out 'a healing policy' renders the period of his rule famous in the history of Ireland. But the difficulties in his path were enormous, and in consequence of the absence of religious toleration, and of the failure on the part of English statesmen to comprehend the

character of the Irish people or the nature of their institutions, James's well-meant attempts to reconcile Ireland to English rule ended in failure.

The endeavour constantly made during the Tudor period to force Protestantism upon the Irish was continued by James I., with the natural result that the Irish people adhered more closely than ever to Roman Catholicism. 'Protestantism became associated with subjection to aliens,'[1] and that conviction has never died away. Further, the adoption of the policy of 'Plantations' of Protestants in Ulster, Wexford, and other districts—a policy which had been entered upon in the Tudor period—was regarded by the native Irish as a policy of spoliation, and led to rebellions and massacres. Of these plantations that of **Ulster** by James I. is the best known and has proved the most successful. In 1607 the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with other Celtic chiefs, fled from Ireland, and in consequence no less than six counties escheated to the Crown. Thus Chichester was enabled to conceive and carry out the **Plantation of Ulster**. His object was to solve the agrarian difficulty by giving these lands in the north of Ireland to English and Scottish settlers. The original inhabitants were removed to other parts of Ireland, and the Ulster plantation became a thriving colony. But the feeling of insecurity had been thoroughly aroused among the native Irish; they became convinced that the Government intended to destroy their religion; they never forgot the wrong that had been done them, and consequently as a nation they have never become loyal to the English connection.

Colonisation in America. Virginia, 1607.—Almost simultaneously with the Plantation of Ulster British energy was being illustrated in America. In April 1606 Virginia received its first charter, and the London Company, as it was called, took in hand the colonisation of Southern

[1] Montague, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 43.

Virginia. In December 1606 a number of settlers sailed from London and founded, early in 1607, Jamestown, 'the first enduring settlement of Englishmen in the North American Continent'[1] Among the colonists was Captain **John Smith**, the son of a Lincolnshire farmer and a man of courage and resource, who in 1608 was elected President. In 1609 a second charter was granted vesting the control of the Virginia Company in the Directors. Lord Delaware, with considerable executive powers, was appointed Governor, and under his firm and wise rule Virginia survived the hardships and difficulties of its early years. In 1623 the second charter was revoked, and in 1625 a new administration was formed in accordance with which Virginia, the population of which now numbered over four thousand souls, fell under the direct control of the Crown. A Council in London nominated a Governor and twelve subordinates to rule the colony and to administer the law. An elected Assembly, however, levied internal taxation, and within a few years began to assert the claim of the colony to a share in the government.

The 'Mayflower.' Foundation of the New England States, 1620.—Meanwhile colonial development was proceeding on other and more independent lines On September 6, 1620, the *Mayflower* with a number of Separatist emigrants sailed from Holland, and, having touched at Plymouth, landed in North America. The spot where they landed was called New Plymouth, and the colony formed the nucleus of the **New England** colonies in North America. In 1625 a number of Puritans from Dorset acquired land in Massachusetts Bay, and obtained a charter. In 1628 a colony was definitely founded, Winthrop became the first Governor, and Boston the capital.

Arabella Stuart.—In 1611, the year before Salisbury's death, Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin, made her well-known but

[1] **Montague**, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660 p. 50.

ineffective attempt to escape. In 1609 she had been arrested by order of the Council, but was found innocent of any project directed against the king. Unfortunately she shortly afterwards arranged to marry William Seymour, great-grandson of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the younger sister of Henry VIII.[1]

Arabella herself was considered by some to have a right to the crown. By her proposed marriage her claim would have been greatly strengthened. Disobeying the royal orders Arabella and William Seymour were secretly married in May 1610. On the marriage being discovered Arabella was arrested. Early in 1611 she escaped and attempted to join Seymour on the Continent. She was, however, captured in the Channel and sent to the Tower, where, some four years later, she died mad.

Close of the First Period of the Reign. Death of Salisbury and Prince Henry, 1612.—The years 1611 and 1612 mark the close of the first period of James's reign. On February 9, 1611, the first Parliament of the reign was dissolved; on May 24, 1612, Salisbury (Cecil) and on November 6 of the same year Prince Henry died. Prince Henry had supported Salisbury's foreign policy; he was vigorous and sensible, and the nation looked upon him as likely to become a truly national king. His death was a serious disaster for the Stuart monarchy and for the English people.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Accession of James VI. of Scotland as James I. of England	**1603**
The Millenary Petition	**„**
Treaty with France	**„**
The Main and Bye Plots	**„**
The Hampton Court Conference	**1604**

[1] See page 44.

Death of Whitgift	1604
The First Parliament of the Reign	,,
The Gunpowder Plot	1605
The Case of Bate	1606
The Plantation of Ulster	1607
The Colonisation of Virginia	,,
Salisbury becomes Lord Treasurer	1608
The Post Nati Decision	,,
Truce between the Spaniards and the Dutch	1609
Death of Henry IV. of France and of Bancroft	1610
Dissolution of the First Parliament	1611
Robert Carr created Earl of Rochester	,,
Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart	,,
Betrothal of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine	1612
Death of Salisbury (May) and of Prince Henry (Nov.)	,,
Rochester is created Earl of Somerset	,,

Period II.—1612-1618.

From the Death of Salisbury to the Opening of the Thirty Years' War.

Contents.

Rise of Somerset—Sir Thomas Overbury—The Undertakers—Dissolution of the Parliament of 1614—Peacham's Case—The Year 1616—Rise of Buckingham—The Dismissal of Coke—James and the Prerogative—Sarmiento's Influence—The Question of the Spanish Match—Raleigh's Expedition and Death—The Five Articles of Perth—Policy of James to the Puritans.

CHIEF NAMES, 1612-1618.

Coke—Somerset (Carr)—Buckingham (Villiers)—Raleigh—Sarmiento (Gondomar)—Overbury—Peacham—Andrewes.

The Second Period of the Reign, 1612-1618.—The second period in James's reign from 1612 to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War is important as regards both home and foreign policy. It saw the relations between the king and his subjects becoming more and more strained; it was marked by the increase of that hostility in Europe between the Protestants and Roman Catholics which led to the Thirty Years' War; it witnessed between 1612 and 1616 the rise and fall of Robert Carr in the king's favour.

Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.—Robert Carr was a poor youth who had arrived from Scotland in the train of a great noble. He took the king's fancy; in 1611 he had been created Viscount Rochester, and after Salisbury's death he rose rapidly in favour, and became the king's chief adviser. In 1613 he was created Earl of Somerset, and by means of the royal influence brought about the divorce of the Countess of Essex (whom he married) from her husband.

Frances Howard, when only sixteen, had been married to the Earl of Essex, who is celebrated as the general of the Parliamentary forces in the early years of the Civil War. At the time of his marriage, however, he was a mere boy, and after the ceremony was sent to the Continent. Before the marriage, however, took place, Somerset had determined with the full cognisance of Lady Essex to bring about the overthrow of his late friend Sir Thomas Overbury, whose wealth he coveted, and who was opposed to his marriage with Lady Essex. By their influence Overbury had been thrown into the Tower early in 1613, and in September he died of poison. For some three years, however, the true cause of Overbury's death remained undiscovered, and Lady Essex obtained a divorce and married Somerset, who continued to exercise influence over the king.

The Undertakers.—In 1614 James was again in difficulties with his Parliament. Want of money had compelled him to summon the **second Parliament** of the reign in 1614, several of the king's friends **undertaking** to secure the return of well-affected persons. But the efforts of these **Undertakers** did more harm than good, and their interference aroused much ill-will. The Commons refused to grant any supplies until they had inquired into the impositions which had been largely increased since the decision in the case of **Bate**, and also dealt with the ecclesiastical controversies. Furthermore, it summoned several of the **Undertakers** to the bar of the House, and subjected them to a cross-examination.

In spite of the efforts of Sir Edwin Sandys, who had most influence in the House, the members quarrelled with the Peers and wasted much time in idle discussion.

Dissolution of the Parliament of 1614.—At length James, having consulted Sarmiento the Spanish envoy, determined to dissolve the Parliament and to negotiate for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta, in the event of which

he would receive large sums of money. For the moment European peace seemed assured. The death of Henry IV. of France in 1610 had been followed in 1614 by the Treaty of Xanten, by which Brandenburg and Neuburg, the two claimants for the Duchies of Cleves and Juliers, agreed to a temporary partition of those territories.

On June 7, 1614, the Parliament known as the **Addled Parliament**, having failed to pass a single measure, was dissolved, and till 1621 James governed without any interference on the part of a House of Commons.

Government without Parliament, 1614-1621. The Case of Peacham. — The difficulty with regard to raising money, however, remained, and James was compelled to have recourse to the unpopular and arbitrary method of asking for a free gift or benevolence from towns and individuals.

In revenge for the discontent which the benevolence caused, the Government seized, tried, and tortured a Somerset clergyman named **Peacham** on a charge of treason. The insignificant but unfortunate man had written, but not published, a treatise in which he hinted that the king deserved deposition. In opposition to the advice of Coke, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who also objected to the demand made by James that the judges should individually express their opinions to the Council, Peacham was tried in Somerset for high treason, was convicted, and died in prison.

The year 1616.—The year 1616 was important for several reasons. It saw the fall of Somerset, the dismissal of Coke, the release of Raleigh from prison, and the adoption of a project for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta.

The fall of Somerset and rise of Buckingham.—Before the year opened James had become alienated from Somerset, whose overbearing conduct had made him many enemies. A rival of Somerset in the affections of the king was found in young

Villiers, who was knighted in 1615. In the same year the fact that Overbury had been poisoned became known, and in January 1616 Somerset and his wife were indicted for murder. In May they were convicted, but were pardoned by James after a long imprisonment in the Tower.[1] The fall of Somerset was accompanied by the rapid rise of Villiers, who in 1617 was created Earl of Buckingham, and till his death in 1628 exercised overwhelming influence over James and his son Charles.

The dismissal of Coke, 1616.—The dismissal of Coke was an important event in the history of the Stuarts. On the questions of the royal prerogative and the position of the judges the king and Coke held widely different opinions. James did not wish to act illegally; he had no intention of outstepping the prerogative. But, as has been said, he did not know that the Constitution of England was a compromise, and he never understood the real character of the Tudor despotism. Coke, however, continued to resist the attempt on the part of the Crown to interfere with the course of justice as prescribed by the common law of the land. In other words 'in the contest between the courts of common law on the one side, and the Chancery and the ecclesiastical courts on the other.'[2] Coke insisted on upholding the majesty of the common law. Was the law or the king to be supreme? In November 1616 he was dismissed from his office. His dismissal marks the definite beginning of that estrangement between the royal power and the people of England which culminated in the Great Rebellion.

James and the Royal Prerogative.—James's own view of his prerogative remained unshaken. On June 20, 1616, in the course of a speech which he delivered in the Star Chamber,

[1] Their child, Lady Anne, became Countess of Bedford and mother of William, Lord Russell, executed in 1683.

[2] Montague, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 76.

he declared that 'it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that, but rest in that which is the king's revealed will in his law.'

Influence of Sarmiento (Count Gondomar, 1617).—During these years Sarmiento played a not unimportant part in English politics, and his name appears frequently in the history of the period. Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña arrived in England in July 1613, and till his departure in August 1618 his influence with James I. was considerable. He arrived at a critical moment, for a movement was on foot for the formation of an anti-Spanish League which should include England, Venice, Savoy, and Holland. The aim of Sarmiento was, therefore, to prevent the formation of this league, and in order to effect his object he at once advocated, in place of a proposed marriage between Prince Charles and a French princess, a marriage between the prince and the Spanish Infanta.

Till Sarmiento's departure in 1618 the negotiations for this match continued, and fill a considerable place in the history of the period. In 1617 he was created Count of Gondomar. During these years, from 1613 to 1618, his influence over James was seen in many directions. Concurrently with his efforts to promote the match, Sarmiento succeeded in procuring for Roman Catholics in England better treatment. After 1614 his influence was used to prevent the summoning of a Parliament, and so to relieve Spain of any fear of hostility from England.

The project of a Spanish Match.—The project of a Spanish match had indeed been first thought of in the year 1614, and when in 1616 the idea, which had been in James's mind for some time, of a French match was definitely given up, the Spanish match was seriously considered. According to this plan, Prince Charles was to marry the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III., King of Spain, who was urged by

Sarmiento not to insist upon the adoption by Charles of Roman Catholicism.

Raleigh's Expedition and Death, 1618.—In the same year, however, the anti-Spanish party, headed by Abbot the Archbishop and Villiers, persuaded James to release Raleigh and to allow him, in 1617, to head an expedition to Guiana, which lay within the sphere of Spanish influence, in order to discover a gold mine. In this matter James showed a fatal incapacity for seeing things in their true light. On the one hand, his need of money caused him to allow Raleigh to sail in 1617 for the unknown El Dorado; on the other hand, his fear of alienating Spain led him to reveal Raleigh's plans to Sarmiento, with the result that the Spaniards who had settled on the Orinoco rendered the expedition a failure. In June 1618 Raleigh was back in England, and James, in order to satisfy Gondomar (Sarmiento) and to appease the King of Spain, ordered his execution. On October 23, 1618, on the old charge of treason, Raleigh was beheaded, much against the wishes of the English people, who now regarded him as a Protestant hero sacrificed to the Popish power of Spain.

The Year 1618.—During these years James was continuing his negotiations for the Spanish match, and Digby had been sent to Spain to endeavour to make terms with Philip III. The Spanish party in England had been considerably strengthened by the support of Buckingham (Villiers), who, by displacing from court favour the powerful family of the Howards, was rapidly becoming the most important man in England. And about the same time (1618), by means of the economies effected by Cranfield, who became Earl of Middlesex, the financial position of James was greatly strengthened.

The Five Articles of Perth, 1618.—Furthermore in the same year James had won a conspicuous victory over the Presbyterians in Scotland. In that year he secured the promulgation of the Five Articles of Perth by an Assembly presided

over by the Archbishop of St. Andrews. These Articles prescribed certain ceremonies contrary to the Presbyterian practices: (1) kneeling at the Holy Communion, (2) private Communion in cases of sickness, (3) private baptism in certain cases, (4) Confirmation of children by the bishop, (5) the religious observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. The victory of the king seemed complete, and the Presbyterians were forced for a while to accept defeat.

James and the Puritans.—In England the Puritan element resented the king's **Declaration of Sports**, according to which Sunday sports were under certain conditions allowed. Unpopular though his religious policy was to many of his subjects in England and Scotland, it must be observed that James, unlike his son Charles, showed a certain prudence in dealing with religious questions. He never attempted, for instance, to enforce uniformity of worship on the two kingdoms, and finding that the Declaration of Sports was unpopular he withdrew his order that it should be read from every pulpit.

In dealing with the very difficult questions of foreign policy which arose in 1618, James showed the same mixture of strength and weakness which characterised his treatment of domestic matters.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Robert Carr created Earl of Somerset	**1613**
The Second or Addled Parliament	**1614**
Treaty of Xanten	**„**
Dismissal of Coke from the post of Chief Justice	**1616**
Raleigh released in order to discover a gold mine	**„**
Execution of Raleigh	**1618**
Articles of Perth	**„**
Fall of the Howards and consequent supremacy of Buckingham	**„**

Period III.—1618-1625.

From the Opening of the Thirty Years' War to the Death of James I.

Contents.

The Bohemian Crisis—Its Results—James's Diplomacy—The Palatinate—The Parliament of 1621—Attack on Mompesson, Bacon, and Floyd—Dissolution of Parliament, 1622—Digby's Opinions—Mediterranean Policy—The Journey of Charles and Buckingham to Spain—The Impeachment of Middlesex—Marriage Treaty with France—The Political Situation in 1625—The growth of the Navy—James and the Constitution.

CHIEF NAMES, 1618-1625.

Frederick, Count Palatine—Buckingham—Digby—Prince Charles—The Emperor Ferdinand II.—Philip IV.—Tilly—Bacon—Olivarez—Floyd—Mompesson.

Third Period, 1618-1625.—Throughout his reign James remained a strong advocate of peace instead of war, and yet, in spite of his peaceful aspirations and excellent intentions, he was partly answerable for the development of the struggle which broke out in Bohemia into the Thirty Years' War.

The European Situation, 1618.—The Reformation in Europe had been succeeded by the Counter-Reformation under the lead of the Jesuits, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century it became clear that a struggle between the opposing forces of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism was imminent. The Emperor Matthias was not a strong ruler, and in Hungary and Bohemia the Protestant element was strong and aggressive. In 1618 the Bohemians repudiated their choice, already made, of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, cousin of Matthias, and his heir, as their future king. This act proved to be the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

The Bohemian Crisis, 1619.—The action of the Protestants in Bohemia at once brought the chief Roman Catholic powers into line. But before the Bohemian crisis developed into a general European war, efforts were made to mediate between the Emperor Matthias and the rebels. Both James I. and Philip III. of Spain were anxious that the Spanish match should not be dropped, and the former had an exaggerated idea of his influence as a mediator. Both monarchs were fully aware of the importance of a continuance of peace for the realisation of their schemes.

But two events happened in 1619 which prevented the Bohemian revolt from being settled peaceably. On August 16, 1619, Frederick, Count Palatine, the husband of James's daughter Elizabeth, was elected King of Bohemia, and on August 18 Ferdinand of Styria, the pupil of the Jesuits and their most powerful supporter, was elected Emperor. Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown brought him at once into direct conflict with the House of Hapsburg, which was closely allied with the Catholic League, then guided by the capable and ambitious Maximilian of Bavaria. The King of Spain notified that his troops in the Netherlands would be placed at the disposal of the Emperor. No support came to Frederick from the chief German Protestant princes, who like James I. were alienated by the Elector Palatine's acceptance of the Bohemian crown—in their eyes an act of rebellion.

The Battle of the White Mountain, October 29, 1620.—Sir Horace Vere did indeed endeavour to help Frederick with a small band of volunteers, but he received no support from any German prince. The invasion of Bohemia by the Austrian and Bavarian forces could not be successfully opposed by the Bohemian and Hungarian forces, and on October 29, 1620, Frederick's cause was ruined and Bohemia conquered at the battle of the White Mountain, close to Prague.

Its results.—The defeat of Frederick and the conquest of Bohemia had results not foreseen by James I. The battle of the White Mountain (or the battle of Prague) proved to be **the first battle in the Thirty Years' War**, of which the Bohemian struggle was the earliest episode. James I., indeed, had no wish to see the contest over the Bohemian struggle develop into a great religious war, and had no idea that his determination that Frederick should not lose his hereditary possessions—viz. the Palatinate, with Heidelberg as its capital, would lead to serious complications.

The Emperor, however, had already resolved to occupy the Palatinate, and to transfer the Electorate to Maximilian of Bavaria. The only course for James to adopt was 'to compel Frederick to renounce the crown of Bohemia, and at the same time to form an alliance strong enough to defend the Palatinate.'[1]

James I.'s Diplomacy.—Frederick's obstinacy and James's dilatoriness, however, ruined all chance of adoption of this policy. Trusting to negotiations James sent ambassadors in various directions: Villiers to Frederick, Digby to Brussels, then to Vienna, Morton to Worms, Anstruther to Copenhagen. But action, not words, was required. Frederick persisted in refusing to surrender formally the crown of Bohemia, and the Emperor remained steadfast in his determination to transfer the Electorate to Maximilian of Bavaria.

While matters were in this position James summoned the famous Parliament of 1621, in November of that year, for its second session.

The Palatinate in danger.—Before Parliament met several events of importance had taken place. In March Philip III. of Spain had died, and his successor, Philip IV., who was a mere boy, entrusted the management of the affairs of Spain to Zuñiga and the Count of Olivarez. In April the Union of

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1642, vol. iv. p. 183.

Protestant princes had been dissolved, and the means of resisting the Roman Catholic advance in Germany had been removed. The appointment, too, by Frederick of the Count of Mansfeld—an adventurer—to the command of his army of adventurers, still more alienated from his cause all those Protestant princes who feared the extension of hostilities. In September, however, Mansfeld was attacked by Maximilian with a superior force in the Upper Palatinate. His cause was hopeless, and he had no choice but to disband his army, leaving the Upper Palatinate in the hands of Maximilian. Nor was the Lower Palatinate able to save itself from a similar fate.

There Sir Horace Vere, a gallant Englishman with some English volunteers, endeavoured to defend the cause of Frederick. But he lacked money and food, and was obliged to confine himself to garrisoning for a few months Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. Unless James I., backed by the English nation, could be persuaded to support him actively and energetically, the cause of Frederick in the Lower Palatinate was lost.

The Parliament of 1621.—Everything, therefore, depended upon the action of the English Parliament, which, after an adjournment, met again on November 3, 1621.

This famous Parliament had assembled on January 30, 1621, and the members of the House of Commons were enthusiastic in their expressions of sympathy with the German Protestants, and in their desire to defend the Palatinate. Had James met the wishes of the Commons fully and frankly he would have occupied the position of the most powerful monarch in Europe. But James was still secretly negotiating with Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, with regard to a possible agreement with Spain in religious matters. He had every hope that as soon as his son-in-law, Frederick, had renounced his pretensions to Bohemia he would be reinstated in the

Palatinate, and that all danger of a religious war in Germany would pass away.

James quarrels with the Parliament.—With a full belief in his power of carrying out successfully his scheme of foreign policy James failed to recognise the magnitude of the crisis or the necessity of keeping on good terms with Parliament. He quarrelled with the House of Lords, and he received the overtures of the House of Commons with coldness. Unable to discuss important matters of foreign policy the Commons turned to the question of redress of grievances. Of these there was a considerable number, the chief being that of **monopolies.** Already the last Parliament in Elizabeth's reign had forced the queen to allow the recall of certain patents—a notable victory illustrating the growing power of Parliament. But James had ignored the signs of the times and made no attempt to check the practice of granting monopolies. The Commons in 1621 attacked monopolies with great vigour. Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, who had been empowered to grant licences to innkeepers, were at once attacked for tyrannical conduct in relation to their grants. Mompesson fled to the continent, Mitchell was sent to the Tower, while the Commons impeached the former and carried a bill against monopolies.

Bacon is attacked.—The attack on Mompesson and Mitchell was accompanied by an attack upon Bacon for **bribery.** The charges against him were, in March 1621, sent by the Commons to the House of Lords, over which Bacon as Chancellor presided. The evidence against him was overwhelming, the Great Seal was taken from him, and he was condemned to pay a fine and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, with other disabilities.

Bacon had failed as a judge no less than as a statesman. He was devoted to the cause of monarchy, as being 'the cause of intellect in the eternal battle against ignorance,

pedantry, and routine';[1] he had a low opinion of the intellectual qualifications of the members of the House of Commons. Impatient at the ignorance of the representatives of the people, he did not realise that political knowledge was a plant of slow growth, and that even then the commercial policy of the Commons was less narrow than his own. Nor did he appreciate the danger of allowing the Crown powers which could not be checked by Parliament. Like Bolingbroke in later times, he looked for a Patriot King, who, gifted with an unusual amount of wisdom, would preside over and direct the course of business in Parliament, the Star Chamber, the Privy Council, and the Court of Chancery. Bacon was no narrow-minded partisan of the Crown, but his impatience of ignorance and his own intellectual qualities made him impatient of entrusting the chief legislative and governmental interests of the English nation to the hands of the ordinary member of Parliament.

The powers which the Crown claimed had to be checked and curtailed, and Bacon, great as he was, failed to realise this important fact. The so-called impeachment (for it was not technically an impeachment, the Commons not acting as prosecutors) of Bacon marks an important stage in the history of **the responsibility of ministers**. It represents the revival of a series of attempts to secure the responsibility of ministers to Parliament.

The attack on Floyd.—In attacking Bacon, Mompesson, and Mitchell the Commons had acted with dignity and discretion. But before the session closed they exhibited an unexpected and regrettable loss of all sense of justice in attacking Floyd, a Roman Catholic and a barrister, for having rejoiced over the battle of the White Mountain. Though they had no jurisdiction in such a case, the Commons, supported by the Lords, inflicted a severe sentence on the old man. In this matter

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1642, vol. iv. p. 107.

James showed commendable wisdom and resolution, for at the end of the session he reversed the sentence and set Floyd free. **At the end of May Parliament was prorogued**; the Commons, who desired a war with Spain, declaring amid a scene of excitement their readiness to support the Protestant cause.

Dissolution of the Parliament, January 1622.—When Parliament met again in November 1621 the European situation had developed, and the Palatinate was in danger of conquest. For the moment James and the Commons were agreed in the advisability of restoring Frederick to his lands by force of arms. Vere and Mansfeld were still in the Lower Palatinate, but in urgent need of money and reinforcements. The outspoken views of the Commons with regard to the necessity of an immediate war with Spain as the close ally of the Emperor irritated James, as did two petitions in favour (1) of the strict execution of the laws against the Papists, and (2) of freedom of speech. James, however, was unable to comprehend the position taken up by the Commons in defence of their ancient liberties, and the Commons drew up a famous Protestation affirming their rights and liberties. On December 19 the Houses of Parliament rose; on December 30 James tore the Protestation from the journals of the House; on January 6, 1622, Parliament was dissolved.[1]

Digby's views on the situation.—To Digby the dissolution of Parliament came as a great blow, for no one could realise its ruinous consequence more than he. A statesman in the widest sense of the term, Digby had advocated a noble policy by the adoption of which James might have aided in averting the Thirty Years' War. Digby would have settled 'the war in Germany by guaranteeing the independence of the Protestant States in religious matters, at the same time that the civil authority of the emperor remained intact,' and he would have settled 'the domestic difficulty by the gradual

[1] See page 40.

relaxation of the penal laws.'[1] 'If James,' so said Digby, 'had listened to his Parliament he might have laid down the law to Europe. As it was, he would have to obey the King of Spain.'[2] And Digby, with prophetic instinct, declared that no one need be surprised, now that the king trusted merely to supplications, if James's diplomacy failed as badly at Madrid as it had done at Vienna. This prophecy was very shortly fulfilled in most accurate fashion. **Parliament being dissolved, James was helpless.** He could not raise an army; he could only trust in words. Before the end of the year 1622 he experienced his helplessness and the valuelessness of diplomacy at that critical period unless backed up by an army.

Unlike Gondomar and Olivarez, whose estimate of the real strength of the Protestant feeling in England was ludicrously inaccurate, Digby had formed an accurate estimate of the strength and weakness of the chief European states. He was not carried away, like the House of Commons, by ill-directed religious and warlike zeal; unlike James I., he realised the impossibility of controlling events on the Continent except at the head of a united nation.

The dissolution of the Parliament of 1621 meant the defeat of Digby's policy and the temporary triumph of Gondomar.

James's Mediterranean Policy.—Meanwhile James had thrown away his best chance of influencing the policy of Spain by pursuing a hesitating policy in the Mediterranean. 'With Raleigh's death,' writes Mr. Julian Corbett, 'the oceanic era of Elizabeth passed away, and in its place the era of the Mediterranean was dawning.'[3] In his death Raleigh at last had found popularity, due to the growing conviction among Englishmen that Spain was an enemy that must be combated by land and by sea. New ships were rapidly

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1642, vol. vi. p. 358.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[3] Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, 1603-1713, vol. i. p. 82.

built, and in consequence greater importance than ever was attached by Spain to the continuance of England's neutrality. In 1618 England intervened in the Mediterranean on behalf of Venice, then in danger from Spain, and in consequence the Spanish fleet was ordered to co-operate with the English and Dutch in suppressing the pirates, whose headquarters were at Algiers. It was not, however, till October 1620, that, yielding to the popular feeling in England, James allowed Sir Robert Mansell, Vice-Admiral of the kingdom and then in command of a fleet, to sail for the Mediterranean in conjunction with a Dutch squadron.

Ostensibly Mansell's object was to attack the Barbary corsairs, and on November 27 he appeared before Algiers. In May 1621 Algiers was attacked, but the attack failed. Before anything further could be attempted James, who still was opposed to any action that might annoy the Spanish court, recalled Mansell, who reached England in September 1621.

Thus ended an admirable opportunity of influencing 'the European situation by the presence of a royal fleet in the Mediterranean,' and the European world was given another example of the inability of James I. to understand the political situation, or the 'potentiality of English action in the Mediterranean.'[1]

The effects of the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1621.—The effects of the dissolution of Parliament were speedily seen. Coming as it did so soon after the evacuation of the Mediterranean, it left James helpless before Spain. By means of a Spanish marriage, however, James still hoped to bring about the restoration of his son-in-law, Frederick, to the Palatinate. But before 1622 was closed, the Spanish troops, acting with Count Tilly and the Bavarian forces, had occupied the Lower Palatinate. Heidelberg, its capital, was

[1] Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, 1603-1713, vol. i. p. 133.

taken in September, and before the end of the year the whole of the Palatinate was in the hands of the enemies of Frederick.

James's Diplomacy.—James had indeed threatened to send over troops to oppose the final expulsion of Frederick from the Palatinate, but he had eventually decided to secure the restoration of the ex-Elector by peaceful means. In spite of the growing dislike in England to the idea of a Spanish match, he resolved to **send Charles and Buckingham to Spain.** Once a marriage between Charles and the Infanta should have been arranged, Philip IV., in James's opinion, might assuredly be induced to intercede with the Emperor on behalf of the ex-Elector Frederick. Thus the Palatinate would be restored to its former owner by peaceful means.

The failure of the Spanish Match of 1623.—In February 1623, Charles and Buckingham started on their journey to Spain, arriving at Madrid on March 7. Though negotiations for a marriage between Charles and the Infanta made rapid progress, and a marriage treaty was actually signed, Philip, who was firmly resolved not to **quarrel with the Emperor on the subject of the restoration of the Elector Palatine,** refused to yield on the important question of the Palatinate.

After Charles's return to England in October, the King of Spain, in reply to a letter from James, wrote declining in emphatic terms to interfere actively in the matter of the Palatinate. To the delight of the English nation, and to the satisfaction of Philip himself, the end of the year 1623 saw the marriage treaty broken off.

James and the Nation opposed on Foreign Policy.—James was still determined to effect the recovery of the Palatinate, and till his death that recovery continued to be **the chief object of his foreign policy.** But he still hoped to effect his object without coming to an open quarrel with Spain, while the Commons in James's **fourth and last Parliament,** which

met on February 1, 1624, clamoured for war with Spain. In a famous speech Eliot used these words: 'Are we poor? Spain is rich. There are our Indies. Break with them: we shall break our necessities together.'

But James was resolved not to make direct war upon Spain, while Spanish influence was employed to bring about the fall of Buckingham, who agreed with the Commons in advocating an anti-Spanish policy.

The Impeachment of Middlesex, 1624.—The attempt to destroy Buckingham's influence, however, failed, and the favourite supported by Charles instigated an attack on Middlesex (Cranfield) who advocated peace with Spain. In May 1624 that minister was impeached for malversation, was convicted, and forced to retire from office. 'The proceeding against him,' writes Mr. Montague, 'was the first impeachment in the strict sense of that term brought against a minister of the Crown since the impeachment of the Duke of Suffolk in 1450.'[1] Before they were prorogued in November 1624, the Commons passed an important statute against monopolies—a statute which benefited enormously British trade and industry. James gained little credit for this useful act. He was rapidly becoming incapable of dealing with either home or foreign affairs, and the sense of failure weighed heavily upon him.

A Marriage Treaty with France.—Before James died, however, he arranged a treaty with France for the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, daughter of the French king, Louis XIII.; he came to an arrangement with the Dutch for the defence of Holland with our troops, and declining the overtures of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, he arranged the preliminaries of an alliance with Christian IV. of Denmark. Before that alliance was concluded, James was

[1] F. C. Montague, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 118.

dead. Early in March he was taken ill at Theobalds in Middlesex, and died on March 27 in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having survived his queen, Anne of Denmark, some six years.

The Political Situation at the time of James I.'s death, March 27, 1625.—He left Europe in the throes of the Thirty Years' War, and Parliament waiting for a declaration of war with Spain, under the mistaken idea that the King of Spain was the chief Catholic power, and still unaware that Spain was already breaking up. Further, James left Buckingham wielding great influence in the land, and pressing for an alliance with France and a declaration of war with Spain.

The Condition of England in 1625.—Nevertheless, though his foreign policy had proved a failure, and though, owing to his vacillating and mistaken estimate of the real situation on the Continent, he had contributed to the expansion of the Thirty Years' War, James left England advancing in prosperity. James's unfortunate relations with his Parliaments must not blind us to the fact that, during his reign, England was rapidly advancing in prosperity, and that important developments in the history of English Colonial enterprise were taking place. The peace which prevailed during his reign had facilitated the growth of commerce and industry, and that vast accumulation of wealth which enabled the country to enter upon and carry through the Civil War in Charles I.'s reign. Literature flourished, and the publication of Bacon's *Novum Organum* constitutes an epoch in the domain of learning and thought.

James's Interest in the Navy.—Moreover, at the close of his reign it was seen that England's maritime power had become a real factor in European politics. The Navy, during the last five years of the reign, owing in some measure to the king's personal interest in all matters relating to the fleet, had made rapid progress in efficiency, and the policy which led to

England's domination in the Mediterranean had been indicated.

James's Mistaken Idea of the Constitution.—Thus, apart from political intrigues and ecclesiastical disputes, the reign of James has great importance in English history. But, unfortunately, James left to his successor the legacy of a mistaken idea of the real character of the English constitution, and of the rights and limits of the English kingship. All through his reign he had striven to control and combine conflicting elements by his personal will, while in matters relating to external affairs he had aimed at guiding and regulating events by clever policy. When he died, he left his subjects profoundly dissatisfied with the aims of his home administration, and with his management of foreign affairs.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Important Facts to be remembered.

1. The rapid growth of England's wealth during James I.'s reign.
2. The return by the Commons to the practice of *impeachments* marks the beginning of strained relations between the Crown and the Parliament.
3. The period from 1588 to 1688 is marked by constant endeavours to regulate the relations between the Crown and Parliament.
4. The Stuarts never understood the true nature of the Tudor monarchy, nor the real meaning to England of the defeat of the Spanish Armada.
5. The reign of James I. is the beginning in the history of (1) the Navy, (2) English colonisation.

2. The Theory of the English Monarchy.

In the thirteenth century *Bracton* declared that the prerogative of the Crown was limited by the law, and in the fifteenth century *Fortescue* asserted that the English monarchy was limited, and that a king derived his powers from the people. Hooker had expressed similar views. 'What power the king hath,' he wrote, 'he hath it by law.' On the other hand, certain powers, rights, and privileges, resting partly on custom and precedent, had become associated with kingship in England, and in Tudor times it was recognised that on many occasions the sovereign power might be justified in overriding the law for the public benefit. Wide and undefined was the Tudor prerogative, and it was not regarded with jealousy by Parliament. But James I. developed the idea of absolute monarchy, acting for the benefit of the nation and unlimited, and writers such as Cowell asserted that the king was not bound by laws.

3. The East India Company.

In 1609 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed, and in 1612 the Great Mogul allowed the Company to establish a factory at Surat.

4. The Parliament of 1621.

It had 'rescued from oblivion the right of impeachment' . . . it had 'made judicial corruption almost impossible for the future.' At the crisis in European history when 'Protestantism was to be tried in the balance . . . the English House of Commons placed itself in the foremost ranks of those who were helping on the progress of the world.'—Gardiner, *History of England.*

5. The Parliaments of James I.'s Reign.

(1) 1604-1611.
(2) 1614.
(3) 1621-1622.
(4) 1624.

6. The King and Parliament.

James during his reign interfered with freedom of election and the right of members of Parliament to be exempt from arrest. He also infringed the right of freedom of speech, he collected taxes without the sanction of Parliament, and he issued proclamations. By the end of his reign, however, Parliament had (1) secured control over its own elections, and (2) freedom from arrest for its members. It had also (1) protested against the improper use of proclamations and the illegal levying of taxes, (2) placed on record its right to free discussion, (3) abolished monopolies, (4) revived impeachments.

7. Sully's Estimate of James I.

The view held by Sully (the Marquis de Rosny) of the character of James I. is of some interest: 'Un prince fin et dissimulé, et en même temps plus occupé de sa passion pour la chasse, que des affaires de son royaume, qu'il abandonnait à ses ministres.'

8. Francis Bacon and Parliament.

Bacon saw that owing to the existing political and religious divisions a strong government almost independent of the House of Commons was a necessity. He tried to bring about an understanding between the king and the House of Commons, involving the supremacy of the former, but calculated to ensure the existence of good relations. Unfortunately, neither James I. nor Charles I. was capable of playing the part assigned to them by Bacon. He feared the encroachments of the popular party, and 'in his eyes the cause of the monarchy was the cause of intellect in the eternal battle against ignorance, pedantry, and routine.' But Bacon expected too much from contemporary intelligence. The only solution of the questions between the monarchy and the House of Commons, and between the Puritans and the Roman Catholics, was to be found in (1) the spread of political knowledge, (2) the growth of toleration, (3) the increased sense of responsibility on the part of all classes.

9. The Historic Position of the English Church.

In 1610, on the death of Bancroft, James raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury Abbot, Master of University College, Oxford, and a prominent Calvinist; and in 1619 he sent English clergy to the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church at Dort. But though James had a leaning towards the views of Calvin, in England a school of learned divines was growing up in the English Church. Headed by *Andrewes*, Bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, this school not only defended the Church against Romanism, but at the same time insisted on the continuous existence of the Church from early times. 'There is,' said Andrewes, 'no interruption in the succession of our Church,' and by appeals to antiquity and history he asserted the Catholic position of the National Church. Round Andrewes (1555-1626) gathered the French scholar Isaac Casaubon, William Laud, and many other learned and active Churchmen. It was necessary for the Church of England to define its position, for it was attacked on all sides. A movement called the Counter-Reformation, the object of which was to reform the Church of Rome, had been started, and the position of the Papacy was much strengthened. Calvinist views, too, were held by many English Churchmen.

The main features of Calvin's views were

(1) The independence of the Church of any temporal power;
(2) The union of laymen and ministers in the government of the Church, and
(3) The enforcement of a moral discipline;
(4) The belief that God does not give many Christians any chance of salvation.

10. Three Cases to illustrate the Advance of the Commons, and the Pretensions of the Crown.

(1) *Goodwin* v. *Fortescue*, 1604.

Goodwin was an outlaw, who 'in defiance of the king's special writ forbidding the election of bankrupts and outlaws as knights of the shire' was returned for Buckinghamshire. The House of Commons contended that even if he were an outlaw—which they disputed—there were precedents in favour of his return. By

their stubborn resistance the Commons secured a recognition of their *right to take cognisance of all disputed returns.*

(2) *Shirley's Case*, 1604.

Sir Thomas Shirley, M.P., was arrested before the meeting of James I.'s first Parliament, and imprisoned for debt. The Commons insisted on his release, and sent Shirley's creditor to the Tower. This case was followed by the first distinct legislative acknowledgment of *the right of freedom from arrest.*

(3) *The Case of Bate*, 1606.

John Bate, a merchant, refused to pay the customs, and so raised the constitutional question of the king's power of taxation. The Court of the Exchequer decided in favour of the king's right, and distinguished between the *ordinary* and *extraordinary* prerogative of the Crown. To the latter it attributed the right to levy customs.

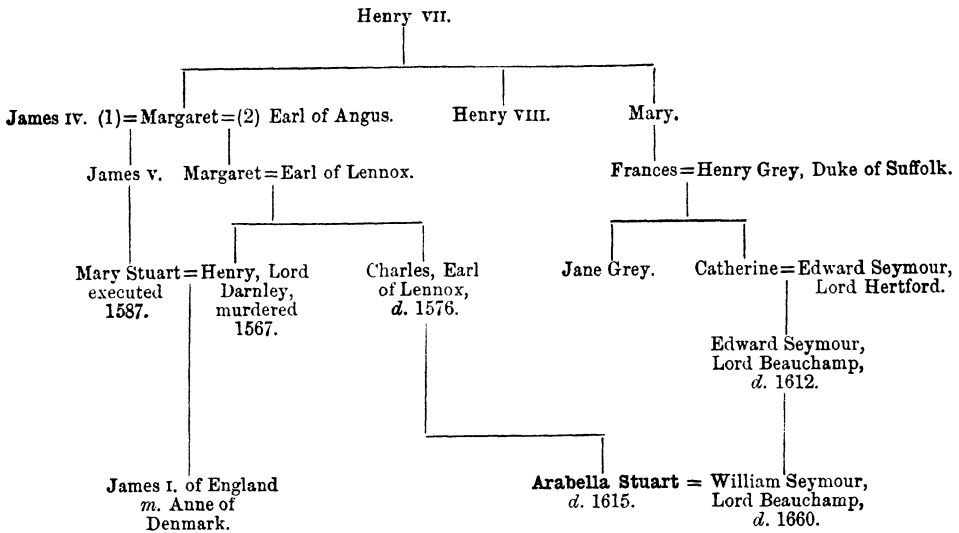
11. Colonial Expansion.

In 1607 John Smith, with 105 emigrants, made a settlement at Jamestown, which was the germ of the United States. After various vicissitudes the colony made steady progress. In 1620 a number of Separatists, known as the Pilgrim Fathers, who had left England in 1607 sooner than conform, sailed from Holland in the *Mayflower*, and establishing themselves at New Plymouth, formed the nucleus of the New England States. In the East Indies the Dutch viewed the English traders with jealousy, and the massacre of a number of Englishmen by the Dutch on the Island of Amboyna in 1623 illustrated that jealousy.

12. Impeachment and Attainder.

An *impeachment* is a trial in which the House of Commons prosecutes and the House of Lords acts as judges. An *attainder* is the legislative process by which a man is tried and put to death by Act of Parliament. An attainder legalises what would otherwise be illegal. The strained relations between the king and the House of Commons led to the revival of the impeachments.

TABLE TO SHOW THE ANCESTRY OF ARABELLA STUART.



QUESTIONS ON THE REIGN.

(1) Compare the Stuarts with the Tudors. Why did the Stuarts fail in their attempt to continue the Tudor dictatorship?
(2) What causes led to the failure of the Union of England and Scotland desired by James I.?
(3) Describe the character of James I.'s ecclesiastical policy.
(4) Criticise the position taken up by Coke on behalf of the judges in James I.'s reign.
(5) Describe and criticise the Scottish policy of James I.
(6) Discuss the political importance of Raleigh, and explain the causes of his execution.
(7) Illustrate and explain the growing importance of Parliament.
(8) Criticise the assertion that James I. was partly answerable for the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.
(9) Estimate the results of the attempt of James I. to form a close alliance with Spain.
(10) Show how foreign politics influenced the relations between Crown and Parliament between 1621 and 1625.
(11) Draw a sketch map of North America to show the progress of English colonisation.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War	**1618**
Sailing of the 'Mayflower'	**1620**
Battle of the White Mountain	**,,**
Third Parliament	**1621**
Impeachment of Sir Giles Mompesson and of Lord Bacon	**,,**
Dissolution of the Parliament, January 6	**1622**
Loss of the Palatinate	**,,**
Prince Charles and Buckingham visit Spain	**1623**
Massacre of Amboyna	**,,**
Fourth Parliament	**1624**
Impeachment of Middlesex	**,,**
Marriage Treaty of Charles and Henrietta Maria	**,,**
Negotiations with Sweden and Denmark	**,,**
Failure of Mansfeld's Expedition	**1625**
Death of James	**,,**

CHAPTER II

CHARLES I.—1625-1649.

Born 1600; married, 1625, Henrietta Maria; died 1649.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Spain.*
Louis XIII., 1610-1643.	Ferdinand II., 1619-1637.	Philip III., 1598-1621.
Louis XIV., 1643-1715.	Ferdinand III., 1637-1657.	Philip IV., 1621-1665.
Sweden.	*Denmark.*	*The Papacy.*
Gustavus Adolphus, 1611-1632.	Christian IV., 1588-1648.	Urban VIII., 1623-1644.
Christina, 1632-1654.	Frederick III., 1648-1670.	Innocent X., 1644-1655.

Period I.—1625-1629.

Government with Parliament.

Contents.

Charles's Character—Religious Parties in England—The Political Situation—Christian IV. of Denmark—Charles and his First Parliament—Expedition to Cadiz—The Second Parliament, 1626—Attack on Buckingham—Charles's Arbitrary Measures—War with France—Darnell's Case—The Third Parliament, 1628—The Petition of Right—The so-called 'Apostasy' of Wentworth—Murder of Buckingham—Peace with France, 1629, and Spain, 1630—The Second Session of Parliament—Its Dissolution, 1629.

CHIEF NAMES, 1625-1629.

Buckingham — Wallenstein — Richelieu — Tilly — Christian IV. — Henrietta Maria — Laud — Montagu — Manwaring — Wentworth — Eliot — Holles — Phelips — Coke — Pym.

The Character of Charles I.—Charles I., like his father, was a firm believer in the doctrine of absolute sovereignty, and throughout his life never wavered from the conviction that the divine right of kings was the basis of government. Unlike his father, Charles had considerable personal attractions, and his well-known portraits by Vandyke have accustomed us to recognise in him a well-formed man of noble demeanour. Like his son Charles II., he was active and at times energetic. Like his son, too, he was lavish in making assurances, but had little hesitation in breaking his promises. At the same time his mind was cast in a much narrower mould than was that of Charles II., who owing to his exile imbibed a vast amount of worldly wisdom. Charles I. was profoundly religious; his private life was admirable; he avoided all manner of dissipation; he cultivated the fine arts; he was dignified, and he was personally brave. But he was intellectually inferior to both James I. and Charles II., and lacked their shrewdness as well as their sense of humour.

A well-known historian has very aptly said that 'with all his culture Charles lacked imagination, and therefore lacked insight.' What was more serious, he was unfortunate in his choice of advisers, and gradually it was realised that he was essentially untrustworthy. He had no statesmanlike qualities, and was unable to fathom or appreciate the aims and opinions of the mass of his subjects.

He came to the throne at a time when serious political issues were at stake, and when the religious feelings of Englishmen were being stirred by the successes of the Roman Catholic powers on the Continent.

Religious Parties in England.—The striking successes of those powers had now awakened the religious feelings of the English people, and tended to mark more clearly the already existing divisions in the English Church. Many Churchmen revered the historical character of their Church, which, according to them, had merely broken away from the main body in the reign of Elizabeth, while preserving its historical continuity with the pre-Reformation Church. On the other hand, a large body of Churchmen sympathised with the teaching of Calvin and regarded Episcopacy as of little or of no importance, and the historical continuity of the Church with indifference. They ignored Church festivals, they had no care for stained windows, for stately cathedrals or for beautiful churches, or indeed for impressive services in which music played a part. They had no sympathy with the writings and attitude of **Hooker and Bishop Andrewes**, and, without any real justification, persisted in regarding Laud as a sympathiser with the practices of the Church of Rome. This section of English Churchmen during Charles I.'s reign became more and more suspicious of what may be called the Anglican section, and thus religious bitterness coloured and affected English politics to an enormous extent up to the accession of Charles II.

Charles succeeds at a critical time.—Charles, who was only in his twenty-fifth year, thus came to the throne at an unusually critical period. It would have proved a difficult task for the wisest of men to have held the balance between the religious parties and to have brought about a *modus vivendi* between those religious parties. It also required considerable knowledge of European politics to be able to foresee the coming decline of Spain and to comprehend the real issues at stake in Germany. Both James and Charles, unlike their Parliaments, which regarded Spain as the most serious foe of Protestantism, seem to have recognised that the

real point of danger was Germany, which was rapidly being submerged by the waves of the Counter-Reformation.

To Protestant Europe all depended upon the ability of some Protestant leader to stem the rising tide of Roman Catholicism and to insist upon the establishment of toleration.

The Treaty of Southampton, September 1625.—The desire that England should take some definite steps to show its sympathy with the Protestant cause was, on Charles's accession, as strong as it had been during the later years of James I.'s reign. In consonance therefore with the wishes of Englishmen, Charles, in 1625, signed on September 7 at Southampton (whither he had gone to avoid the plague in London) a treaty with the Dutch. By the Treaty of Southampton an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded, and both countries agreed to adopt hostile measures towards Spain.

Alliance with Denmark. Defeat of Christian IV.—Of the two possible Protestant leaders—Christian IV. of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden—with whom James I. had been in negotiation, Christian IV. appeared the more suitable. Relying on promises of financial aid made by Charles I., Christian threw himself into the Thirty Years' War. But Charles was unable to send him any aid; in 1626 Christian suffered a decisive defeat at **Lutter.** It thus seemed during the early years of Charles I.'s reign that the Austrian House would become supreme all over Germany, that Roman Catholicism would triumph over Protestantism, and that the Baltic would become an Austrian lake.

One of the chief causes of Christian's failure was the lack of support from England due to the growing difficulties of Charles I., the result of the strained relations between him and Parliament. Most unfortunately various circumstances had combined to rouse the suspicions of Parliament.

Charles's marriage with Henrietta Maria on May 1, 1625,

and his promise to give toleration to the Roman Catholics, were viewed with great disfavour by most Englishmen. He had, moreover, agreed to aid the French king in his task of suppressing the Huguenots who were in rebellion.

The First Parliament, 1625.—In view of the religious passions aroused in England owing to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, a wise king would have acted cautiously and made all possible efforts to conciliate Parliament. But Charles was not wise. In the Parliament which met on June 18, 1625, no information was given with regard to the expenditure of the money asked for by the king, and the Commons, led by Phelips, Coke, Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and John Pym, after making a grant of two small subsidies[1] and proposing to vote tunnage and poundage for one year only, attacked **Richard Montagu**, a clergyman who had written a book which was disapproved of by all who held Puritan views. Instead of adopting a conciliatory attitude, Charles made Montagu his chaplain and complained of the niggardly money grants voted by Parliament.[2]

The Parliament at Oxford.—The Commons showed no desire to support an ambitious foreign policy; they had become suspicious of Buckingham, and in August, after discussing foreign affairs, were dissolved at **Oxford**, to which place Parliament, owing to the plague in London, had been transferred.

Thus before Charles had been six months on the throne the defects in his character had become evident. His obstinacy was revealed, while his conviction that any political promise could be broken by means of his prerogative boded ill for the future. On behalf of the attitude adopted by the Commons

[1] Two shillings per tun on wine, and 6d. per £ on merchandise not already bearing fixed customs.

[2] Since the reign of Richard II., tunnage and poundage had been granted to each sovereign for his or her lifetime.

it must be remembered that, apart from the want of confidence felt in Buckingham, English commerce had so increased that had a grant of tunnage and poundage been made for Charles's life, Parliament might never have been summoned again in the reign.

The Expedition to Cadiz, 1625.—The dissolution of Charles's first Parliament was followed by an expedition to Cadiz under Sir Edward Cecil. That expedition started on October 9, 1625; it failed to capture Cadiz or the Plate fleet, and in November returned to England. Charles's hopes of filling his coffers by means of this expedition were dashed to the ground, and the necessity of applying again to Parliament was forced upon him. Before the Parliament met, Charles had found himself entangled in French affairs. On his marriage with Henrietta Maria he had promised to lend the French king some ships to be used against the Huguenots, who were in rebellion. These ships were actually sent to Louis, who refused to return them till the Huguenot rebellion was crushed. In order to extricate himself from this unfortunate promise, Charles offered without any success to mediate between Louis XIII. and his Protestant subjects.

The Second Parliament, 1626.—Things were in this unsatisfactory condition, when Charles's second Parliament met in February 1626. In order to weaken the opposition in Parliament, due, as he thought, to certain malcontents, Charles had nominated to sheriffdoms Phelips, Coke, Wentworth, and others, thus disqualifying them from sitting in Parliament, while the Earl of Bristol, who had openly expressed his dissatisfaction with Charles's views on foreign policy, was not sent his writ. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the Lord-Keeper, had also been dismissed from the Chancellorship on account of his opposition to Buckingham, and had been succeeded by Sir Thomas Coventry, who, however, was opposed to all concessions to the Roman Catholics.

This Parliament, in which Sir John Eliot, a Cornish squire, who was convinced that Buckingham was ruining the country, took the lead, only sat for about four months, and was engaged in constant disputes with the king. Though they could not get any definite information regarding the expedition to Cadiz, the Commons knew that the expedition had been a failure and attended by loss of life. They were also anxious for information regarding the relations between England and France. They at once appointed three Committees to examine into their grievances, the state of the kingdom, and the state of religion. When the king asked for an immediate supply, they demanded that their grievances should be redressed, and began to draw up their impeachment of Buckingham. Charles and Buckingham persisted in regarding the action of the Commons as due to personal opposition to them, not recognising that the leaders of the Lower House were laying down and insisting upon the principle of **ministerial responsibility**. In this matter Sir John Eliot, Digges, and Pym came forward as the new leaders of the Commons, and showed that they fully realised that if the king's command to desist from the proceedings against Buckingham were allowed, an end would be put to all ministerial responsibility.

Charles's reply to the impeachment of Buckingham was to imprison Eliot and Digges in the Tower. The relations between Charles and the Commons had now wellnigh reached breaking-point. Having no charges to bring against Eliot and Digges, the king was forced to set them at liberty. Receiving no assurance that Buckingham would cease to be Charles's chief adviser, the Commons suspended their grant of five subsidies, and consequently, on June 15, 1626, the king dissolved his second Parliament.

Criticism of the conduct of the King and the Commons.—Charles's conduct had been most injudicious. Though

technically in the right, he was in principle wrong. He could no doubt argue that the Commons had acted towards him with unfairness. He had succeeded to a war, and for that war money was required. It might be argued that he had throughout been anxious to act in a constitutional manner, but the Commons, by taking away tunnage and poundage, by inquiring into the Marriage Treaty, by attacking Montagu, and by attacking the king when they impeached Buckingham, had put themselves in the wrong.

On behalf of the Commons, it may be argued that their suspicions with regard to the Marriage Treaty were justified, and that with regard to foreign affairs Parliament had a right to inquire how their money was about to be spent. Their view that they had a right to attack Montagu, because in their opinion his views did not coincide with their own, could not equally be upheld, though the attack on Buckingham, based on the principle that ministers could be called to account for their actions, contained within it the important principle of **responsibility of ministers.**

Charles's arbitrary Measures.—Having dismissed his second Parliament, Charles fell back on his undefinable prerogative. Though he had been compelled to release Eliot and Digges, he removed Abbot the Archbishop of Canterbury, who did not hold views acceptable to himself in ecclesiastical matters, from the Privy Council, and Montagu was promoted to the See of Chichester. Buckingham became Chancellor of Cambridge, and his position at the Court seemed impregnable.

War with France, 1627.—The difficulties of Charles, however, tended to increase both abroad and at home. He had now become entangled in a quarrel with France over some French ships which had been captured by the English, and in March 1627 hostilities were openly entered upon.

In his difficulties Charles did not hesitate to levy tunnage

and poundage, and to collect those subsidies which had been discussed but not finally granted by the last Parliament. He levied a **forced loan**, and imprisoned many who refused to lend. His best chance, however, in securing sufficient money for his purposes, lay in a successful war with France, and for a time the capture of French ships enabled him to augment his resources. But in the summer and early autumn of 1627, Buckingham led a powerful expedition to relieve the Huguenots who were besieged in Rochelle by the French king. His attempt to capture the **Island of Rhé** near Rochelle proved a failure, and his return to England found the king in greater straits than ever for money.

Darnell's Case, or the Case of the Five Knights, 1627.—In his extremity Charles imprisoned five of his subjects who had refused to contribute to his loan—Sir Thomas Darnell, Sir John Corbet, Sir Edmund Hampden, Sir Walter Erle, and Sir John Heveningham. Their trial, known as that of **The Five Knights**, or **Darnell's Case**, took place in November 1627. The prisoners declared that the king had no right to imprison them by warrant of the Privy Council, and they appealed to Magna Carta and other statutes. On behalf of the Crown it was argued that the king could for reasons of state imprison men without showing cause. The judges decided that the king could imprison without cause shown, but did not lay it down that he could imprison for an indefinite time.

Before the end of the year it became evident that a continuation of these unusual attempts to obtain money would lead to violent opposition, and Charles reluctantly resolved to summon Parliament.

The Third Parliament, 1628.—On March 17, 1628, the third Parliament of the reign met. The first session of this celebrated Parliament lasted from March to June 1628; the second from January to March 1629. The Parliament which met in March 1628 adopted at first a moderate tone, and that

in spite of the many violations of public liberty which had taken place. Many of the members feared that continual opposition would drive Charles to exercise his extraordinary prerogative, and rule without Parliament. But the same moderation was not observed by Charles, whose opening speech was insulting and impolitic. He had forbidden Archbishop Abbot and the Earls of Lincoln, Arundel, and Bristol to take their places in the House of Lords, but was forced to rescind his order. The Commons adopted an attitude which while conciliatory was no less firm. They made no attempt to revive the impeachment of Buckingham, and they voted five subsidies. At the same time they pressed for redress of their grievances.

The Petition of Right, 1628.—These grievances were summed up in the famous Petition of Right which, on the proposal of Coke, was drawn up in May by the House of Commons, and after some delay agreed to by the House of Lords. In the Petition, loans and unparliamentary taxation were declared illegal; arbitrary imprisonment was also pronounced illegal; and the billeting of soldiers upon persons who refused to pay the forced loans, and upon 'common householders,' as well as the enforcement of martial law, were protested against. The billeting of soldiers and sailors upon the inhabitants of a town was especially burdensome and unpopular. The cost to a town for the entertainment of a regiment was very great, and the conduct of the soldiers was often very unsatisfactory. The grievance was a very real one, and had it not been redressed by the Petition of Right, many towns would have been reduced to a state of anarchy.

Wentworth had recommended that the Commons should draw up a bill which, having once passed through Parliament and become law, would be an adequate safeguard for 'the person and property of every Englishman.' Though at first his suggestion was adopted and a bill prepared, it was

decided early in May to drop the bill, and to draw up the Petition of Right.

The king found himself in a very awkward position. His foreign policy had so far proved a failure. The advance of the Imperialists under Tilly in Germany was still unchecked, and the attempts of the English fleet under Lord Denbigh to relieve La Rochelle had been unsuccessful.

Charles consults the Judges.—In his weakness he decided to consult the judges. To the question—May a king commit a subject to prison without showing cause? their reply was that only in emergencies he might do so. To the king's second question—Must Habeas Corpus be always complied with? their answer was 'Yes, generally: in emergencies, no.' To the king's third question—In the event of the Petition being granted, was he thenceforth excluded from committing a man to prison without showing cause? the reply was of a similar character.

He accepts the Petition of Right.—After a vain attempt to escape from his position, and to avoid accepting the demands of the Commons, the king was forced to give way, and on June 7, 1628, he accepted the Petition of Right. The Commons thereupon granted the king five subsidies, but at the same time impeached Dr. Roger Manwaring for defending the absolute power of the king; and, after Eliot had condemned in severe terms Charles's foreign policy, began to consider the question of the impeachment of Buckingham. On June 26 Parliament was prorogued.

The Importance of the Petition of Right.—During the session it is undoubted that the Commons had made a considerable advance, and by the Petition of Right had effectually 'circumscribed the monarchy.'

The Petition of Right is an important constitutional landmark in English history. Just as Magna Carta marked the beginning of a constitutional struggle, the further steps of

which were the Provisions of Oxford, the Parliaments of 1264 and 1265, the final establishment of Parliament, and the *Confirmatio Cartarum*; so the Petition of Right was followed by a constitutional struggle of which the Long Parliament, the Civil War, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Revolution of 1688 were the main features.

Criticism of the Attitude of the Commons.—At the same time the victory of the Commons brought with it serious dangers. The tone which they had adopted, and their undisguised attempts not only to interfere with the king's choice of ministers, but also with the religious views of English prelates and churchmen, brought with it serious risks. Pym and Coke considered it outrageous that religious opinions, which were not held by the majority in the House of Commons, should be tolerated; they also wished to revoke the decision of the Court of Exchequer in the case of 'the impositions.' The king was perfectly justified in resisting such attacks upon religious liberty and the decisions of the judges.

The influence of the Thirty Years' War.—On behalf of the Commons it must always be remembered that Europe was, during the later years of James I. and the opening years of Charles I.'s reign, passing through a serious religious and political crisis. The defeat of Christian of Denmark by Tilly seemed to presage the establishment of Roman Catholicism over the European Continent. For Wallenstein, the other great imperial general, aimed at the extension of the imperial influence over the Baltic, and, that effected, the conquest of Sweden and Norway would at once follow. This danger to Protestantism was appreciated by the leaders of the English Commons, and contributed to their resentment at the doctrines advocated by such men as Montagu and Manwaring.

Toleration the only solution.—But the victory of the Commons would have been followed by the enforcement of a religious uniformity opposed to the wishes of a large portion

of the English nation. In 1628 the idea of full religious liberty was never thought of by men like Pym and Coke, any more than by Charles or by Bishop Laud, who was then coming into prominence.

Between the end of the first session of Parliament in July 1627 and its reassembling in the following year several important events occurred.

The 'Apostasy' of Wentworth, 1628.—The first of these events was the so-called 'apostasy' of Wentworth. On July 22, 1628, Wentworth was created Lord Wentworth, was received into favour by the king, and soon became the leading man on the Royalist side. The attacks made upon him by his opponents for what they regarded as desertion of the popular side were unjustified. Wentworth was never a Puritan, and always held views widely different from those of Pym and Eliot. He had been in favour of sweeping away the abuses enumerated in the Petition of Right, but he had no sympathy with the aims of Puritanism. Nor had he any belief in the ability of the House of Commons to control the government of the country. The late Mr. S. R. Gardiner, in his *History of England* (1603-1642), thus describes his political position: 'In the last session (1628) he alone amongst the leaders of the House had shown anything like powers of constructive statesmanship. Coke and Eliot, Pym and Phelips, had been content with the negation of misgovernment. Their wish was simply that the law and religion of England should remain as it was. Wentworth had not shown himself content with this. An active, wise, and reforming government was the ideal after which he strove from first to last.'[1] For the time being he was not admitted into the Council, where Buckingham's influence was supreme. Wentworth had a deep distrust of Buckingham, and he did not come prominently forward as

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1640, vol. vi. p. 357.

the chief adviser of the king till after Buckingham's assassination.

Murder of Buckingham, 1628.—The death of Buckingham, which took place at Portsmouth on August 23, 1628, was the second important event which took place between the two sessions of Parliament. With the full approbation of the king Buckingham had resolved upon an attempt to aid the Huguenots, who were besieged in La Rochelle. It is impossible to overrate the folly of this policy. At a time when England and France should have been united in checking the triumphant advance of the imperialist forces at the Baltic, and the consequent overthrow of the Protestant cause in North Germany, Charles and Buckingham were interfering in France on behalf of a small minority whose success would imperil the national consolidation of that country. On the morning of August 23 Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth by one John Felton, a lieutenant in the army, who was convinced that his own grievances and the public interest justified his act. Felton was taken to London and executed.

Position taken by Wentworth.—From this time Wentworth occupied a position with regard to the king which was somewhat analogous to that adopted in the next century by Mirabeau in relation to Louis XVI. Both men felt that they alone could save their respective monarchs.

Peace with France, 1629.—A third event of importance that occurred between the two sessions of Parliament was the fall of La Rochelle on October 18, and the removal of the last obstacle to the consolidation of the French monarchy. A further result of the success of the King of France and of his able minister, Richelieu, was that no obstacle now remained in the way of an alliance between France and England. It was not, however, till April 1629 that the peace of Susa ended the war with France,[1] and by that time Charles was not in a

[1] Peace with Spain was concluded in November 1630.

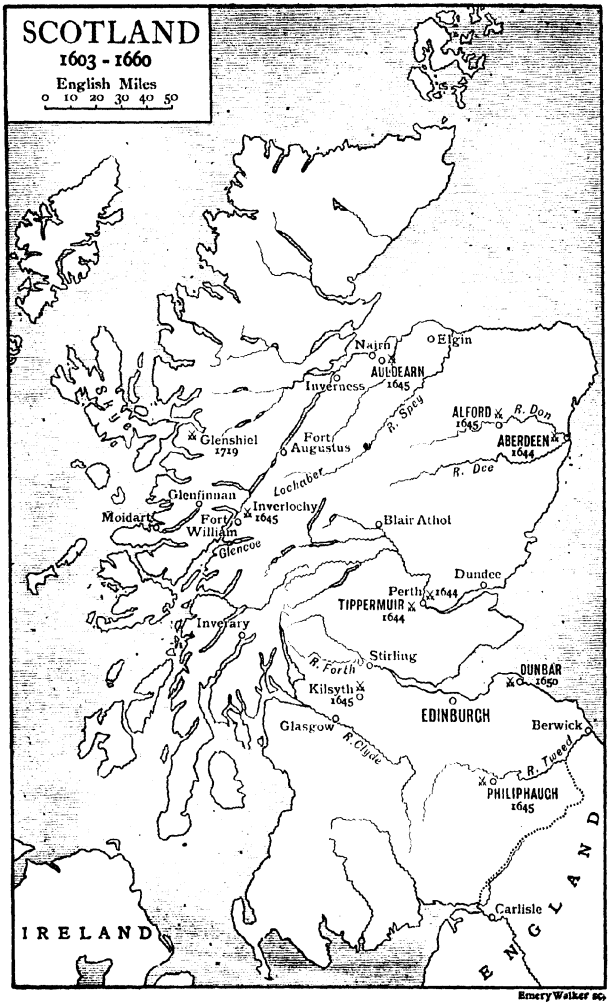
position to join Louis XIII. in a united attack against the House of Austria.

The Second Session of the Parliament, 1629.—Strengthened, however, by the adhesion of Wentworth to his cause, Charles summoned the Parliament to its second session on January 20, 1629. The members met in an irritable humour. During the interval between the first and second sessions Charles had published the Petition of Right with his answers appended. Moreover, ecclesiastical matters caused deep dissatisfaction. Laud had been promoted to the See of London, Manwaring had been pardoned, Montagu had become a royal chaplain, a Jesuit institution had been discovered in London, the Imperialist cause in Germany had received no adequate check, the Protestants in France and in Germany had experienced defeat. Somewhat naturally the English Puritans were anxious with regard to the maintenance of their religion. Further, the seizure of the goods of certain merchants who had not paid duties levied by the royal prerogative, and the prosecution of some of the merchants by the Star Chamber, had roused deep indignation. After a short and stormy session in which, headed by Eliot, they had protested against Laud's interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Commons drew up, on Eliot's instigation, a Remonstrance in which it was declared that any one who paid tunnage and poundage, or who favoured the Papacy or Arminianism, was a traitor to the realm. This resolution was on March 2 carried amid a scene of mingled disorder and enthusiasm.

Dissolution of Parliament, 1629.—Warned that the king was about to dissolve Parliament, some members held the Speaker in the chair while the resolutions which were embodied in Eliot's remonstrance were proposed by Holles and carried by acclamation. The adjournment was then voted, and the period which saw Charles's attempt to govern **by means of Parliament** came to an end.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria	1625
First Parliament of the Reign meets	,,
Expedition to Cadiz	,,
Second Parliament	1626
Impeachments of Montagu and Buckingham	,,
War with France	1627
Failure of the Expedition to Rhé	,,
Case of the Five Knights (Darnell's Case)	,,
Third Parliament (First Session)	1628
Petition of Right (June)	,,
Murder of Buckingham	,,
Wentworth joins the King's side	,,
Second Session of the Third Parliament	1629
Breach between the King and Parliament	,,
Dissolution of the Parliament (March)	,,
Imprisonment of Eliot and others	,,
Charter granted to Massachusetts Bay Company	,,
Treaty of Susa between England and France (April 14)	,,



Emery Walker sc.

Period II.—1629-1640.

Government without Parliament, 1629-1640.

Contents.

CHIEF NAMES, 1629-1640.

Pym — Laud — Wentworth — Eliot — Hampden — Weston — Leslie — Prynne.

The Case for Charles and for the Commons, 1629.—To justify his dissolution of the Parliament, Charles issued a Declaration in which he promised to carry out the Petition of Right, but asserted that he would not permit any innovations in religion. In resisting the claim of the Commons to supremacy in the State, Charles was taking a justifiable attitude, for, by doing so, he was, perhaps unconsciously, asserting the right of Englishmen to liberty of thought and speech. Unfortunately Charles showed a spirit of revenge by imprisoning nine members of the House of Commons for their conduct in the late Parliament. Of these, Eliot, Strode, and Valentine refused to answer as 'being against the privilege of the House of Parliament to speak of anything which was done in the House,' and declined to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench before which they were

tried. Consequently Eliot remained in prison till his death in 1631, while Strode and Valentine were not released till 1640.

Interference by England in the Thirty Years' War impossible.—Having dissolved Parliament, it was necessary to give up all thought of engaging in foreign wars, and as has been already stated, peace was concluded with France in 1629, and with Spain in 1630. By her inability to interfere boldly in the Thirty Years' War, England lost her last opportunity of appearing as the head of the Protestant cause in Germany. Want of money not only forbade any attempt to interfere on the Continent, but also at once led Charles into acts which caused much discontent.

During the period of arbitrary government, which extended from 1629 to 1640, Charles's chief advisers were **Weston**, a careful financier, who was Treasurer till his death in 1635, **Laud** and **Wentworth**. Though Charles never gave up hopes of being able to aid his brother-in-law Frederick to regain the Palatinate, want of money prevented him from adopting any effective measures to that end. In 1633 he did, indeed, ally with Spain, and collected ship-money for the support of the fleet which, however, did nothing. As it was, money was urgently required for domestic purposes.

Methods of raising Money.—Since the days of Elizabeth, not only had the sums paid in pensions enormously increased, but the expenses of the Royal House and of the Government had steadily grown, till it had become quite impossible for royalty to pay its way without recourse to direct taxation. To avoid, however, the unpopularity of imposing direct taxes without the sanction of Parliament, Charles was compelled to adopt 'obsolete but technically legal forms of levying money.'[1]

Landowners who had occupied portions of the royal forests

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1640, vol. vii. p. 167.

had to pay large sums, and thus many of the country gentry were alienated. Men were fined for building houses in London, others for pulling down their houses.

The king had a legal right to compel all men who owned estates worth £20 a year to take up knighthood, and in January 1630 Charles called upon all landowners who had estates worth £40 a year **to take up knighthood** or to make a composition. This demand, which was as unexpected as it was unpopular, was renewed in 1631, and brought in a considerable sum of money. The Barons of the Exchequer had pronounced the king's claims legal, and also supported his demands for tunnage and poundage.

Protest of Chambers, 1629-30.—These had been resisted by a man named Chambers, who had told the members of the Star Chamber that 'the merchants were in no part of the world so screwed and wrung as in England, and that in Turkey they have more encouragement.'[1] In 1630, however, he was compelled to pay the duties.

The Case of Leighton, 1630.—Equally forcible was the treatment by the Star Chamber of religious opposition to the Government. One Alexander Leighton, a Presbyterian minister who practised medicine in England, in 1628 drew up a petition which was elaborated into a book, termed *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*, which asked for 'the extirpation of the prelates with all their dependencies and supporters,' and called upon Parliament 'to constitute itself a permanent body.' Tried in 1630 before the Star Chamber, Leighton, who had few supporters, was sentenced to lose one ear and to be imprisoned.

Influence of Wentworth and Laud.—From 1630 to 1639 the influence of Wentworth and Laud in the Privy Council became paramount, with the result that both in England and Scotland a powerful opposition to the Crown was engendered,

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 84, 168.

and the ground prepared for the work of the Long Parliament.

The Thirty Years' War.—Abroad these years saw the overthrow of the imperial arms and projects by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, whose death at the battle of Lützen in 1632 brought to an end the religious character of the Thirty Years' War, which relapsed into a duel between France and Austria, and was not concluded till 1648 by the Peace of Westphalia.

Domestic Affairs.—In Great Britain, however, domestic affairs continued to occupy the attention of Charles and his subjects. While Wentworth showed his administrative capacity in Yorkshire and in London, which was ravaged by a terrible plague in 1630, Laud was no less active in Oxford and in his London diocese.

The Year 1633.—The year 1633 marks an epoch in the reign of Charles I. In the summer of that year **Charles visited Scotland**; in July Wentworth arrived in Ireland to take up the duties of **Lord Deputy**, to which office he had been appointed in 1632; and in July Laud was appointed **Archbishop of Canterbury**. From the year 1633 'the king's system of government seemed to receive a new impulse.'[1] And yet the year 1633 might be said to mark the beginning of the fall of Charles I. For his visit to Scotland tended to unite the greater part of the Scottish nation in opposition to his policy, Wentworth's government in Ireland seemed to justify the fears of those who dreaded the establishment of a despotism, and Laud's policy tended to stir up theological passions and to bring about a revolt against his resolution to enforce outward conformity.

Visit of Charles to Scotland, 1633.—In the summer of 1633 Charles visited Scotland, a visit that had for the monarchy most calamitous results. The **Articles of Perth**,[2] passed at the

[1] Montague, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 176.

[2] See pp. 25, 26.

instigation of James I., had been followed by a period of comparative quiet, though it was evident that the supporters of the king's policy, who were chiefly the bishops and the nobles who held Church lands, did not represent the bulk of the Scottish nation. During the remainder of James's reign there was a constant and ever-increasing difficulty in enforcing the Articles of Perth. Thus the situation on Charles's accession required much judgment and tact on the part of the English Government.

Unfortunately Charles made no attempts to become acquainted with the position of affairs in Scotland, and on October 12, 1625, he issued an Act of Revocation, re-annexing to the Crown the Church property which had been for many years in the hands of laymen. In face, however, of the storm which this Act raised Charles wisely softened the blow, offered compensation, and effected a fairly satisfactory compromise. At the same time he partially suspended the operation of the Articles of Perth. In order to maintain the popularity which he had thus gained in Scotland, Charles, though he had alienated the nobility, had only 'to satisfy the temporal requirements of the mass of the nation,' and to 'avoid irritating their religious sentiments.'[1]

Unfortunately Charles did not appreciate the depth of those sentiments, and in the summer of 1633 he exasperated the feelings of the larger portion of his Scottish subjects by the ceremonies which accompanied his coronation on June 18 in Edinburgh. The suspicions thus aroused were increased by Charles's dealings with the Parliament which assembled on June 20. According to custom a committee named **the Lords of the Articles** had the right of preparing Bills for the Parliament, which was composed of one House. Having obtained a majority of the Lords of the Articles in his favour Charles succeeded, in the face of a strenuous opposition, in securing

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 280.

the passing of Bills which were obnoxious to the nation as a whole. From that moment the opposition to the Crown steadily grew. It was evident that Charles and his advisers, of whom Laud was the chief, were bent on enforcing religious conformity upon the Scots. For the moment, however, active opposition ceased, but his persistence in trying to govern Scotland in accordance with his own ideas and those of Laud, and the want of tact on the part of the Scottish bishops, brought the country by 1635 to the verge of rebellion. Between 1633 and 1635 Charles steadily appointed bishops who were obnoxious both to the nobles as well as to the Presbyterians, and these bishops having no support from any section of the nation stood alone as the advocates of unpopular religious innovations. During the same period Charles had also roused a similar religious opposition to his crown in England.

The influence of religion in the opposition to Charles I. in England.—That opposition had shown itself at the very beginning of the reign, and had steadily increased in volume in each succeeding year. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign it became evident that the English Church contained two parties, the views of which differed on many essential points. One party, which held what are called **Puritan** or Calvinistic views, repudiated the view that there was any continuity between the English Church as it then existed and the English Church before the Reformation. To emphasise the break which they asserted existed between the Church before and after the Reformation, they relied upon the Bible as containing everything necessary to salvation. The **Anglican** party, on the other hand, insisted upon the continuity of the Church, and declared that there had been no break at the Reformation. They vigorously upheld the continuity of the Episcopal succession, attached great importance to the Sacraments and to Church history, and found in stained windows

and music valuable accessories to Church services. While the Puritans set a high value on preaching, the Anglicans stoutly upheld the Prayer Book and the recognised observances of the festivals of the Church. The famous phrase 'No Bishop, no King,' expressed the view of the Anglican party as to the necessary connection between monarchy and episcopacy.

Charles and Laud.—When Charles I. became king, he at once adopted the Anglican position, and in Laud found one whose policy of religious conformity was in full agreement with his own views. Popular feeling, however, had by no means forgotten the Gunpowder Plot, and owing to the early successes of the Emperor and the King of Spain in the Thirty Years' War, the religious fears of the Puritans were naturally aroused, and these fears were intensified by the king's marriage, by his open and vigorous support of Montagu and Laud, and by his attitude in Edinburgh.

Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1633.—Moreover, in 1633, when Laud became Archbishop, their resentment at his energetic Church policy soon showed itself. William Laud was the son of a clothier at Reading, and was born on October 7, 1573. He was educated at Reading School and at St. John's College, Oxford. He was successively a commoner, a scholar, and a Fellow of his College, and after a few years' absence from Oxford became, in 1611, President of his College. From this time his rise was rapid. In 1616 the king, whose chaplain he had been since 1611, gave him the deanery of Gloucester, and in 1621 he was elected to the bishopric of St. David's. He now became the friend of Buckingham and remained so till the latter's death. On the accession of Charles I. Laud's influence had rapidly increased. He supported Montagu, and was promoted to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. In July 1628, a month before the death of Buckingham, in whom he lost a true friend, he became Bishop of London, and during the ensuing five years carried out many useful reforms in the

University of Oxford, of which university he became Chancellor in 1630. By his activity in Oxford and in his diocese of London, where he insisted upon uniformity, he indicated the policy which he followed when, in 1633, on the death of Abbot, he became Archbishop of Canterbury. At the time of his elevation to the See of Canterbury the condition of the English Church undoubtedly warranted reforms. Much slackness no doubt prevailed among the clergy, the communion table was often found in the centre of the churches instead of being at the east end, the forms of prayer as arranged in the Prayer Book were often disregarded, the ceremonies of the Church ignored, the wearing of the surplice was neglected. All this was changed by the active Archbishop, who rapidly brought order into the churches, and insisted upon conformity. Unfortunately the effect of his work was in part marred by the open attempts of the queen to further the growth of Roman Catholicism in the country. The fears of Pym and his friends who were ever on the watch for Romanist intrigues, found justification in the activity and intrigues of Panzani, Conn, and Rossetti, the Papal agents at the English Court.[1] Though those intrigues were forcibly checked by Laud, the opinion gained ground, **though there was no foundation whatever for it,** that the Archbishop himself was not hostile to Romish practices or doctrines. It is impossible to ignore the widespread effects of the queen's unfortunate advocacy of Roman doctrines upon the history of the reign. The English people naturally did not realise that on certain vital questions Laud and his supporters wholly differed from the Roman Catholics. Such questions were (1) the Infallibility of the Pope and the

[1] It is true that the Pope at first thought there was a movement in England favourable to reconciliation with Rome, and consequently he offered Laud a Cardinal's Hat. But Laud *never* had any intention of joining the Roman Church.

Papal Supremacy; (2) the absolute infallibility of Tradition; (3) the equal sacredness of the Seven Sacraments; (4) the system of Indulgences; (5) the Adoration of Saints; and (6) the existence of Purgatory.

Laud a strong opponent of Papacy.—As a matter of fact, throughout the whole of his career, Laud was unceasing in his efforts to win back English converts from Romanism. He regarded the difference between England and Rome as nothing less than the difference between liberty and bondage, and through his influence at least twenty-two persons were 'recalled from Rome.' He had ample justification for saying, 'let any Clergyman of England come forth and give a better account of his zeal for the present Church.'

The politico-religious position of the Laudian party.—The position, however, taken up by Laud and those who held similar opinions, was often misrepresented and misunderstood. The Laudian party, which never had any intention of making terms with the Papacy, took as their political and religious standpoint the system of the early Christian Church which they considered to be akin to their own. They wished to unite Christianity in one Church—without the Pope—to enforce the subordination of the people to the clergy, of the clergy to their superiors, of all to the king.

Further, in addition to emphasising the necessity of outward conformity, the Laudian party desired that the importance of the Ecclesiastical Courts should be revived, and that ecclesiastics should hold government offices. Thus William Juxon, Bishop of London, became Treasurer in 1635. Charles undoubtedly had a difficult part to play, his wife being a Roman Catholic and his sympathies being strongly in favour of outward conformity and the Laudian policy.

Wentworth's Irish Administration, 1633-1639.—The year 1633 not only marked the definite attempt of Charles and

Laud to enforce outward conformity, and to restore order in the English Church: it also saw the beginning of Wentworth's famous administration in Ireland. In that year Wentworth arrived in Ireland, and till 1639 was busily engaged in carrying out his system of '**Thorough.**' That implied the establishment of the royal authority, the strengthening of the English Colony, and the conversion of Ireland into a source of strength to the monarchy. His immediate predecessors in the office of Deputy were Oliver St. John (1615-1622), who carried on Chichester's plantation policy, and Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland (1622-1629), who in order to raise money made certain concessions known as the 'Graces,' which were intended to secure the possession of their lands to all who had held them for sixty years. But he had difficulties with the Irish Parliament on the question of a grant of money, and with the Council over the question of a new plantation in Wicklow. After Falkland's recall Ireland remained without a Lord Deputy till the appointment of Wentworth, whose first efforts were directed towards the raising of money. Without money he could not hope to raise and maintain an efficient army which would support the royal prerogative. The ultimate aim of Wentworth's policy was to make the royal power absolute and independent of Parliamentary grants.

The Plantation of Connaught and alienation of London.—In the latter half of 1634 Wentworth had obtained a large sum of money from the Irish Parliament, and in 1635 he took steps to form Connaught into a plantation. In order to effect his purpose he made a most shameless attack upon the Connaught proprietors whose titles to the land he attempted to set aside. While he was irritating and alarming the Connaught proprietors, Charles **alienated the City of London, which** had received the County of Londonderry from James I., by insisting through the Star Chamber upon the

forfeiture of their possessions and upon the payment of a heavy fine.[1]

All Classes alarmed.—The policy of Charles and Wentworth had thus, in 1634 and 1635, alarmed and alienated every class and creed in Ireland. The mere promise of redress of grievances failed to conciliate the Irish Parliament, which was composed of Protestants; the native Irish feared that they would be expelled from their last retreat in Connaught; and the condemnation of **Lord Mountnorris**, an Irish official and a landowner, for malversation, alienated and alarmed the ruling classes.

Wentworth's Religious Policy.—In matters of religion Wentworth acted more cautiously, but by attempting to carry out the Laudian policy in Ireland he alienated the Presbyterians in Ulster (many of whom fled to Scotland and increased the hostility in that country to Charles), the Roman Catholics, and many Protestants. Nevertheless, under Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh, Bedell, the Bishop of Kilmore, and Bramhall, Wentworth's own chaplain, religion in Ireland received a considerable impetus. Under Wentworth the Protestant Church was to a great extent reorganised, discipline was improved, and decorum insisted upon.

Summary of Wentworth's Policy.—The system of **Thorough** was for a time successfully set up, but at the expense of 'the feelings and rights of every class and creed.' Had Wentworth remained in Ireland for twenty more years his iron will and his real desire to benefit the country might have contributed to effect some satisfactory *modus vivendi* among the different religious creeds in Ireland.

As it was, during the later years of his rule Ireland prospered and Irish administration was vastly improved. Honesty and thrift were introduced into the public service, jobbery was

[1] This treatment of London probably accounts for the bitter hostility of the City to Charles I. and Strafford. R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. i. p. 254.

put down, piracy was suppressed, the linen industry was fostered. When Wentworth left Ireland the country seemed prosperous and contented, and the policy of 'Thorough' fully established. He arrived in England in 1640 to find Charles I. involved in serious difficulties with both **his English and Scottish subjects.**

Summary of Laud's Reforms, 1633-1640.—The difficulties in **England** were partly of a **religious**, partly of a **financial** character. The appointment of Laud to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633 had been followed by vigorous attempts on his part to carry out a policy of 'Thorough' in ecclesiastical matters (see p. 70). He insisted on greater care being observed by the bishops in the ordination of clergymen; he insisted on the removal of the communion tables to the east end of the churches; he favoured the retention and restoration of painted windows; he supported the republication of James I.'s *Declaration of Sports*, and he punished those of the Puritan clergy who refused to read it from their pulpits. He carried out, moreover, a strict visitation in the province of Canterbury, insisting not only on the removal of the communion table to the east end, but also on the regular wearing of the surplice, and on the observance of various ceremonies which hitherto had often been disregarded. Conformity was as far as possible rigorously enforced, and attempts were made to carry out the same policy in the English colonies.

Faults of Laud's Policy.—Laud's ecclesiastical policy, admirable though it was in many respects, was inelastic, and took no account of the political situation or of the reasons which had driven many Englishmen to adopt a somewhat rigid Puritanism. As has been said, he took no account of the fact that 'the theological passions stirred by the reformation were still full of life';[1] he apparently did not realise that

[1] Montague, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 189.

the Thirty Years' War, then in full progress, had reawakened in men's minds the fears which had been in full force at the time of the Spanish Armada, and that those fears were strongest among the middle and artisan classes in England.

The rites which Laud insisted upon reviving, and the doctrines which he wished to be enforced, were consequently regarded as savouring of idolatry, while he himself was (quite unjustifiably) supposed to be in partial sympathy with the Papacy.

In spite of his well-meant activity in religious matters, and of his whole-hearted zeal for the advancement of true religion, Laud never understood or appreciated the true state of public opinion. Somewhat narrow-minded and lacking in imagination, Laud showed throughout his career a want of statesmanship which contributed to bring about the overthrow of the monarchy of Charles I.

Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, 1637.—Between 1633 and 1639 the system of 'Thorough' was exemplified in England in various ways, and all opposition to the financial and religious policy of the Government was severely dealt with. In 1637 the Star Chamber punished Prynne, a barrister, Burton, a clergyman, and Bastwick, a physician, for writing against the ceremonies, the adoption of which Laud had prescribed. All three were regarded as popular martyrs, and the system of 'Thorough' was bitterly criticised.

Ship Money.—In 1637 also occurred the famous trial of **John Hampden** for resisting the financial policy of the Government. In 1634 by the advice of Noy, the Attorney-General, writs for the collection of **Ship Money** had been issued to the seaport towns, in order to provide means for suppressing piracy in the Channel.

In 1635, Noy having meanwhile died, a second series of writs were issued, this time to inland as well as to seaport towns. In 1636 a *third* series of writs were issued. By this

time popular feeling had become aroused. England was not engaged in war, and in accordance with constitutional principles Parliament ought to have been consulted before ship money was levied. The refusal of **John Hampden**, a Buckinghamshire squire, to pay at once raised the question of the legality of the levy. In December 1637 he was tried before the Court of Exchequer, and his plea that no taxes were legal which had not been granted by Parliament was overruled.

Of the twelve judges who tried the case, seven decided against Hampden, and their decision seemed to presage the end of Parliamentary government in England.

Failure of the Royal Policy in Scotland.—Though in England and Ireland the policy of 'Thorough' seemed to have triumphed, in **Scotland** the policy of Charles and of Laud received a crushing blow. There the nobles, alienated by Charles's endeavours to secure adequate endowments for the Scottish clergy at the expense of lay estates, as well as by the royal desire to give the bishops political offices in the Scottish Parliament, threw in their lot with the Presbyterians.

The New Liturgy in Scotland.—The train was thus laid, and it only required a match to light it. In July 1637 the **New Liturgy**, the issue of which Laud had approved of in 1636, was read in St. Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh, and a riot ensued. Its consequences were momentous. Presbyterianism triumphed, and a body of ten Commissioners, known as **The Tables**, was set up, while in 1638 the **National Covenant**, pledging the Scots to resist Popery and innovations, was largely signed. Events now followed in rapid succession. In November 1638 an Assembly met at Glasgow and definitely abolished Episcopacy in Scotland, and the Liturgy.

The First Bishops' War, 1639.—Charles showed no signs of yielding, and with the advice of Wentworth, who was still in Ireland, prepared for war. But he had no money, and the

royal force, with difficulty collected, was undisciplined and obviously no match for the Scottish forces. Accordingly at **Berwick**, in June 1639, Charles agreed to make terms, and promised to the Scots a General Assembly and a Parliament.

The Short Parliament, 1640.—In August the Scottish Parliament demanded the abolition of Episcopacy and the right to veto the king's appointments of commanders to the royal castles. Wentworth, who was now recalled from Ireland and created **Earl of Strafford**, advised Charles to summon the **Short Parliament**, which met on April 13, 1640. The depth of the discontent of Charles's English subjects was at once revealed. The Parliament insisted upon discussing the grievances of the last eleven years, and **Pym** declared that the Parliament was 'to the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul are to man.' Without a redress of grievances Charles found that he could not obtain any grant of money, and on May 5 dissolved the Parliament.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.—Without large reinforcements the king was helpless in face of the powerful Scottish army. Foreign aid could not be obtained, and it was impossible to adopt Strafford's advice and establish a personal dictatorship by means of the army in Ireland. Moreover, Strafford fell ill, and in August 1640 the Scottish army crossed the Tweed and, after an engagement with the royal forces at **Newburn**, passed the Tyne and entered Durham and Yorkshire. To York Charles summoned a **Magnum Concilium**, or Great Council of Peers, and they advised him to summon a Parliament.

The Treaty of Ripon, 1640.—Realising his helplessness Charles agreed to the **Treaty of Ripon** with the Scots, and to pay them £800 a day as long as they remained in England. The only course now remaining for him was to summon Parliament without delay, and on **November 3, 1640, the famous Long Parliament** assembled.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Punishment of Leighton (June)	1630
Treaty of Madrid with Spain (November)	,,
Secret Treaty of Charles with Spain for the Partition of the Netherlands (January)	1631
Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore	1632
Death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen	,,
Inquisition into the Boundaries of the Forests	1633
Wentworth Lord Deputy in Ireland	,,
City of London fined for alleged mismanagement of its Ulster Lands	,,
Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury	,,
Weston created Earl of Portland	,,
Wentworth raises an army in Ireland and introduces the cultivation of flax	1634
Ship Money levied on Maritime Counties	,,
Ship Money levied on Inland Counties	1635
Wentworth confiscates Land in Connaught	,,
Death of Portland (Weston), (March)	,,
The Third Writ of Ship Money	1636
Issue of the Canons and Prayer Book in Scotland	,,
Trial of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton	1637
Hampden's Case	,,
Riots in Edinburgh against the Prayer Book	,,
The Tables set up	1638
The National Covenant	,,
First Bishops' War	1639
The Short Parliament	1640
Second Bishops' War	,,
Treaty of Ripon	,,

Period III.—1640-1642.

The Long Parliament to the opening of the First Civil War.

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Meeting of the Long Parliament—Its First Acts—Trial and Death of Strafford—The First Army Plot—The Religious Question—Laud's Imprisonment—Falkland—Attack on Episcopacy—The Root and Branch Bill—The Second Army Plot—Charles in Scotland—Reaction in England—The Grand Remonstrance—Attempted Arrest of the Five Members.

CHIEF NAMES.

Laud—Strafford—Pym—Falkland—Culpepper—Argyll—Hamilton.

The Meeting of the Long Parliament.—A momentous period of British history falls between the meeting of the Long Parliament in November 1640 and the restoration of Charles II. in May 1660. A constitutional historian has observed that while to the ordinary observer the England of 1660 differed little from the England of 1640, in reality a momentous revolution had taken place which was marked by the permanent abolition of the extra-judicial powers of the Privy Council. In other words, the disappearance of the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Court of the North, and the Court of Wales—all limbs of the Privy Council—left the monarchy in 1660 in more or less its modern form.

In 1640 the extraordinary judicial powers allowed to the Privy Council and its offshoots had become an anachronism, and it was apparent to the leaders of the opposition to the

king that the dictatorship wielded by the Tudor monarchs was no longer necessary.

Laud and the Religious Question. — Moreover, it was generally acknowledged that the share taken in politics by ecclesiastics such as Laud and Juxon should be checked; and the conviction was brought home to the mass of the nation by the extraordinary and, at times, somewhat ill-timed activity shown by Laud after his elevation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633. Like the famous Emperor Joseph II. who died in 1790 Laud had endeavoured in a few years to carry out extensive reforms—necessary, no doubt, but which should have been effected gradually and with discretion. As it was, his reforms appeared to many Englishmen, lawyers as well as ecclesiastics, to amount to almost a revolution. Doubtless there was much exaggeration in the accounts given of his many admirable and necessary reforms, but it is quite clear that he did not realise the alarm which his policy would create.

Owing to the continuance and ferocity of the great Thirty Years' War on the Continent, and to the exaggerated reports of the increasing influence of Henrietta Maria's Roman Catholic advisers, Englishmen somewhat naturally took alarm at Laud's reforms, which, they were assured, tended to a reconciliation with the Papacy. It is only during the last century that historians have brought out clearly and conclusively the real nature of Laud's aims, and the fact that in him the Papacy had an able, energetic, and irreconcilable foe.

Owing, however, to the unpopularity of the Archbishop's thoroughgoing but necessary reforms, and to the groundless suspicions with regard to his religious views, the distrust and dislike of Laud in 1640 was almost as deep as the fear and hatred of Strafford.

That the Long Parliament was able to secure the execution of Strafford and the imprisonment of Laud was due not only

to the deep distrust felt with regard to the Earl as well as to the Archbishop, but also to the presence of the Scottish army in the North of England. Till September 1641 — that is, during the whole of its famous first session—the Parliament could rely on the support, if required, of the Scottish army.

The First Acts of the Long Parliament.—The Assembly, known as the Long Parliament, met at Westminster on November 3, 1641; two days later Lenthall was elected Speaker, and on November 11 Strafford was imprisoned, and on the 25th lodged in the Tower. Thus before it had sat a month the House of Commons gained an important advantage over the king by depriving him of his ablest adviser. Strafford had realised the necessity of immediate action on the part of the Government, and had advised Charles to seize Pym and other leaders of the Commons and to accuse them of treason, on the ground of their correspondence with the Scots. While Charles hesitated to take action, Pym hastened to accuse Strafford of high treason, and at his request the House of Lords committed the Earl to prison. In the eyes of the members of the House of Commons an important step had been taken in the cause of freedom.

Equally determined was the majority of the members to strike a blow in defence of the Protestant religion, which in their opinion was endangered not only by the intrigue of Henrietta Maria and her advisers, but also by Laud and many of the bishops. On December 10 the relaxation of the penal laws was so fiercely attacked in the House of Commons that Secretary Windebank, who had been in close touch with the Roman Catholics, fled to the Continent. A week later, on December 18, Laud was committed to prison on a charge of high treason, and on March 1 was sent to the Tower.

Simultaneously with these acts an investigation and an undoing of various grievances took place. Prynne, Bastwick, Lilburne, Leighton, and Burton were released from prison. On

January 15, 1641, the judges were, by the royal decree, made independent by the concession that henceforward they should hold their offices *quamdiu se bene gesserint* (during good behaviour), and efforts were made, which resulted in the **Triennial Bill** in February 1641, to secure the holding of regular Parliaments (not more than three years were to elapse without the meeting of Parliament). So resolved were the Commons to discover if the judges in Hampden's case had been subject to undue influence that Lord Keeper Finch, who was impeached on January 14, 1641, fled to Holland.

Trial of Strafford, 1641.—The most important matter of all, however, with which the Commons had to deal, was the trial of Strafford, for the attack on Strafford implied an attack on the methods of government pursued by Charles I. since the dissolution of his third Parliament in 1629. On March 22, 1641, Strafford's trial began in the House of Lords, the Commons acting as his accusers. He was accused of wishing to bring an Irish army into England, in order to crush all opposition to the king. This charge could not be proved, and Strafford's defence was so masterly, that on April 10, when the House of Lords rose, his acquittal seemed probable. A few days later, on April 21, the Commons decided to drop the impeachment and to proceed by a Bill of Attainder.

The House of Lords was at first indignant at the change of attitude on the part of the Commons, but various circumstances contributed to appease their irritation and to bring about Strafford's condemnation and death.

The First Army Plot, March 1641.—Of these circumstances the discovery by Pym and the other leaders in the House of Commons of an Army Plot, was of the greatest importance. This plot was organised by Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, and was complicated by a project of Sir John Suckling. The latter, who was supported by Henrietta Maria, wished that Young, the Governor of Ports-

mouth, and the Earl of Newcastle should have the chief command. Percy, however, was opposed to these appointments, and thereupon Young, who was an ambitious, unscrupulous soldier, on April 1 revealed the plot to Pym, who on May 5 informed Parliament in order to get its assent to agree to the attainder of Strafford.

Execution of Strafford.—Undoubtedly, Charles's own conduct at this critical time was unfortunate, and contributed to make Strafford's condemnation certain. He intervened with Parliament while the Bill of Attainder was under discussion ; and he endeavoured, without success, to introduce an armed force into the Tower. Moreover, the fact that at one time he was thinking of taking command of the army in Yorkshire, at another of dissolving the Parliament and rallying a trusty army round him at Portsmouth, was well known to the Parliament, and contributed to the general unrest in London, and to the appearance of a mob at Westminster demanding Strafford's head. On May 8, the Bill of Attainder was accepted by the House of Lords by 26 votes to 19, and **a Bill forbidding the dissolution of Parliament** without its own consent was passed at the same time. His signature to the Bill of Attainder was reluctantly given by Charles, who excused his action (for which he afterwards never forgave himself) on account of the present danger to 'his wife, children, and all his kingdom.' On May 12 Strafford was executed. Charles's agreement to the Bill, placing in the hands of Parliament the power of dissolution, if not so reprehensible, proved no less a blunder.

In assenting to the execution of Strafford, and in agreeing to the Bill enabling Parliament to avoid a dissolution, Charles made two grievous mistakes. Just before his own execution in 1649, he spoke of the unjust sentence that he had suffered to take effect. His mistake in assenting to the act prohibiting him from dissolving the Long Parliament,

was forcibly brought home to him before the year had closed.

After Strafford's Execution (May-Sept.).—The Parliament had won a signal victory in its struggle with the king, and during the ensuing four months it carried out a number of necessary reforms. On June 8, the Star Chamber (*i.e.* the Criminal Jurisdiction of the Privy Council), the High Commission Court, the Councils of Wales and the North were all abolished. Thus the extraordinary judicial methods practised with such advantage to the nation by the Tudors came to an end, and the common law reigned supreme. Other acts declared ship money and the distraint of knighthood illegal, annulled the extension of the forests, while at the same time (June 23) tunnage and poundage was only granted till July 15.

The Nation satisfied.—The restraints upon the executive power which had now been imposed brought the constitution into a somewhat modern form. The Cabinet certainly did not yet exist, but it was evident that henceforth Charles would not be able to select ministers who had not the approval of Parliament. The majority of the nation was satisfied with the drastic reforms which had been carried out, and the general situation was in some respects not unlike that of France in 1791, at the time of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. In the case of both nations the majority of the people was prepared for a period of rest, but in both cases the action of a comparatively few determined but intolerant men destroyed all hopes of a peaceful settlement.

The Religious Question.—In England in 1641, as in France in 1791, one of the chief obstacles to a peaceful settlement was caused by the treatment of the Church by the popular party.

Unfortunately for the prospects of peace the majority of the

Commons was moved by feelings of bitter hostility to the system of Church government. They, moreover, were actuated by feelings of blind and short-sighted prejudice against Laud's reforms. Ignorant of history, and alarmed at the successes on the Continent of the Roman Catholics in the early part of the Thirty Years' War, many Englishmen preferred a Calvinistic to an Anglican form of worship as being more radically opposed to Roman forms and ceremonies.

Many circumstances had concurred to rouse among the extreme Puritans a feeling of suspicion, while many moderate Churchmen viewed with alarm the rapid and sweeping reforms which Laud had carried out. The failure of his scheme for uniting the Church in the three kingdoms was now clearly apparent. The conception of a united Anglican Church standing in firm opposition to that of Rome was in advance of the times, and did not take sufficiently into account the prejudices of the time. Nevertheless the ideal was a great one.

The Effect of the Canons of 1640.—An immediate cause of irritation against Laud was to be found in the action of the Convocation of Canterbury, which in 1640 had not only granted Charles liberal supplies of money, but had also declared in favour of the divine right of kings and against the right of subjects to bear arms against their rulers. Such action on the part of Convocation at such a time enraged not only the extreme Parliamentarians but also many moderate men, and accounts for the fierceness and unanimity which characterised the attack upon Laud.

Groundless Suspicions of Laud.—Somewhat naturally the Papal intrigues in England, which were countenanced by the queen, increased the alarm felt by English Churchmen. Panzani, Conn, and Rossetti were well-known Papal agents at the English court, and no doubt exaggerated their successes in winning over English converts to Rome, and the possibility of reunion. But 'neither the archbishop nor the king,' in the

words of Mr. S. R. Gardiner, 'was likely to listen seriously to such a scheme.'[1]

Nevertheless in days when rumours—mostly inaccurate—had effects out of proportion to their real value, it was but natural that Puritan suspicions should be aroused, though these suspicions should have been finally abandoned after the trial of Laud when their valuelessness was made apparent.

Feeling against Laud undoubtedly ran high, especially in London, where a petition against him was signed by fifteen thousand people. From a perusal of the twenty-eight articles which formed the petition it is evident that there was a general fear of any attempt at reunion with Rome. Though many of the articles related to imaginary dangers, it is evident from them and from the speeches of many moderate men in Parliament that the close connection of many bishops with politics was unpopular. This is clear from the speech on Church government delivered on February 8, 1641, by Lord Falkland.

Falkland.—That interesting and high-minded peer—Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland—was born at Burford, in Oxfordshire, about the year 1610. At Great Tew, situated a few miles from Oxford, he spent about seven years previous to the reassembling of the Long Parliament. There he devoted himself to study, and his house became the rendezvous of learned men, of whom Chillingworth was one. Falkland's 'learning, wit, and judgment,' together with his magnificent generosity and hospitality, made him deservedly popular.

He had, says Lord Clarendon, 'such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in anything, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing.' In 1639, owing to the troubles with Scotland, he felt compelled to relinquish the enjoyment of his literary labours and served under the Earl of Essex in the First Bishops' War. In 1640 he became member

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 130.

for Newport in the Isle of Wight in the Short Parliament. On the meeting of the Long Parliament he took a prominent part in the debates upon the conduct of Strafford and Finch, and spoke vigorously against the levying of ship money.

In the debate on February 8, 1641, upon Episcopal government, it was manifest that he shared the popular ignorance of the day with regard to the position of the English Episcopacy, and to the—imaginary—Roman tendency of many of the bishops.

Unlike Clarendon, and the many members of even the House of Commons as it was then composed, Falkland did not regard Episcopacy as of Divine origin, or as being an essential feature of the English Church. The balancing attitude which he and others adopted contributed in no small degree to the temporary 'demolition' of Episcopacy in England.

Falkland's fears groundless.—It is evident that there was no real ground whatever for the accusation which was repeated time after time that Laud desired a reunion with Rome. In his writings, as well as in his dealings with individuals, 'Laud had showed himself a decided foe to the Roman claims.'[1] The difference between England and Rome was to him the difference between liberty and bondage. Constant had been his efforts to reclaim English converts from Roman Catholicism, and he drew up a list of twenty-two persons, including the famous Chillingworth, the author of the *Religion of Protestants* —a defence of the Protestant position—whom by his efforts he had 'recalled from Rome.'

Laud's Imprisonment.—Meanwhile Laud was living in the house and custody of Maxwell, the Black Rod. On February 26, 1641, he was taken to the bar of the Lords to hear the fourteen articles which the Commons brought up against him. These articles contained many and various

[1] Hutton, *William Laud*, p. 159.

accusations of a general nature—such as the perversion of justice, the taking of bribes, the publication of the Canons, the support of Popish superstition and idolatry, friendship with Jesuits, and other equally groundless charges. As Laud declared at the time, such general charges were worthless. His defence with regard to each article was of no avail, and on March 1, 1641, he was taken to the Tower, there to remain for three years before he was brought to trial.

Attack on Episcopacy.—On March 11, the Commons brought in a Bill for the abolition of the legislative and judicial power of the bishops in the House of Lords, and it received a favourable reception. In the debate, Hyde (Clarendon) spoke against, Falkland for the Bill, the former arguing that the Bishops had a right to vote as the third estate of the realm, and that the proposed change was a change in the Constitution of the Kingdom and of Parliament. On May 1, the Bill having passed the Commons, was sent up to the Lords, who after a conference with the Lower House on May 27, rejected the measure on June 7.

General Position in the Summer of 1641.—In checking the king's arbitrary power, in abolishing the Court of Star Chamber, the High Commission Courts and their offshoots, and in bringing about the fall of Strafford, parties had been practically unanimous. But the policy of an ill-informed but fierce minority destroyed all chance of a satisfactory settlement of the issues between the king and Parliament, and led to the rise of a royal party, and to the dispute which eventuated in civil war.

The attack upon and imprisonment of Laud, in December 1640, was in the prevalent state of political feeling intelligible, but though no further action with regard to him was taken, the extremists persisted in continuing their attacks upon the Church.

The Root and Branch Bill.—A Bill introduced on May 27,

by Sir Edward Dering and supported by Oliver Cromwell, for the abolition of Episcopal government, caused violent disputes. In these discussions it became evident that men like Hyde (Lord Clarendon), Falkland, and Culpepper, stood in sharp contrast to the majority, many of whom like Oliver Cromwell and the younger Vane wished to abolish Episcopal government. The second reading of the Bill was only carried by a small majority, and had not passed the final stages when Parliament adjourned.

In the House of Lords many discussions on the question of Church government took place, but no change was made in the legal position of the bishops. Though the Commons had been unable before September to carry out their religious policy to the fullest extent, they had done sufficient to rouse in the country a strong opposition to their actions. For on September 1 they had resolved to replace all the communion tables in the middle of the churches, to remove all pictures and whatsoever was in their opinion unsuitable for churches, and to enforce the strict observance of Sunday. Reparation was granted to deprived ministers if their views coincided with those of the dominant majority in the Commons. Parliament had thus arrogated to itself the position of 'direct ruler in the Church as well as in the State,' and had entered upon a policy of 'reprisals.'

The Second Army Plot.—Had Charles possessed statesmanlike views, he had a magnificent opportunity after the death of Strafford of forming a strong monarchical party. But between the end of May and the beginning of September, the queen took part in what is known as the **Second Army Plot**, which aimed at bringing the English army from the North of England to London to overawe the Parliament. But the English generals refused to move, and Daniel O'Neill, an officer who had sounded the generals, fled to the Continent.

The result of this plot was that the general distrust of the

king became stronger, and Pym felt impelled to bring forward, on June 24, ten propositions which were accepted by the Lords. These propositions included the banishment of Roman Catholic priests and recusants from Court, the prohibition of entry into Great Britain by a Papal envoy, the removal of evil counsellors, the placing of the militia in safe hands. They included also a wish that Charles should defer his proposed journey to Scotland, and that the Lords should unite with the Commons in furthering the latter's objects. Charles accepted most of these propositions, and in his anxiety to set out for Scotland made no opposition to a disgraceful attack by the Commons upon twelve bishops for enacting certain canons, upon the Bishop of Norwich for acting severely against the Puritans, and upon Judge Berkeley and five other judges, all of whom had pronounced in favour of ship money.

Charles's journey to Scotland.—On August 10, Charles, followed a little latter by certain Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to watch his actions, set out for Scotland. By this time the Scottish army, which had received the money agreed to by the Treaty of Ripon, had retired, and by means of tact and moderation Charles might have won over to his side a considerable party in Scotland.

Reaction in England.—A wise policy at this moment was all the more important, for in England a reaction in favour of the king was in progress. Parliament adjourned on September 9, and the feeling of relief was considerable. The taxes under the rule of the Long Parliament were heavy, the interference of the Puritans with regard to Church observances and to the amusements of the people was most unpopular. Deep in the hearts of the majority of Englishmen was a profound belief in and love for the monarchy, as well as a conviction that as 'individual liberties and parliamentary rights' had been secured, there was no reason to curtail any further the royal power.

Had Charles taken advantage of the state of feeling and of parties in Scotland, and of the reaction in England, and had acted wisely, the Civil War might have been averted.

Charles in Scotland.—Charles's visit to Scotland had for its chief objects the encouragement of the growth of an Episcopalian party, the pacification of the Scots, and the discovery of the negotiations between the Parliamentary leaders and the Scottish army. Though the good effects of his visit were somewhat marred by the 'Incident'—a plot to seize Argyll, Hamilton, and Lanark, the popular leaders—he strengthened the Royalist sympathies of Edinburgh, but on his return to England found the reaction in his favour checked.

The Irish Rebellion of 1641.—On the reassembling of Parliament, however, on October 20 (after its adjournment on September 9), and before Charles's return, the news arrived of the outbreak of **rebellion in Ireland**, followed by a series of terrible massacres. The Roman Catholics had risen and slaughtered many of the English and Protestant settlers under circumstances of extraordinary barbarity.

The Grand Remonstrance, November 1641.—Pym at once determined to take advantage of the religious feelings aroused in England, and by its means to establish further checks upon the king's power. He and his colleagues at once sent an ultimatum to Charles, who was still in Scotland, to demand (1) the appointment of Ministers agreeable to Parliament; and (2) the despatch of an army to Ireland. Further, they drew up the Grand Remonstrance, which enumerated all their religious and political grievances. Moreover, in this document it was proposed that Parliament should settle all Church questions by means of a Synod consisting of English and foreign divines. The **Grand Remonstrance** was carried in the House of Commons, on the morning of November 23, by a narrow majority.

Charles's Opportunity.—In spite of the intemperate character of a portion of the Grand Remonstrance, Charles made a discreet reply, declaring that he would support the existing system of Church and State. He thus secured the support of men of moderate opinion, and retained his influence among large classes of his subjects.

The attempted Arrest of the Five Members, 1641-1642.—Unfortunately Charles ruined all chance of a peaceful settlement of the existing difficulties by a series of ill-advised acts. He removed the guard of the House of Commons, and he appointed Lunsford, a notorious bravo, to the command of the Tower (December 21), though in deference to the outcry he dismissed him. In supporting the action of twelve bishops who refused, owing to the attitude of the mob, to attend the House of Lords, Charles irritated the peers, while on January 3, 1642, though it was illegal to impeach a peer, Charles impeached one peer and five members of the House of Commons. What was worse, on finding that the impeachment was not likely to be successful, he attempted to arrest the five members—Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig, and Strode—in the House itself.

The result of these unfortunate actions was to unite the two Houses against him, and to arouse a strong feeling in London in favour of the Parliament, which showed itself in the calling out of the city trained bands. Charles had by his irreparable blunders put himself in the wrong, and when he left London on January 10, 1642, for Hampton Court, the cause of royalty had received a shock from which it did not recover during his lifetime.

The Queen leaves England, 1642.—After Charles's departure for Hampton Court on January 10, with the queen, the Prince of Wales, and his other children, the House of Commons became anxious to recover possession of the prince, who, on the king's visit to Scotland, had been placed under the care

of the Marquis of Hertford, who as yet adhered to the Parliament. Till February 28, when the king finally asserted his right to have his son in his hands, Parliament made continuous efforts to secure the person of the prince. The queen, with her daughter, the Princess of Orange, had sailed from Dover to the Continent on February 23, and from that moment Charles adopted a spirited attitude towards the Long Parliament. The attempted arrest of the five members by the king had thus been answered by an attempt, equally indefensible, on the part of the Parliament to secure the person of the young prince. From that time Lord Hertford withdrew himself from co-operation with the popular party, and joined that of the king.

The imminence of War.—War was now an almost assured fact, and the Parliament, by issuing the Militia Ordinance to place in its hands 'the ordering of the militia of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales,' by issuing an ordinance for the appointment of Lords-lieutenant of all the English and Welsh counties, and by demanding to have the Tower and other forts placed in its hands, showed that it was resolved to be fully prepared for all eventualities. The king had in February refused to sanction the Militia Ordinance; and the encroachment of Parliament on the prerogative of the Crown in this matter seems to have finally decided Lord Hertford and a few other peers to issue a protest, and early in April to join the king at York.[1]

[1] The other peers who joined in the protest were Lords Bath, Berks, Capel, Cleveland, Coventry, De Grey, Devon, Dover, Howard de Charleton, Monmouth, Mowbray, Portland, Savile, Seymour, Strange, Wentworth, Westmoreland.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Meeting of *the Long Parliament* (Nov.)	1640
Impeachment of Strafford and Laud	,,
Triennial Act (Feb.)	1641
Laud in the Tower (March 1)	,,
First Army Plot (March)	,,
Execution of Strafford (May 12)	,,
Root and Branch Bill introduced (May 27)	,,
Second Army Plot (May, Sept.)	,,
Abolition of the Star Chamber, the Council of the North, the High Commission Court, etc. (July)	,,
The English and Scottish Armies are disbanded (Aug.)	,,
Journey of the King to Scotland (Aug.)	,,
Recess of Parliament (Sept. 9, Oct. 20)	,,
Rebellion in Ireland (Sept.)	,,
Grand Remonstrance (Nov. 22)	,,
Attack on the Bishops (Dec.)	,,
The King's Attempted Arrest of the Five Members (Jan. 3)	1642
Charles leaves London (Jan. 10)	,,
The Queen goes to Holland (Feb. 23)	,,
Parliament issues the Militia Ordinance (April)	,,
Hertford and other Peers join the King at York (April)	,,
The Nineteen Propositions (June 2)	,,
The King raises his Standard at Nottingham. Beginning of the Civil War or Great Rebellion (Aug. 22)	,,

Period IV.

The Great Rebellion, 1642-1649.

Part 1—1642-1643.

The Opening Years of the First Civil War.

Contents.

Outbreak of War—Siege of Manchester—Edgehill—Turnham Green and Brentford—Newcastle in the North—The Queen's return—Waller's Plot—Chalgrove Field—Hampden's Death—Capell in Cheshire and Salop—Lansdown—Roundway Down—Capture of Bristol—Essex relieves Gloucester—First Battle of Newbury—Death of Falkland—Winceby—The Cessation—The Parliament allies with the Scots—The Solemn League and Covenant—Death of Pym—The Situation at the end of 1643.

CHIEF NAMES.

Lindsay—Prince Rupert—Prince Maurice—Derby—Hertford—Hampden—Goring—Newcastle—Falkland—Essex—Grenville—Hopton—Clarendon—Waller—Lord Fairfax—Sir Thomas Fairfax—Pym—Cromwell.

The War inevitable.—The actual outbreak of civil war at once raises the questions—Was war necessary, and could it have been avoided? English kings had already been restrained by their subjects in the past. Was it impossible to restrain Charles without destroying the monarchy? And the further question at once arises—Was the extreme Puritan form of religion best suited to the English people? Was it impossible for Episcopacy and Puritanism to come to some understanding and to exist side by side as in the days of Elizabeth? As it was, the nation had to choose between the spiritual tyranny of Charles and the spiritual tyranny of the Parliament. A few years later the Parliament, in order to

1642 to hand over the Tower to the Parliament, found himself unable with his small force of cavalry to hold Oxford against Essex, and therefore retired to Worcester. At **Powick Bridge** on September 23 Prince Rupert routed the advance-guard of the army of Essex, which was following closely on the tracks of Byron's army. In spite of this check Essex continued to advance and occupied Worcester, where he remained about a month.

On hearing that Charles was advancing from Shrewsbury (which he left on October 12) to London Essex met him at **Edgehill** in Warwickshire, and there the **first pitched battle** in the war took place. The Earl of Lindsay was in command of the royal army, but Prince Rupert (who with his brother Maurice (nephews of the king) had arrived in England in September), the General of the Horse, was specially exempted from receiving any orders from any one but the king himself. The battle took place on Tuesday, October 23, and was in many ways a remarkable struggle. The Parliamentarians were drawn up in the plain between the village of Kineton and the heights of Edgehill, along which the Royalists were stationed. Being short of supplies the Royalists had to descend from the hill and begin the struggle. The Royalist cavalry under Rupert numbered 4000 as against the 3000 under Essex, and these were easily routed and driven into Kineton. But while Rupert's horse were pursuing and plundering, the Parliamentary infantry, aided by a body of horse under Sir William Balfour, which were in reserve, gained the advantage. Lord Lindsay, who in consequence of Rupert's attitude had resigned the chief command, died at the head of his regiment; Sir Edward Verney, the standard-bearer, was killed, and at one time the king himself was in imminent danger. Falkland, who had attached himself to Wilmot, commanding the cavalry on the left wing and who also pursued the enemy too far, showed great bravery, and it is said that

had his advice been taken Balfour's horse would have been attacked early in the day.

The day after this indecisive battle Essex, refusing to follow the advice of Hampden, who had arrived during the night with reinforcements of horse and foot to renew the attack, retired to Warwick, and the royal army, under the nominal command of Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth, an old soldier who had seen service with the Swedes, marched to Oxford, taking Banbury with its garrison of 1000 men on his way. From that time **Oxford became the king's headquarters** till June 24, 1646, when it opened its gates to the Parliamentary forces.

Turnham Green and Brentford.—On the advice of Rupert, Charles shortly afterwards advanced to Reading with the intention of marching on London. Both Houses of Parliament, alarmed at his approach, made overtures of peace. While negotiations were in progress an encounter took place at Brentford on November 12, and Rupert having routed two regiments sacked the town. Hampden, however, covered the retreat of the survivors, and the trained bands of London rushed to arms. By the next morning Essex, who had arrived in London, had with him at Turnham Green an army of 24,000, about double the number of the royal troops. Not having sufficient troops to subdue the capital, the king, whose line of retreat was now threatened—3000 men occupying Kingston—retired to Reading, which he garrisoned, and then returned to Oxford, where he spent the winter. Hampden had urged that Charles should be vigorously attacked, but Essex as usual was against fighting, and so the royal army escaped.

Thus in spite of his failure to seize London, Charles's position at the end of 1642 was distinctly promising. He had placed garrisons at Reading, Marlborough, Banbury, and Wallingford; he had recovered Worcester; his communication

Emery Walker sc.

with the west was free. The spring and summer of 1643 saw the Royalist arms on the full tide of success; and had the three royal armies under Charles, Newcastle, and Hopton, who had raised an army in Cornwall, united and marched upon London in August, their success would seem to have been assured.

Newcastle's successes in the North.—In the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, and York, the Earl of Newcastle,[1] an accomplished, popular, but a somewhat shallow man, with great territorial influence, had raised an army of 7000 men. The Earl, who was, however, a brave but not a very capable soldier, played a very leading part during the early years of the Great Rebellion. 'He was,' writes Clarendon, 'a very fine gentleman, active and full of courage, and most accomplished in . . . horsemanship, dancing, and fencing.' Clarendon, after mentioning Newcastle's love of poetry and music, 'in which he indulged the greatest part of his time,' speaks highly of his loyalty and patriotism. 'Nothing,' he says, 'could have tempted him (Newcastle) out of those paths of pleasure . . . but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him and by him.'

Before the end of 1642, the army raised by the Earl had seized the town of Newcastle, relieved York, which was threatened by Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, and had taken Leeds and Wakefield. The importance of holding the town of Newcastle as a great port, and York, the metropolitan see of northern England, could not be overrated.

The two Fairfaxes.—Opposed to the Earl of Newcastle were the two Fairfaxes, the younger of whom (Sir Thomas Fairfax) was later to take such a prominent part in the war.

[1] Created a Marquess in 1643.

Having relieved York, the Earl of Newcastle had defeated Lord Fairfax at Tadcaster, on December 6, 1642, and having seized Pontefract, isolated **Hull, which, however, like Portsmouth, managed to hold out against all the Royalist efforts to effect its capture.** The younger Fairfax (Sir Thomas), however, recovered Leeds on January 23, but Newcastle occupied Newark, and was thus within one hundred miles of the royal centre of Oxford.

Return of the Queen to England, February 1643.—One result of Newcastle's successes was that the intrepid queen was able to land in February 1643 at **Bridlington Quay**, and under Newcastle's escort to enter York. A little later she proceeded to Pontefract and Newark, and on July 13, the date of Waller's defeat on Roundway Down, joined her husband near Kineton, a village close by Edgehill, and proceeded to Oxford on July 14.

The Treaty of Oxford, February-April 1643.—Meanwhile, in February 1643, serious negotiations, known as the **Treaty of Oxford**, had been opened at Oxford between the Parliament and the king. In London there existed a peace party, while many in the House of Lords, led by Northumberland, as well as in the House of Commons, desired to come to terms with the king. The necessary taxation was a severe strain upon many of the supporters of the Parliament, who in consequence advocated the opening of negotiations. With the king were also many like Lord Hertford, one of the king's commissioners in the negotiations, desiring peace. The chief points in the negotiations related to **religion** and the **militia**. The Parliament desired the abolition of Episcopacy and the control of the militia. But Charles would not yield on either point, and made counter-proposals which included the restoration of his revenues, ships, and fortresses, the recall of unlawful acts done by the Houses, and the passing of a bill to preserve the Book of Common Prayer from the

attacks of the sectaries. It is not to be wondered at that in April the negotiations came to an end.

Waller's Plot.—At this time the discovery was made of Royalist intrigues in London for the attainment of peace. These intrigues are usually known as **Waller's Plot**, from the fact that Edmund Waller, the poet and a member of Parliament, was the chief intriguer. Many citizens and some members of Parliament were in favour of admitting the Royalists into the city and effecting a revolution in favour of the king. The plot was discovered in May; Waller's brother-in-law and another were executed, and Waller himself was heavily fined. The results of the discovery of the plot were most important. The spirit of resistance to the king was strengthened; the House of Lords consented to an assembly of divines being held; both Houses made a covenant to continue the struggle 'till the Papists then in arms should have been brought to justice'[1]; and vigorous efforts were made to raise money and to increase the number of men in the field by voluntary enlistment and by the impressment of recruits.

Advance of Essex. Death of Hampden at Chalgrove Field, June 18, 1643.—These negotiations, which had continued from March 4 to April 15, having been broken off, hostilities had been resumed by the Parliamentary forces, Essex advancing at the close of April from London and capturing Reading. Hampden, who again and again had advised measures which, if taken, would have considerably improved the position of the Parliament, now advised a rapid march upon Oxford. But the army was mutinous, its pay having fallen into arrears, and sickness broke out. It was not till June that he was able to advance upon Oxford, fixing his headquarters at Thame. As Charles had by this time been reinforced, and the army of Essex weakened by sickness, the investment of Oxford was no longer possible. A number of small encounters

[1] Montague, *The Political History of England*, p. 283.

took place, in one of which—witnessed by Cromwell from the church spire—at **Chalgrove Field**, Hampden, in attacking Prince Rupert on June 18, was mortally wounded.[1] His death was a serious blow to the Parliamentary cause. Like Cromwell 'he had shown an energy, a decision, and a strategic instinct which seemed to mark him out as a future general.'[2] In Hampden another historian asserts that 'the Parliament lost perhaps its best and wisest leader.'[3]

John Hampden.—'He was indeed,' wrote Clarendon, 'a very wise man and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, that is, the most absolute faculties to govern a people of any man I ever knew.' Had he lived it is quite likely that he and not Cromwell would have taken the lead in the reorganisation of the Parliamentary forces. Even as early as the battle of Edgehill he realised the necessity of dealing a decisive blow at the royal cause as quickly as possible. Had he and not Essex been in command the results of the battle would probably have been most disastrous to the royal cause.

'Without question,' says Clarendon, 'when he first drew his sword he threw away the scabbard' He was always passionately opposed to 'any expedients that might have produced any accommodation,' and 'was principally relied on to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace.'

His death was followed by the cessation of serious aggressive measures by Essex, by the arrival of the queen at Oxford on July 14 (the date of the battle of Roundway Down), and by the continued successes of the Royalists in the north and west of England.

[1] It is now asserted with some authority that Hampden's death was caused by the bursting of his pistol, which shattered his hand.

[2] Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 87.

[3] Montague, *The Political History of England* (1603-1660), p. 281.

Events in the West and South-west, April-July 1643.—It is now necessary to describe (1) the situation in the west and south-west of England and the events which culminated in the battle of Roundway Down, and (2) the circumstances which prevented the march of the Royalist armies upon London in the summer of 1643.

Capel in Cheshire and Salop.—With the close of the negotiations at Oxford, military operations had been recommenced with vigour. Lord Capel as Lieutenant-General for Shropshire, Worcester, Cheshire, and the six northern Welsh counties, at once adopted aggressive measures, and though victory and defeat were fairly evenly balanced, he prevented Sir William Brereton and other leading Parliamentarians from sending assistance either to Lord Essex or to Lord Fairfax.

Though Capel received some reinforcements from Dublin, Brereton also was strengthened by additional troops from London. Lancashire was now 'wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament,' and through Brereton's efforts Cheshire was also 'preserved for the Parliament, though the greater part of the gentry adhered to the king.'

The project of an advance on London, 1643.—The original Royalist plan was that a combined movement should be made upon London by the armies of Newcastle from the north, of Hopton from the west, and of Charles from Oxford. This plan owing to the victories of Newcastle and Hopton, and to the retirement of Essex from Oxford, seemed in the summer of 1643 a feasible one, but its execution was ruined by a variety of causes. In Cornwall Sir Ralph Hopton had, on January 19, 1643, defeated General Ruthven at **Braddock Down**; and on May 16, the Earl of Stamford, an incapable general, at the head of the Parliamentary forces which numbered 7000, had been decisively beaten by Hopton and Sir Bevil Grenville at **Stratton**, a Cornish village,

with the result that Devon was gained to the Royalist cause. The king thereupon decided to send Lord Hertford, the popular Lieutenant-general of the western counties, with an army to effect a junction with Hopton, and to attack Sir William Waller, who with a considerable force held Bristol and the surrounding country for the Parliament.

Intrigues against Hertford.—Before, however, Hertford had set out, Prince Rupert endeavoured to supersede him as commander of the royal army in favour of his brother, Prince Maurice. As the latter was only twenty-one years old, was a foreigner, and had only commanded a single regiment, it is difficult to understand how the king consented even to consider Prince Rupert's demand, and to expect that Hertford would serve under his nephew. Eventually Prince Maurice was appointed Lieutenant-general under Hertford, an arrangement which, owing to the Prince's rudeness and foolish pride, proved most unsatisfactory.

Hertford's successes in the West. Battle of Lansdown, July 5, 1643.—Leaving Oxford in the middle of May, Hertford marched to Salisbury, where he was reinforced. In Dorset two regiments of horse and foot joined his army, and in June he effected a junction at Chard with the Cornish forces. His army now amounted to 7000 and included an excellent train of artillery. Taunton, Bridgwater, and Dunster Castle having capitulated without a blow, Hertford led his army against Sir William Waller's forces, with which he first came into touch on their march to Wells through Somerton. After a series of skirmishes the two armies met in the battle of **Lansdown**, near Bath, on July 5. A fierce struggle took place, without any decisive result, in which the gallant Sir Bevil Grenville was killed and Sir Ralph Hopton was severely wounded.

The Battle of Roundway Down, July 13, 1643.—After the battle Waller retired into Bath, and being reinforced with

fresh troops followed Hertford who had marched to Devizes on his way to Oxford. Want of cavalry compelled the royal army to entrench itself in Devizes, while Hertford and Prince Maurice rode to Oxford to obtain reinforcements. On the day of their arrival (Monday) Lord Wilmot with 1200 horse left Oxford, and on the following Wednesday, with aid of the Cornish army, defeated on July 13 Waller's forces at the battle of **Roundway Down**, a plain some two miles from Devizes. The Parliamentary body of horse, under Sir Arthur Hazelrig, was seized with panic and was easily dispersed, and Waller fled to Bristol.

Capture of Bristol, July 26. Lord Hertford superseded.—After Roundway Down, Bath was taken; it was then decided that the army of the west should be united with Prince Rupert's forces—the whole being placed under his command—and that Bristol should be attacked. On July 26, **Bristol** was assaulted on the Somerset side by the Cornish army, and on the Gloucestershire side by Prince Rupert's forces. In spite of heavy losses, the attacking army succeeded after a fierce struggle in capturing the town—the second seaport in the kingdom—Sir Ralph Hopton was made governor of Bristol, and **Prince Maurice replaced Hertford as Commander-in-Chief.**—Though Hertford had shown no remarkable military talent, the advancement of Prince Maurice was a blunder, for the latter knew nothing of Englishmen, had no personal knowledge of the west of England, 'was a stranger, and became hated as soon as he was known.'

The critical period in the War.—A critical point had now been reached in the war. At **Adwalton Moor**, near Bradford in Yorkshire, Newcastle had on June 30 defeated the two Fairfaxes, and then besieged Hull. Before the attack upon Bristol, Charles had, as has been already stated, desired that the armies of Newcastle and Hopton should make a concerted movement upon London, in spite of the fact that Hull,

Plymouth, and Gloucester remained in the hands of the Parliament. Had this course been taken after the fall of Bristol, it is difficult to see how London could have avoided falling into the king's hands. But neither the Cornishmen nor the Yorkshiremen would march so far from their own counties, and their refusal practically ruined the royal cause.

Gloucester relieved by Essex (September).—Accordingly, after the fall of Bristol, it was decided that Prince Maurice, with the army of the west, should reduce Dorchester and Weymouth, the island of Portland, Lyme Regis, and Poole, while the king with the other army should attack Gloucester. Lord Carnarvon, with the cavalry belonging to the prince's army, early reduced Dorchester, Weymouth, and the island of Portland; but Prince Maurice, having quarrelled with Carnarvon, made no attempt to attack Lyme Regis or Poole, but proceeded to Exeter.

Meanwhile **Gloucester**, which was attacked by Charles on August 10, was vigorously defended by Colonel Massey, and relieved by Essex with an army of 15,000, mainly composed of Londoners. Charles, having raised the siege on September 5, endeavoured to destroy the army of Essex on its return march to London at Newbury.

The first Battle of Newbury, and the death of Falkland, September 20, 1643.—On his arrival at **Newbury** on September 17, Essex found the royal army already in position. On the morning of the 20th, owing to the 'precipitate courage of some young officers' in the king's army, a battle took place. In spite of Hyde's written remonstrance, Falkland insisted on charging with Sir John Byron's regiment, and was killed. After a prolonged struggle, in which both sides suffered heavily, the issue remained doubtful on the approach of darkness. Want of ammunition, however, compelled the Royalists to move off during the night in the direction of Oxford, and Essex was enabled to proceed to London.

Death of Falkland.—The battle is memorable on account of the unexpected courage and determination shown by the Londoners, and the **death of Falkland** at the early age of thirty-four. Hyde had lost his greatest friend, and the royal cause one of its most brilliant ornaments. 'A little man but no great strength of body, blackish haire . . . and I think his eyes black.' 'Though he was of David's stature, of his courage too.' Such are two descriptions by contemporaries of Falkland's personal appearance. Clarendon describes his bodily and mental characteristics at some length. 'That little person and small stature,' he says, 'was quickly found to contain a great heart,' a keen courage, and a fearless nature. He then speaks of his gentle nature, his courtesy, kindness, and generosity, and his love of literature and literary men. His death robbed the royal cause of a man whose wisdom and sagacity would have proved of great value to Charles I. He was buried on September 23 in Great Tew church.

The Battle of Winceby, October 11, 1643.—If, however, the prospects of the royal cause were fairly bright in the west, the fortunes of the Parliament were prospering in the east of England. On October 11, Newcastle was forced by Lord Fairfax to raise the siege of Hull, and on the same day the Parliamentary army under Manchester won a signal victory **at Winceby**. There Cromwell, seconded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, routed a large body of cavalry and took nearly a thousand prisoners. Lincoln and Gainsborough shortly afterwards were occupied, and the counties included in the Eastern Association were safe from attack.

The 'Cessation' and the Alliance of the Parliament with the Scots, September 1643.—Meanwhile Charles had been negotiating with the Irish leaders, and the Parliament with the Scots. It was evident that, without allies, neither the king nor the Parliament could hope to achieve any complete success. On

September 15 Charles, on behalf of Ormond, the commander of the English and Scottish forces in Ireland, concluded with the Irish Roman Catholics a **Cessation** of arms, while on September 25 the House of Commons accepted the **Solemn League and Covenant.** It was agreed that Episcopacy was to be abolished, and that Presbyterianism or some system akin to it should be established in England. Thus, while Charles came to terms with the Irish Roman Catholics, the Parliament made friends with the Scottish Presbyterians. And yet, though the English nation was in reality opposed to the introduction of either form of religion, political exigencies forced both the king and the Parliament to seek allies who were distasteful to the majority of Englishmen. On December 6, **Pym**, to whose influence the alliance with the Scots was mainly due, **died**, and in him the House of Commons lost an able leader. Henceforward the military element struggles for predominance over the Parliament, and the division of the Parliamentary party into **Presbyterians** and **Independents** rapidly becomes accentuated.

The situation at the end of 1643.—It is quite clear from the events of 1643 that there was no very strong feeling either for or against the king among the majority of the nation. As in the Wars of the Roses, a very small proportion of the population had so far taken part in the war. 'It is reckoned,' writes Mr. Prothero in the *Cambridge Modern History*, 'that the total number of men in arms was never more than about 2½ per cent. of the population . . . and this indicates the half-hearted sympathies of the bulk of the people of all classes.'[1]

It was also evident that a concerted movement of the royal armies was wellnigh impossible owing to the strenuous objection of the soldiers to fight far away from their own

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv. pp. 305-6.

counties. Newcastle's Yorkshiremen objected to being taken into the south of England, especially so long as **Hull** remained in the hands of the Parliament; and the Cornishmen were violently opposed to a lengthy absence from the west of England; and the retention of **Plymouth** by the Parliament strengthened their decision. Similarly the Welsh forces would not serve in England so long as **Gloucester** was not in the king's hands. The possession by the Parliament of Hull, Plymouth, and Gloucester was thus of incalculable value to the Parliamentary cause. Therefore though the campaigns of 1643 resulted on the whole in favour of the king, the war was not thereby brought any nearer to a conclusion.

Apparently at the end of 1643 the Parliament was not in a strong position. In the north the Royalist cause, except in Lancashire, held a strong position, and in the west the Royalists were supreme. In the Midlands parties were almost equally balanced. Nevertheless, the possession of Hull, Gloucester, and Plymouth by the Parliament constituted a serious danger to the royal cause; while in the eastern counties the formation of the **Eastern Association**, with Cambridge as its headquarters, and Cromwell as its guiding spirit, was destined to infuse new energy into the Parliamentary armies. Moreover, the **Scottish alliance** with the Parliament was destined to have results disastrous to the royal cause.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Charles raises his Standard at Nottingham (Aug. 22) .	1642
Battle of Edgehill (Oct. 23)	,,
Rupert storms Brentford (Nov. 12)	,,
Battle of Braddock Down (Jan. 16)	1643
Battle of Stratton (May 16)	,,
Death of Hampden (June 18)	,,
Battle of Chalgrove Field	,,
Battle of Adwalton Moor (June 30)	,,
Battle of Lansdown (July 5)	,,
Battle of Roundway Down (July 13) . . .	,,
Capture of Bristol by Rupert (July 26) . . .	,,
Newcastle besieges Hull (Sept.)	,,
Charles besieges Gloucester (Aug.-Sept.) . . .	,,
Cessation of Arms in Ireland (Sept. 15) . . .	,,
First Battle of Newbury	,,
Death of Falkland (Sept. 20)	,,
Solemn League and Covenant	,,
Alliance of Parliament with the Scots (Sept. 25) .	,,
Battle of Winceby (Oct. 11)	,,
Death of Pym (Dec. 8)	,,

Period V.

Part 2—1644-1649.

The Closing Years of the First Civil War—The Second Civil War.

Contents.

Nantwich and Newark—Cropredy Bridge—Marston Moor—Lostwithiel—The Second Battle of Newbury—Rise of the Independents—Treaty of Uxbridge—Adoption of Presbyterianism by the Parliament—Milton's Views—The New Model—Naseby—Langport—Fall of Bristol—Rowton Heath—Montrose in Scotland—His Victories—His Overthrow—The War in Cornwall—Charles at Newark—At Newcastle—At Holmby House—Cornet Joyce—Charles at Newmarket—At Hampton Court—The Army and the Parliament—The 'Agreement of the People'—Charles in the Isle of Wight—The Second Civil War—Colchester—The Treaty of Newport—Pride's Purge—The Trial and Execution of Charles.

CHIEF NAMES.

Cromwell—Rupert—Maurice—Newcastle—Leven—Lord Fairfax—David Leslie—Sir Thomas Fairfax—Byron—Essex—Manchester—Milton—Montrose—Argyll—Goring—Hopton—Joyce—Capel—Hamilton—Ireton—Derby—Pride—Juxon—Mazarin.

The Year 1644.—With the year 1644, the period of the failure of the royal cause begins. The continuance of the Thirty Years' War rendered it impossible for Charles to obtain any help from abroad, while any hopes that he might have entertained of securing assistance from Ireland were


ENGLAND & WALES
1603-1660
English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80
Battles
Sieges
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
WALES
Bristol Channel
Perth 1644
Tippermuir 1644
Kilsyth 1645
Dunbar
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Berwick
R. Tweed
Philiphaugh 1645
Newburn 1640
R. Tyne
Newcastle
Carlisle
R. Tees
Ripon
Bridlington
Marston Moor 1644
York 1644
Hull 1643
Preston 1648
Adwalton Moor 1643
Wakefield
Pontefract
Leeds
Radcaster 1642
Bolton
Liverpool
Wigan
Manchester 1642
Gainsborough 1643
Lincoln
Warrington
Chester
Rowton Heath 1645
Nantwich 1644
Newark 1644
Winceby 1643
Nottingham
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Leicester
Naseby 1645
Worcester 1651
Warwick
Northampton
Daventry
Newmarket
Cambridge
Powick Bridge
Edgehill 1642
Cropredy Br. 1644
Triploe Heath
Evesham
Banbury
Colchester 1648
Harwich
Gloucester 1643
Stow-on-the-Wold 1646
Oxford
Newbury 1643
Chalgrove Field 1643
Uxbridge
Brentford 1642
Berkeley Castle
Burford 1643
London
Lansdown 1643
Wallingford
Marlborough
Greenwich
R. Thames
Bristol
Bath
Reading
Basing House
Newbury 1644
Hurstley
Basingstoke 1643, 1644
Canterbury
Maidstone
Dover
Minehead
Wells
Shepton Mallet
Devizes
Salisbury
Gainsborough Down
Bridgewater
Taunton
Langport 1645
Winchester
Chicheston 1644
Torrington 1646
Stratton 1643
Tiverton
Sherborne
Chard
Southampton
Dungeness
Str. of Dover
Exeter
Dorchester
Poole
Portsmouth 1642
Lyme Regis
Weymouth
Isle of Portland
Newport
Carisbrooke
I. of Wight
Bodmin
Plymouth
Launceston 1644
Rock Down 1643
Dartmouth
Emery Walker sc.

doomed to failure. On the other hand, the Parliament found the alliance with the Scots invaluable, and by their aid it won the battle of Marston Moor.

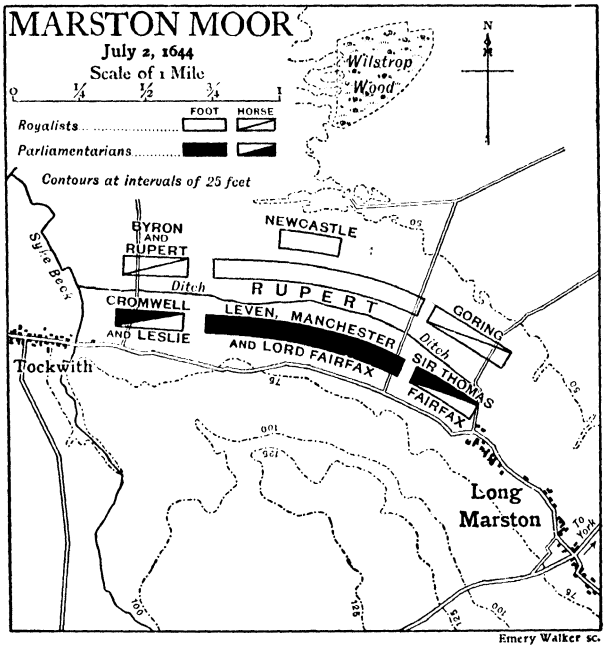
Nantwich and Newark, March 1644.—On January 25, 1644, Charles opened a session of Parliament in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford. But the assembly, which included a majority of the Peers and about one-third of the Commons, proved of little use, and in April was prorogued. It was soon evident that the War had entered upon a very serious phase, and that the hold of the Royalists upon the north of England was endangered by the alliance of the Parliament with the Scots. In January 1644, about 21,000 Scottish troops under the **Earl of Leven** entered England, and Newcastle, with a much inferior force, found his position to be one of great danger. In Cheshire the cause of the Parliament asserted itself, Sir Thomas Fairfax defeating, in January, at **Nantwich** Lord Byron and some fresh troops; while **Newark**, a place of considerable strategic importance, was being besieged by Sir John Meldrum, one of the Parliamentary generals. In order to save Newark, Rupert, who was now a peer of the realm as well as President of Wales, left Oxford, and having strengthened his force on the borders of Wales, arrived at the beleaguered town on March 21. The siege of Newark was raised, and when Lincoln was regained for the Royalists, Rupert returned to Wales to obtain reinforcements in order to aid Newcastle, who was being sorely pressed by the Scots.

The advance of Leven, and the successes of the Fairfaxes in Yorkshire, had compelled Newcastle in April to take refuge in York, where he was closely besieged.

The War in Yorkshire.—The armies of Fairfax and Alexander Leslie, now the Earl of Leven, were now joined by the army of the Eastern Association under Manchester, with whom was Cromwell at the head of a force of 3000 cavalry.

This army had, on May 6, recaptured Lincoln, and early in June had reached York.

To the assistance of Newcastle Rupert marched at the end of June. In May he had contributed to the relief of **Lathom House**, where the Countess of Derby had been besieged, and



had taken Bolton and Liverpool. On his arrival in Yorkshire he outmanœuvred the Parliamentary generals and entered York, upon which the enemy on July 2 raised the siege and retired to Marston Moor, where they drew up their forces in order of battle. Rupert and Newcastle, with their

forces, at once followed the Parliamentary armies, and the famous battle of Marston Moor took place.

The Battle of Marston Moor, July 2, 1644.—The king had written to Rupert a letter which the latter regarded as an emphatic order to fight the enemy without delay. At six o'clock on the evening of July 2, the battle—the greatest in the war—took place. The Parliamentary infantry numbered 20,000, that of the Royalists 11,000. The cavalry numbered about 7000 on each side. The Parliamentary right wing was composed of cavalry under the younger Fairfax (Sir Thomas), while the cavalry on the left wing was under Cromwell. The centre included the Yorkshire infantry under Lord Fairfax and some Scottish regiments. Neither Rupert nor Newcastle expected an immediate attack, and were taken at a disadvantage when Cromwell charged the Royalist right wing commanded by Lord Byron. In spite of Rupert's efforts, the Royalist right was broken, and Rupert only saved himself from death or capture by flight. Meanwhile the Royalists had gained a certain amount of success in the centre and against the Parliamentary right wing, and Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Lord Leven had been forced to fly. But a portion of the Scottish infantry, 'Maitland's and Lindsay's regiments on the extreme right of the line stood like rocks, and beat off three charges with their pikes.'[1] To their aid came Cromwell, and to support him some brigades of infantry. The Royalist horse were soon broken, and Newcastle's white-coats died where they stood.

Some 3000 Royalists perished, and 1600 were taken prisoners. Rupert fled to the west, York was taken, Lord Leven hastened to besiege the town of Newcastle, and Manchester returned to Lincoln.

Royalist Successes: Cropredy Bridge and Lostwithiel.—In the spring a Parliamentary army under Waller had won

[1] Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 107.

successes in the south. On April 29 Waller had defeated the Royalist, General Hopton, in the battle of **Cheriton** (near Alresford), and with the aid of Essex proposed to take Oxford itself. But before anything definite could be accomplished Essex was sent to Lyme, and Charles, who during these months showed no little military skill, on June 29 defeated Waller, north of Banbury, in the battle of **Cropredy Bridge**, and had followed Essex into Cornwall. There he won the battle of **Lostwithiel**, forced the infantry commanded by Skippon to capitulate, and compelled Essex himself to escape by sea on September 1. It was now feared that Charles might again advance from Oxford upon London, and the Earl of Manchester was sent to intercept him.

The Second Battle of Newbury, October 27, 1644.—On October 27 the **second battle of Newbury** was fought, Manchester being aided by the remnant of Essex's force and by Waller's troops. Manchester, who was anxious for an accommodation with the king, and who disliked the development of sectarian opinions in the Parliamentary army, acted in a half-hearted manner. Though his forces numbered 19,000, and those of the king 10,000, the battle was by no means decisive, and Charles was enabled to escape by night and to reach Oxford. Manchester's failure to overthrow the Royalists only strengthened the discontent of the extreme Puritans, who disliked the growth of Presbyterianism and advocated energetic measures.

Rise of the Independents.—The half-hearted conduct of Manchester in the battle of Newbury had indeed made it apparent that the Parliament and the Presbyterian element had no wish to crush the king. In Parliament Cromwell attacked Manchester, who was supported by the Peers and by the Scots, the latter recognising in Cromwell, who already had a large following, a bitter opponent of their religious system.

For some time past the steady growth of that section of the Parliamentarians which became known as the Independents had been manifest. These men, whose chief was Cromwell, not only insisted on vigorous measures in order to bring the war to a conclusion, but desired toleration, and were animated by a fierce animosity towards the Scots, whom they accused, with truth, of wishing to establish Presbyterianism in England. The increasing influence of the Independents, however, roused the English Parliament, which was now mainly Presbyterian, to active measures.

The Treaty of Uxbridge, January 1645.—On January 10, 1645, in order to please their Scottish allies, the Parliament, after a mock trial, caused the aged **Laud**, a prisoner in the Tower since 1641, **to be executed**, and the same month negotiations for peace were opened at **Uxbridge**. The demands, however, of the Parliament, which included the acceptance of the Covenant, the surrender of the militia for a certain number of years, and the formal repudiation of the treaty with the Irish known as the **Cassation**,[1] proved impossible of acceptance by Charles; the so-called **Treaty of Uxbridge** came to nothing, and hostilities were resumed. The hopes of the Presbyterians and of men like Essex and Manchester thus proved fruitless, and though Presbyterianism was definitely adopted by the Parliament, its general acceptance by the English people was rendered impossible by the rapid growth of the power and influence of the Independents.

The adoption of Presbyterianism by the English Parliament, January 1645.—The definite adoption of Presbyterianism in January 1645 by the English Parliament was, however, a step necessitated by military as much in political considerations. The **Self-Denying Ordinance**, passed on April 5, 1645, was followed by a momentous increase of military efficiency on the part of the Parliamentary army; the adoption of

[1] See page 109.

Presbyterianism by the English Parliament strengthened the all-important alliance between the English and Scottish opponents of Charles I. But as the late Professor Gardiner pointed out, 'between the Presbyterianism of England and the Presbyterianism of Scotland there was a great gulf.'[1] Though for temporary reasons the Parliament might adopt the external trappings and institutions of Presbyterianism, the historical development of the English nation was not in favour, as in Scotland, of the predominance of the clergy. Presbyterianism, moreover, in England as well as in Scotland, was essentially intolerant, while Cromwell and the Independents always insisted upon toleration.

Milton's views.—In Milton the Independents found a powerful literary champion. In the *Areopagitica*, published on November 24, 1644, he defended not only 'the liberty of unlicensed printing,' but also 'the free development of the individual,' and the expansion of mental activity. While by his written opinions Milton defended toleration and a free expression of opinion, Cromwell, in advocating the Self-Denying Ordinance, was taking a step which threatened the ascendency of Presbyterianism in England.

The New Model, February 15, 1645.—The New Model and the Self-Denying Ordinances indeed marked a distinct triumph for Cromwell and for the Independents. By the **New Model Ordinance** passed by the Lords on February 15, 1645, the army had been reorganised, its discipline improved, its pay assured. The New Model army proved, as the Lords who passed the ordinance foresaw, 'democratic and anti-Presbyterian in temper,'[2] while the Self-Denying Ordinance, passed on April 5, 'began the revolution which transferred power from the Houses to a great general.'[3] Essex, Manchester, and Hopton

[1] Gardiner, *The Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 1.
[2] Montague, *The Political History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 305.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

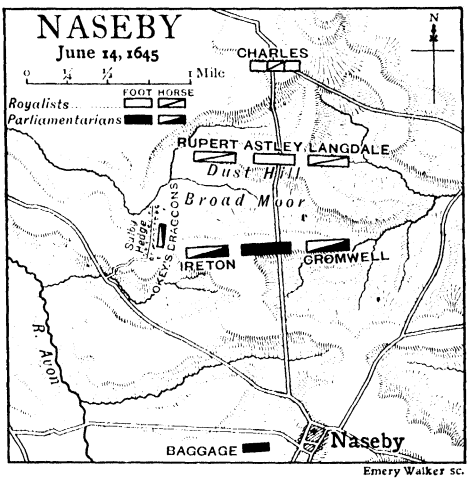
at once resigned their commands, but before Cromwell had imitated their example the Parliament employed him to raid the country round Oxford, which was shortly afterwards besieged by Fairfax who commanded the Parliamentary forces.

Movements leading to Naseby, 1645. — Charles, who had meanwhile been in Shropshire, turned southwards on hearing of the danger to Oxford, and on May 31 sacked Leicester on his way to Daventry. Fairfax at once raised the siege of Oxford, and with Cromwell, who had been named Lieutenant-General by the Parliament, followed the king who was returning towards Market Harborough. As Fairfax did not actually advance on Market Harborough, Rupert himself proceeded to meet the Parliamentarians in the direction of Naseby.

The Battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645.—The battle was fought on June 14, and ended in a disastrous defeat for the Royalists. It has been estimated that while the king's forces did not number over 7500 men, those under Fairfax and Cromwell numbered about 13,600. Though great caution was thus necessary on the part of the Royalists, the impatience of Prince Rupert ensured the success of the Cromwellians. A movement in retreat on the part of the Parliamentary forces under Fairfax, in order to secure a good position, encouraged Rupert to make a brilliant charge on ground unsuitable for a cavalry attack. Nevertheless he carried all before him, but wasted invaluable time in the pursuit of the Parliamentary left wing. For Cromwell (to whom the victory was chiefly due) meanwhile on the right wing had overcome the cavalry of the reserve, who with the king retired from the field. The infantry thus left without any cavalry was attacked in overwhelming strength by Cromwell's horsemen. The defeat of the Royalist centre was completed before Rupert arrived only to find that the sole chance of safety lay in flight. The chief credit of the

victory of the Parliamentary forces, which in part was due to the courage and ability of Fairfax, must be assigned to Cromwell, who was aided by the rash action of Prince Rupert in carrying his pursuit of the Parliamentary left too far.

The Battle of Naseby decisive.—In many respects the battle of Naseby was decisive. Charles no longer had any infantry



or artillery. The latter had been captured by Fairfax, and the foot-soldiers who survived were prisoners. The Parliament had justification for hoping that the war would shortly come to an end, and the question of entering upon fresh negotiations with the king was considered.

No chance of Peace.—The capture, however, of the king's private cabinet containing papers which showed that Charles had been anxious to introduce Irish and foreign soldiers into England roused great indignation, and rendered negotiations

for the present impossible. Further, Charles who had escaped to Hereford still hoped to repair his losses. He prepared to receive large contingents from Ireland, being quite oblivious of the fact that, in the words of Professor Gardiner, 'his persistent efforts to master his rebellious subjects by Irish and foreign aid were converting the New Model into a National Army.'[1]

Battle of Langport, July 23, 1645.—In the meantime Fairfax was marching westwards, while Leven and a Scottish army were marching from Carlisle, which they had captured, by Nottingham towards South Wales, where Charles was vainly endeavouring to raise an army. Thus relieved of the fear of an attack by Charles, Fairfax devoted his efforts to crushing the opposition in the west. On July 10 he defeated Goring at **Langport** in Somerset; on July 23, after a short siege, Bridgwater surrendered. These events upset all the plans which Charles had formed, and ruined the Royalist projects in the west of England.

The Fall of Bristol, September 3, and the Battle of Rowton Heath, September 24.—On September 3 Prince Rupert recognising the futility of further resistance surrendered Bristol to Fairfax. Charles on hearing the news dismissed his nephew from his service, and marched from Raglan to Chester. There on September 24 he witnessed the defeat of his last remaining army on **Rowton Heath.** Even then Charles did not recognise the futility of further resistance. With his remaining troops he marched to Newark intending to join Montrose in Scotland. But the latter had on September 13 been overthrown at Philiphaugh, and Leven's army, which was now quartered on the Tees, rendered an advance into Scotland by Charles impossible.

Montrose in Scotland, 1644.—Though the prospects of the king in England after the battle of Marston Moor (July 2,

[1] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 227.

1644) were far from bright, **in Scotland the year 1644 was marked by brilliant successes** won by Montrose **in the Royalist cause.** The Marquess of Montrose during the two Bishops' Wars had sided with the Covenanters, for he was no friend of despotism or of bishops. But he had no real sympathy with the Presbyterians; he was jealous of the powerful Argyll, who was the trusted leader of the Presbyterian body, and who had even been suspected of aspiring to the Crown; and he was aware of Argyll's unpopularity among the Highland clans. Moreover, the gentry and lesser nobles were weary of the tyranny of the Covenanting clergy who owed their supremacy to the support of the middle classes, who were steeped in Calvinistic opinions.

To Montrose Charles was now a Constitutional Monarch whose just prerogatives were attacked by narrow-minded Presbyterians headed by an ambitious and unscrupulous Campbell. Early in 1644 he returned to Scotland from England with the title of Marquess and the position of Lieutenant-General.

Victories at Tippermuir and Aberdeen.—Failing to obtain any troops from Prince Rupert after the latter's defeat at Marston Moor, Montrose crossed the border in disguise, and on August 22, 1644, reached Perth. About the same time 2000 Irish and Scottish Macdonalds, under Alaster Macdonald, had landed on the west coast and advanced to the Spey, being joined, however, by only 500 men of the Gordon clan. The position of Montrose was critical, for he was being pursued by an army under Argyll himself, while at the same time an army under Lord Elcho was at Perth, and a third force was assembling at Aberdeen. At this moment Montrose appeared, and being himself a Highlander and with full authority as the king's lieutenant at once found himself in command of 2500 men. He determined to attack Lord Elcho who lay at Perth with a force of 7500 men. 'Inferior

in numbers and equipment, Montrose was vastly superior in the quality of his men. Every one of them was a man of his hands, trained from boyhood to war, and to the hardy exercises which are the school of war. On the other side were townsmen and peasants who had gone through no such training, and who had never been carried on, like their countrymen who fought at Marston Moor, to the higher discipline of civilised warfare.'[1]

On September 1, at **Tippermuir**, some three miles from Perth, Montrose inflicted a severe defeat upon Elcho's force, and three days later marched on Aberdeen. Though the powerful Gordon clan without an order from its chief, Lord Huntly, who was absent, refused to join him, Montrose on September 13 won the **battle of Aberdeen**, defeating easily the troops which Lord Balfour of Burleigh brought against him. Macdonald with many of his followers then returned to the west, while Montrose marched away followed by Argyll, who vainly attempted to catch and crush him. Finding his efforts were ineffectual Argyll returned to Edinburgh in December and threw up his command.

Inverlochy, February 2, 1645.—By the advice of Alaster Macdonald, who had now returned from the west with 500 men, Montrose in the latter part of December invaded Argyll's country. At **Inverlochy** on February 2, 1645, he overthrew the Campbells under Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, and slew 1700 out of 3000 of that clan, while Argyll watched the struggle from a boat lying off the shore. The moral effect of this victory was great, and the influence of the Campbells received a severe blow. But upon the ultimate issue of the struggle between Charles and the Parliament Montrose's victories, while unsupported by an invasion of Scotland from England, could not have any lasting

[1] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 87.

effect. As it was, Leven was ordered by the Scottish Government to send a force under Hurry and Baillie to deal with 'the great Marquess,' who, after the battle of Inverlochy, had marched north to Elgin where he was joined by Lord Gordon and many of his clan.

The Battle of Auldearn, May 9, 1645.—After a series of skilful manœuvres in the north of Scotland Montrose, taking advantage of the fact that Generals Baillie and Hurry had divided their forces, fell upon the latter **on May 9** at the village of **Auldearn**, not far from Nairn. Mainly through the exertions of his cavalry Montrose inflicted a severe defeat on the Covenanters who composed Hurry's force. The news of this defeat rendered Leven, who feared an invasion of England by Montrose, reluctant to leave the borders and to advance southwards as Fairfax the Parliamentary general desired. It was not till the surrender of Carlisle on July 28 that he agreed to march southwards.

The Battles of Alford, July 2, 1645, and Kilsyth, August 15.—Charles's position was now becoming more and more precarious, and on **June 14, 1645**, he suffered the disastrous defeat of **Naseby**. After that defeat the king formed many projects, one of which was to march into Yorkshire and to open communications with Montrose. For on July 28 the news had arrived of Montrose's victory over Baillie at **Alford**. After Hurry's defeat at Auldearn Baillie had marched north in order to overthrow Montrose. That able general deceived Baillie by his tactics, and at **Alford** on the banks of the Don on **July 2** inflicted a defeat which in its completeness resembled that suffered by the king at Naseby. Montrose at once followed up his victory with a fresh success. The Earl of Lanark had raised a force in the west in order to co-operate with Baillie, but before the two generals could effect a junction Montrose, on August 15, with 5000 men, fell upon Baillie, who had 6000 foot and 800 horse, at **Kilsyth**,

between Glasgow and Stirling, and after a brilliant charge by Alaster Macdonald won a decisive victory. Only 500 of Baillie's 6000 foot escaped. 'Montrose was now what he believed himself to be after Inverlochy—the master of all Scotland.'

After Kilsyth.—The news of Kilsyth caused David Leslie to march with his cavalry into Scotland, while Charles hemmed in in England could not (as he attempted to do) join the victorious Montrose. Meanwhile Montrose, after Kilsyth, had entered Glasgow and received the submission of the Lowlands. He summoned a Parliament to meet in October, and endeavoured by restraining the plundering instincts of the Highlanders to conciliate the Lowlanders.

Overthrow of Montrose at Philiphaugh, September 13, 1645.—But this gleam of success which had come over the Royalist fortunes quickly disappeared. On September 27 the news reached Charles that Montrose's good fortune had at length deserted him. After the latter's occupation of Glasgow, many Highlanders, angry at being refused a ransom for the plunder of Glasgow, returned to their homes. Several of the nobles, too, from motives of jealousy also deserted Montrose, who on the approach of David Leslie with 4000 horse found himself, with 1200 horsemen and 500 Irish foot, surprised and outnumbered. The battle of **Philiphaugh** (a meadow near Selkirk), fought on September 13, finally destroyed Montrose's hopes. **It was to him what Naseby was to Charles I.** Montrose and a few of his followers escaped, while Leslie disgraced his name by the massacre, not only of the fifty survivors of the foot who had been given quarter, but also of all the camp followers, male and female.

Royalist Reverses in England.—On November 5, Charles was again in Oxford. During the previous two months his cause had suffered severely in the south of England. Between September 23 and 26 Devizes and Berkeley Castle had

surrendered. On October 19 Tiverton Castle, and on October 5 Winchester Castle, were taken, while on October 14 **Basing House**, after a stubborn defence by the aged Marquess of Winchester, was stormed.

The War in Cornwall, 1646.—During the winter the question of peace was raised in many quarters, and Charles himself entered into negotiations with the Houses of Parliament. These negotiations, however, came to nothing, and the early months of 1646 found the war still being carried out in the west by Fairfax. There he was opposed by Sir Ralph Hopton, who was well aware of the helplessness of resistance to the overwhelming Parliamentary armies. On January 18, 1646, Fairfax stormed Dartmouth, and on February 25, after defeating Hopton at **Torrington**, he entered Launceston. In March resistance was over. On March 14, twelve days after the arrival of Fairfax at Bodmin, Hopton surrendered. The Prince of Wales had already sailed for the Scilly Isles, and Hopton had no motive 'for prolonging an impossible resistance,' and his army was disbanded.

Stow-on-the-Wold.—A week later, a Royalist force under Astley was defeated at **Stow-on-the-Wold**, and Charles's last hope 'of rallying round him soldiers enough to enable him to effect a junction with those French auxiliaries, for whose coming he still looked with eager expectation,'[1] disappeared.

Charles leaves Oxford for Newark.—On April 27, at 3 a.m., Charles disguised rode across Magdalen Bridge in order to take refuge with the Scots at **Newark**. He reached Southwell on April 5, and on May 7 the Scottish army left Newark, and on May 13 it arrived at Newcastle.

The Political Situation at Newcastle, 1646.—The political and military position at the time of Charles I.'s arrival at Newcastle was peculiar. In all matters relating to religion, the Presbyterians in the House of Commons were supreme;

[1] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 452.

but in matters relating to war or diplomacy, Cromwell and the Independents held their own.

The Views of Mazarin and Henrietta Maria.—In July 1646 Parliament sent to Charles nineteen Propositions, which included the abolition of Episcopacy, the acceptance of the Covenant, and the Parliamentary control of the army and navy. The importance of the crisis was well appreciated by Mazarin and Henrietta Maria. The former, bent upon the annexation of the Spanish Netherlands, desired at all costs to keep England weak and divided, and therefore sent his agent **Bellièvre** to foment dissensions between the Presbyterians and Independents, and as a means to that end to urge Charles to accept Presbyterianism The queen also, in order to sow discord in the Parliamentary ranks, gave Charles similar advice.

Negotiations at Newcastle.—Though Charles, instead of at once rejecting the Propositions, entered into negotiations with the Parliamentary Commissioners, who arrived at Newcastle on July 30, he had no intention of accepting Presbyterianism. On that point he was obdurate. He regarded the establishment of Presbyterianism as worse than the establishment of Popery, and was prepared to die for the maintenance of the Monarchy and the Church. 'Evidently,' says Professor Gardiner, 'Charles had in him the stuff of which martyrs are made';[1] and Ranke asserts that Charles's claim to the title of martyr is based upon his rejection of Presbyterianism. It is quite evident that Charles would never have accepted the position occupied later by Charles II., namely, that of a constitutional king—*i.e.* of a king limited by Parliament. To the final and urgent request of the Scots in December 1646 that he should establish Presbyterianism and thus gain the support of the Scottish nation, Charles turned a deaf ear.

[1] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 516.

Charles handed over to the Parliament, January 1647.—Escape or imprisonment in England were now the only alternatives left. An attempt to escape failed, and Charles was, in January 1647, handed over to the Commissioners appointed by the English Parliament. In February the Scots, having received £200,000, returned to Scotland, and Charles was taken to Holmby House in Northamptonshire.

The Parliament and the Army, 1647.—From this time till his death Cromwell continually found himself at variance with successive Parliaments, which consistently aimed at getting rid of the army. In the Parliament the Presbyterian element preponderated, and the supremacy of Parliament meant the persecution of all other sects. The army, in which Independents and Sectaries abounded, and which was rapidly becoming a powerful political force, was resolved to secure toleration. Between March and June it became apparent that the Parliament was resolved to acquire complete control over the army, and a struggle for supremacy became inevitable. In order to prevent Charles and Parliament from coming to terms, Cromwell connived at the seizure of the king by **Cornet Joyce** on June 3, and his **removal to Newmarket.** He was now in the hands of Cromwell and the army, which had gained a signal advantage over the Parliament.

The Army and Parliament.—The army was now master of the situation. With the king in its hands it could dictate its own terms to the Assembly at Westminster. The Parliament quickly realised the real position of affairs, and on June 10 its Commissioners met representatives of the army at **Triploe Heath** near Cambridge. No agreement was come to, and the army moved to St. Albans. Between Charles I. and the Parliament Cromwell was in a difficult position.

Cromwell overawes the Parliament and London.—The situation, however, was one which afforded Charles full scope for

his powers of intrigue. From this time till his death he embarked on the dangerous policy of **playing off the Army against the Parliament.** With the king (who was removed in August to **Hampton Court**) in his hands Cromwell, however, was in a strong position, of which he at once took advantage. Having earlier in the year suppressed what at one time looked like the beginning of a mutiny in the army, Cromwell early in August, after making on June 15 sundry important demands of the Parliament, marched to London. Short Parliaments, the equalisation of the constituencies, the right to petition, full religious toleration, and the immediate exclusion of eleven Presbyterian leaders from the House of Commons, were the chief demands made by him in the name of the Council of the Army. Parliament was helpless, and was compelled to temporise. The eleven Presbyterian leaders[1] fled, and Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief. In August the army entered London, which was strongly Presbyterian, and had made a show of resistance to the demands of Cromwell. The city, however, had no means of offering any opposition, and yielded unconditionally.

The Proposals of the Army.—The army had now asserted its power and proceeded to consider its proposals (drawn up under Ireton's influence as early as July 17) with regard to the future government of the country. These 'proposals,' known as 'Heads of the Proposals,' were laid before Charles, who was still at Hampton Court; they included a religious settlement based upon toleration, the reform of the representation, a reduction in the powers of the bishops and other ecclesiastical officials, and the establishment of a Council of State which should with the king control foreign policy as well as the military forces of the country. Further, for the the next ten years Parliament was to have the right of

[1] The best known of the eleven were Waller, Massey, Holles, and Maynard.

appointment to the chief offices of State, and to have absolute power over the militia.

Nevertheless, though Charles acknowledged that the terms were preferable to the Newcastle Propositions, he persisted in his policy of evasion. Though his allies in Ireland were overthrown by the Cromwellian forces at **Dangan Hill** in August, at **Cashel** in September, and at **Mallow** in November, he was still resolved to continue his policy of playing off one party against another, hoping that the outbreak of a second civil war would result in his restoration to power.

The 'Agreement of the People.'—For the moment events seemed to justify his hopes. In the army divergent views were asserting themselves. An advanced section issued towards the end of October 'The Agreement of the People,' which asserted the right of every man to complete religious liberty, and recognised his right to refuse military service. These were to be regarded as the inalienable rights of man. Cromwell, however, would not accept this scheme, and with the aid of a committee drew up a more moderate plan for the future government of the country.

Escape of Charles to Carisbrooke, November 1647.—Events, however, now occurred which postponed the further consideration of plans for the government of England. On the night of November 11 Charles, acting on the advice of the Scots, escaped from Hampton Court with the intention of proceeding to France. Having arrived in the Isle of Wight, he was lodged in **Carisbrooke Castle** on November 15 by Colonel Hammond, the Governor, whose loyalty to the Parliament was doubtful. Charles at once entered into correspondence with the Parliament, though it may well be questioned if his negotiations were meant seriously. For his intrigues with the Scots had now reached a head, and on December 26 he and they had come to terms, the result being his acceptance of the 'engagement.'

Charles's Treaty with the Scots, December 26, 1647.—It was arranged that Charles should on certain conditions recover most of his royal rights. Those conditions involved the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years, the suppression of the Independents and other Nonconformists (the Sects), the admission of Scotsmen into the Privy Council. These conditions with others of a similar nature ran directly counter to the wishes of the army, and in view of Charles's previous negotiations with the army and Parliament reflect little credit upon his honesty and straightforwardness. Two days later (December 28) he definitely refused to accept the four Bills which the Parliament had drawn up and which embodied their terms.

The Royalist Reaction, 1648.—The departure on January 2, 1648, of the Scottish Commissioners from London, coupled with the king's refusal of the four Bills and the distracted state of the country, rendered action on the part of the Parliament necessary. On January 15 that assembly passed a 'Vote of no Addresses' to the king, and all negotiations ceased. It was evident that a Royalist reaction, signs of which were everywhere apparent, would lead to outbreaks in England, while the imminence of war with Scotland was now recognised.

The Second Civil War.—The **Second Civil War**, as it was termed, definitely broke out in May. In that month, on the 3rd instant, the Scottish Parliament issued a manifesto which was tantamount to a declaration of war; the fleet declared for Charles and blockaded the Thames; and before the month closed a rising, headed by the elder Goring, now Earl of Norwich, took place in Kent in favour of the disbandment of the army and the conclusion of peace with Charles.

The Fall of Colchester, August 27, 1648.—The rising in Kent was quickly suppressed by Fairfax. The Earl of Norwich escaped to Essex where, at the head of some 5000 men,

including Lord Capel, he was besieged in Colchester. It was not till August 27, after the invasion of the south had failed, that the town surrendered. Two of the officers, Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, were shot; Lord Norwich 'was respited by the casting vote of Speaker Lenthall,' and Lord Capel, after escaping from the Tower, was rearrested and beheaded in 1649.

The Battle of Preston, August 17, 1648.—The Fall of Colchester marked the close of the Second Civil War, for before its surrender Cromwell had overthrown the Scots in the west of England. After a Royalist rising in South Wales had been suppressed, Cromwell had devoted his chief attention to a Scottish army which, under the incapable Duke of Hamilton, had entered Lancashire. At **Preston,** on August 17, Cromwell won a decisive victory, and after driving the Scots out of Lancashire by his victories at Wigan and Warrington,[1] he marched to Edinburgh, where he stamped out the rebellion and remained in Scotland till December.

The Treaty of Newport, September-October, 1648. — One result of the failure of the reactionary movement known as the Second Civil War was to increase the power of the Army and therefore that of the Independents. This result was not recognised by the Presbyterian majority in Parliament, who in August repealed the vote of No Addresses (passed on January 15), and on September 18 opened negotiations with Charles at **Newport,** in the Isle of Wight. These negotiations, known as the **Treaty of Newport,** continued till the end of October. Though Charles made ample concessions, he, no doubt expecting aid from abroad, refused to abolish Episcopacy and the Prayer Book, or to establish Presbyterianism. The Parliament therefore, in which the uncompromising Presbyterians were in a majority, very unwisely closed the negotiations.

[1] Hamilton surrendered to Lambert at Uttoxeter on August 25.

The Peace of Westphalia, October 1648, and its influence.—This rupture in the negotiations was the more serious as the **Peace of Westphalia** was signed on October 18, and the possibility of intervention in England by one or other of the Continental Powers had to be faced.

It has been suggested that Charles's dilatory conduct during 1648 was due to his expectation of foreign intervention. At any rate, the Peace of Westphalia and its possible effects could not be ignored, and the danger of intervention from abroad 'quickened the pace and embittered the decisions of his (Charles's) enemies.'[1]

Final Attempt at a Settlement, November 17.—Ireton, representing the military Independents, or in other words, the Army, issued in October 'the Remonstrance of the Army,' in which he demanded the speedy trial of the king. Under the influence, however, of Fairfax, who, like Cromwell, was anxious to avoid the king's trial, more moderate counsels prevailed, and terms were offered to the king which included the establishment of a Council of State, redistribution of seats, triennial Parliaments, but made no mention of an ecclesiastical settlement. On November 17 Charles refused these terms, and 'by this refusal practically signed his own death-warrant.'[2] The extreme party among the officers had now triumphed, and Cromwell threw in his lot with them.

Pride's Purge, December 17, 1648.—The Army now took action, and on December 1, 1648, Charles was removed from Newport, in the Isle of Wight, to **Hurst Castle**, in Hampshire. As the Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons remained in favour of negotiating with the king, the officers of the Army resolved to expel the Presbyterian majority and to leave the Independent minority in possession. On December 6 and 7 **Colonel Pride** carried out the wishes of the

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv. p. 352.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 353.

Army, and one hundred and forty-three members were either arrested or excluded from the House of Commons. On December 8, when Cromwell took his seat in the House, he found only some fifty or sixty members, known as the Rump. He declared 'that he had not been acquainted with this design (Pride's Purge), yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.' On December 23 Charles was escorted to Windsor, the council of officers having decided to bring him to justice as speedily as might be.

The Trial of Charles.—On January 1, 1649, the 'purged' Commons passed an ordinance arranging for the king's trial by a High Court of Justice. But the House of Lords, represented by twelve peers, rejected the ordinance, whereupon, on January 6, 1649, the Commons, having resolved that the House of Commons had supreme power, passed a new ordinance setting forth the crimes of Charles Stuart, and naming a number of persons to try him. On January 20 the trial began, and on January 26 sixty-two out of sixty-seven Commissioners appointed by the Rump voted for his death. The sentence was read to the king in Westminster Hall by Bradshaw on the afternoon of Saturday, January 27.

The Execution of Charles I., January 30, 1649.—Though the soldiers were in favour of the execution of Charles, the populace were opposed to the death sentence. Cromwell's influence was, however, thrown in favour of the extreme penalty, and on January 30, in the middle of the day, Charles, who was attended by Bishop Juxon, was executed at Whitehall. He was buried in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

The Significance of Charles's Execution.—The execution of the king was in many respects a blunder from the point of view of even his bitterest enemies. Had he been exiled and, like James II., lived abroad for the remainder of his

life, his return to England would have been a most unlikely event. As it was, his death at the hands of the representatives of a small minority ensured a reaction in favour of kingship if not of the Stuarts. The illegality of Charles's trial and execution 'needs,' writes Mr. Montague, 'no proof, and that they shocked nine-tenths of his subjects is certain.'[1] Nevertheless it was impossible for the army to allow Charles to continue his intrigues with their foes. He was 'too much in earnest for frank submission to circumstances, and too untrustworthy for any compact to bind';[2] and consequently allowance must be made for the exasperation of his opponents. One important result of the death of the king was to establish clearly and definitely that 'kings are responsible to their subjects.'[3]

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IMPORTANT DATES.

The Scots cross the Tweed (January 17)	**1644**
Battle of Nantwich	,,
Relief of Newark (March 21)	,,
Battle of Cheriton (March 29)	,,
Battle of Cropredy Bridge (June 29)	,,
Battle of Lostwithiel	,,
Battle of Marston Moor (July 2)	,,
Battle of Perth (August 22)	,,
Battle of Tippermuir (September 1)	,,
Battle of Aberdeen (September 13)	,,
Second Battle of Newbury (October 27)	,,
Treaty of Uxbridge (January 10)	**1645**
Adoption of Presbyterianism by the English Parliament (January)	,,
The Battle of Inverlochy (February 2)	,,

[1] Montague, *Political History of England*, p. 350.
[2] *Ibid.*, 251. [3] *Ibid.*, 351.

The New Model (February 15) 1645
Self-denying Ordinance (April 5) . . . . . ,,
Battle of Auldearn (May 9) . . . . . ,,
Battle of Naseby (June 14) . . . . . ,,
Battle of Alford (July 2) . . . . . ,,
Battle of Langport (July 23) . . . . . ,,
Battle of Kilsyth (August 15) . . . . . ,,
Battle of Philiphaugh (September 13) . . . ,,
Battle of Rowton Heath (September 24) . . . ,,
Capture of Basing House by the Parliament (October 14) ,,
Battle of Torrington (February 25) 1646
Battle of Stow-on-the-Wold (March 21) . . . ,,
Charles leaves Oxford for Newark (April 27) . . ,,
Negotiations at Newcastle (July-December) . . ,,
For £200,000 the Scots deliver Charles to the Parliament (January) 1647
Negotiations between Parliament and the Army (January-July) . . . . . ,,
The Army get Possession of the King (June 3) . . ,,
Meeting at Triploe Heath (June 11) . . . . ,,
The Army overawes Parliament (August) . . . ,,
Escape of Charles to the Isle of Wight (November) . ,,
The Second Civil War (May-August) 1648
Battle of Preston (August 17) . . . . . ,,
Fall of Colchester (August 27) . . . . . ,,
The Negotiations at Newport (September-October) . ,,
The Peace of Westphalia (October) . . . . ,,
Execution of Charles (January 30) 1649

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The explanation of Terms used in the history of the reign.

The 'Tables,' 1637, was a name given to a body of ten Commissioners appointed to lead the opposition in Scotland to Charles I.

The National Covenant, 1638, was a document signed by all classes in Scotland to defend the Presbyterian religion.

The Solemn League and Covenant, 1643, was a treaty made between the Scots and the English Parliament.

The 'Root and Branch' Bill was introduced in 1641 by the younger Vane and Hazelrig, and had for its object the total abolition of Episcopacy. It was eventually dropped.

The 'Incident' was a scheme formed during Charles I.'s visit to Scotland in the autumn of 1641 for arresting Argyll, Hamilton, and Lanark, the popular leaders.

The 'New Model' was the term applied to the Parliamentary Army when reorganised by Cromwell.

The Westminster Assembly met in 1643, and was composed of one hundred and twenty clerics and thirty members of Parliament. By it Presbyterianism was adopted, and a Book of Directions for Church Worship, called the *Directory*, took the place of the Prayer-Book.

The Declaration, 1647.—After Joyce had secured the king, the army at Triploe Heath formulated in a declaration its demands from Parliament. The purging of Parliament, and elections every two years, were among the requests made by the army.

The Heads of the Proposals, 1647, was the name given to a scheme drawn up by Ireton for a settlement with the king; such a settlement to include biennial Parliaments, Parliamentary reform, the creation of a Council of State.

The Engagement, 1648, was a treaty made by Argyll and Lauderdale with Charles I., which led to the Second Civil War.

The Agreement of the People.—This term is used (1) for a scheme drawn up by the army in 1648, in favour of ignoring the Parlia-

ment and of making a direct appeal to the nation. Cromwell and Ireton opposed the scheme, and eventually the Agreement was converted into a series of proposals to be presented to Parliament. Shortly afterwards Charles fled to Carisbrooke. (2) For a constitutional scheme of the army presented to Parliament, January 20, 1649. It advocated the dissolution of the Long Parliament, the formation of equal electoral districts, Parliamentary elections every two years, freedom of worship, freedom from imprisonment, equality before the law, and, practically, universal suffrage. The Parliament received the Agreement, but paid no attention to it.

The Heads of the Proposals, 1648.

This attempt on the part of the army at a permanent settlement was the most comprehensive attempted. Though the king would have been subservient to Parliament, that assembly would have been amenable to the constituencies.

2. Attempts to make Peace during the Civil Wars.

(1) *At Oxford*, 1643.—After the battle of Edgehill and Charles's retreat from Turnham Green. But no compromise was possible on the religious question, and Charles was not at all anxious to treat.

(2) *At Uxbridge*, 1645.—Religion, the militia, and Ireland, were the chief points discussed. As the king would not yield to the demands of Parliament, the negotiations broke off.

(3) *At Newcastle*, 1646.—Religion and the militia were the principal questions discussed. Charles refused (1) to abolish Episcopacy, (2) to take the Covenant, (3) to give Parliament the control of the militia for twenty years.

(4) *At Newport*, 1648.—After the Second Civil War, the Moderate Presbyterians in Parliament negotiated with Charles. While ready to yield to most of their demands, the king, who still hoped for aid from Ireland, from Scotland, or from abroad, held out for some form of Episcopacy.

3. The Clubmen.

In the summer of 1645, some five thousand Dorset peasants, driven to form some organisation in order protect their 'hearths and homes, their stockyards and their sheep-pens,' from the constant visits of armed men, 'some shouting for the king, and others for the Parliament,' entrenched themselves on Castle Hill at Shaftesbury. They were easily driven from their position by the Cromwellians, and a number were taken prisoners. In order to release these men, about two thousand of the peasants then occupied Hambledon Hill under the leadership of the Rector of Compton Abbas. Fifty of Cromwell's soldiers easily dispersed the peasants. On August 4, 1645, Cromwell wrote to Fairfax reporting that he had taken some three hundred prisoners, 'many of whom are poor silly creatures.'[1]

[1] See Treves, *Highways and Byways in Dorset*, pp. 56-59.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMONWEALTH, THE PROTECTORATE, AND THE INTERREGNUM, 1649-1660.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Spain.*
Louis XIV., 1643-1715.	Ferdinand III., 1637-1657. Leopold I., 1658-1705.	Philip IV., 1621-1665.
The Papacy.	*Portugal.*	*Sweden.*
Innocent X., 1644-1655.	John IV., 1640-1656.	Christina, 1632-1654.
Alexander VII., 1655-1667.	Alfonso VI., 1656-1683.	Charles X., 1654-1660.

Period I.—1649-1653.

The Commonwealth.

Contents.

After Charles I.'s death—Establishment of the Commonwealth—Military Mutinies—Irish History—Rathmines—Cromwell in Ireland—Drogheda and Wexford—Rupert leaves Kinsale—His Adventures—Conquest of Ireland—The Cromwellian Settlement—Events in Scotland—Execution of Montrose—The Dunbar Campaign—Prince Charles at Scone—The Worcester Campaign—Monk in Scotland—The *Eikon Basilike*—The Navigation Act—The Dutch War—The Chief Battles—Close of the War, 1654—Foreign Policy—Events leading to the Establishment of the Protectorate—Expulsion of the Long Parliament—The Little Parliament—Cromwell Supreme.

CHIEF NAMES, 1649-1653.

Prince Rupert—Leslie—Leven—Fleetwood—Lambert—Desborough—Jones—Ireton—Blake—Monk—Ayscue—Tromp—De Witt—De Ruyter—Monk—O'Neill—Ormond.

A New Period of English History.—From the execution of Charles I. to the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, English history may be said to fall into three fairly well-marked divisions: (1) from the death of the king to the dissolution of the Long Parliament, 1649-1653; (2) the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 1653-1658; (3) the Interregnum, 1658-1660.

From Charles I.'s death to the expulsion of the Long Parliament, 1649-1653.

During the first two of these periods Cromwell held the first place in England, and his influence on the government of the country was profound. He was supported throughout by the army, and his views with regard to the policy to be pursued at home were in consonance with those held by the officers and men.

The principal feature of that policy was toleration, and, speaking generally, toleration was a prominent feature in the government of England between 1649 and 1660. Further, Cromwell had distinct ideas with regard to England's true foreign policy, and though those views, owing to his belief in the possibility of forming a league of Protestant nations, were to some extent antiquated and incapable of realisation, he at any rate placed England in a prominent place among the nations of Europe.

It was not, however, till the **Battle of Worcester**, on September 3, 1650, that the Commonwealth was established on a firm basis and Cromwell was enabled to devote his

attention to home and foreign affairs. During the intervening eighteen months the new government had to be organised, Ireland had to be pacified, and an invasion of England by Charles II. and the Scots to be repelled.

Establishment of the Commonwealth, 1649.—The first necessity was to create an efficient administration. On March 17, the abolition of the kingship and of the House of Lords was accomplished. In May England was declared to be a free **Commonwealth**, and a Council of State, with Bradshaw as its president, was chosen by the Commons to carry out the laws —to be, in fact, the executive. With regard to the judiciary the King's Bench was now called **the Upper Bench**, a new Great Seal was made, and judges were appointed who approved of the new government.

For the purpose of trying Hamilton, Capel, Norwich, Holland, and Sir John Owen, a Welsh Royalist, a High Court of Justice had been set up, and Hamilton, Capel, and Holland were executed on March 9. In April Poyer, Langhorne, and Powell, the leaders of **a revolt in Wales**, were tried, and the first-named was executed. Meanwhile **affairs in Ireland and Scotland** had become critical, and vigorous measures were required.

Mutinies in the Army.—Before, however, dealing with the difficulties in Ireland and Scotland, it was necessary first of all to suppress a mutinous spirit which had arisen among the troops, partly owing to the influence of a party called the Levellers, of whom certain extreme democrats, such as Lilburne, and eccentric zealots, known as the **Fifth Monarchy** men (who looked for the speedy coming of Christ and the Saints) were the most conspicuous. In May the Levellers openly revolted. The determination and energy shown by Fairfax and Cromwell, however, soon repressed the mutinous spirit in certain regiments, and the path was cleared for dealing with the disaffection in Ireland and Scotland.

Irish History, 1646-1649.—In March 1649 Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, invited Prince Charles to come to Ireland, and the same month the English Parliament appointed **Cromwell General of the Forces in Ireland,** though Fairfax remained Commander-in-Chief.

Since 1646 Ireland had had a somewhat confused history. In June 1646, the Irish Roman Catholics under **Owen Roe O'Neill,** son of Sir Phelim O'Neill, a leader in Ulster during the Rebellion of 1641, defeated a Scottish army in the battle of **Benburb.** To avert the complete triumph of the Roman Catholics and of the Nuncio, Cardinal Rinuccini, Ormond, who in 1643 had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant, and who was now besieged in Dublin by a force headed by the Cardinal himself, in February 1647 negotiated with the English Parliament, offering to hand over to it Dublin and other places. The Parliament thus obtained the conduct of the war in Ireland. In June **Colonel Michael Jones** arrived in Ireland with Parliamentary troops, and in July Ormond definitely laid down his command, surrendering Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other places.

On July 25 Jones became Commander-in-Chief for the Parliament in Ireland, and under his direction the war continued, Monk acting with energy in Ulster, and Lord Inchiquin showing vigour in the south. In face of the English activity, the Irish merely wasted valuable time in disputes, and their defeat on August 8 by Jones at **Dangan Hill** resulted in the overthrow of the influence of the anti-Ormond faction, and in the despatch of an invitation to Prince Charles to come to Ireland.

Return of Ormond. The struggle in Ireland takes a new form.—Henrietta Maria, however, at once appointed Ormond Lord-Lieutenant, and he in October 1648 returned to Ireland, while Inchiquin adopted the Royalist cause. At the end of the year there were definitely two parties in Ireland: the

Roman Catholic and Royalist party, headed by Ormond, and the Parliamentary party, which held Dublin.

On February 16, 1644, Ormond, having the previous month made an agreement with the Confederate Roman Catholics, **proclaimed the Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland**, and Rinuccini left Ireland in the same month. Ormond had thus for the moment united the Roman Catholics and the Anglo-Irish Royalists, though **Owen O'Neill**, with an Irish army, not only refused to join in the resistance to the English Parliament, but actually entered into negotiations with Monk. Consequently, when in June Ormond advanced with a force numbering some 8000 upon Dublin, Inchiquin, after capturing Drogheda, marched north, defeated some of O'Neill's forces, and occupied Dundalk, which had been held by Monk. About the same time the Ulster Scots occupied Belfast and Carrickfergus. For entering into communication with the Roman Catholic O'Neill, Monk was severely blamed by the House of Commons on his return to England in August.

The Battle of Rathmines and arrival of Cromwell, August 1649.—Meanwhile, though Monk had been unsuccessful in Ulster, Colonel Michael Jones, who held Dublin, had won a signal success. On August 2, 1649, shortly before Cromwell's arrival, he inflicted upon Ormond a severe defeat in the battle of **Rathmines**, near Dublin, forcing the Royalist general, who lost 4000 killed and 2500 who were taken prisoners, to raise the siege of the city. **When Cromwell arrived** Ormond was at Kilkenny, and before the end of August heard that the whole English army under Cromwell (who brought with him 9000 men, with whom was Ireton) was concentrated at Dublin.

The taking of Drogheda, September 11, and Wexford, October 11.—Cromwell, who was now at the head of 15,000 men, was resolved to avenge the massacre of 1641, and to remove all danger of any future revolt against the English power. At

the same time he set his face sternly against lawlessness on the part of his army, and encouraged the Irish to bring supplies to his troops. After sending a force to strengthen the garrison commanded by Sir Charles Coote in Londonderry, he marched against Drogheda, which was defended by Sir Arthur Aston with 2000 men and one regiment of horse. On September 11 **Drogheda was taken by storm**, and the whole of the defending force with the exception of about fifty were killed.

After a short stay in Dublin, Cromwell marched to Wexford, leaving garrisons in Drogheda, Dundalk, and Trim. He arrived at Wexford on October 1, his position being much strengthened by his command of the harbour. The governor of the town, Colonel Simcott, at first refused to surrender, but on October 11 entered into negotiations, during the progress of which the governor of the castle admitted the Cromwellian soldiers. Thereupon the defenders of the town were seized with panic, the town was captured, and about 2000 were killed, Cromwell losing some twenty men.

Further successes of the Parliamentarians.—On October 19 New Ross, after a short resistance, surrendered, and before the middle of November Cork and Youghal were also in the hands of Cromwell, Ormond, now in alliance with O'Neill, being unable to offer any effective resistance. Equally successful was the cause of the Parliament in the north of Ireland, where Coote, the governor of Londonderry, had to a great extent cleared Ulster of the enemy.

Prince Rupert at Kinsale, January-November 1649.—Closely connected with the establishment of the supremacy of the Commonwealth in Ireland was the question of **supremacy at sea.** Early in January 1649, Prince Rupert with eight ships arrived at Kinsale. Though he captured some prizes, he gave no effectual support to Ormond, who was upholding the Royalist cause in Ireland, and thus missed a great opportunity of

hampering very seriously the new government in England and Cromwell's operations in the south of Ireland.

In May Blake arrived, and till October blockaded Rupert in the harbour, thus enabling Cromwell to cross the Channel and to arrive without difficulty on August 15 in Dublin. Early in November, about the time when Cromwell was taking Cork and Youghal, Rupert took advantage of a storm, and with the loss of three ships escaped.

Rupert's adventures.—On leaving Ireland, Rupert with the remnant of the Royalist fleet sailed to the coast of Portugal. Before long, however, he was pursued by Admiral Blake, and took refuge in the Tagus, where he received kind treatment from the King of Portugal. But Blake blockaded Rupert's fleet in the Tagus, and it was not till late in 1650 that Rupert managed to escape, and sailed to Toulon. Spain had openly declared herself on the side of the English Commonwealth, and accordingly Rupert, whenever it was possible, attacked Spanish ships. After leaving Toulon, Rupert and Maurice sailed for the Azores, and at the island of St. Michael received hospitality from its Portuguese governor. Misfortunes, however, attended Rupert. On September 21, 1651, his ship *The Constant Reformation* was wrecked. After remaining on the African coast for some time, Rupert and his small squadron sailed to the West Indies, where Prince Maurice's ship was wrecked and he himself was drowned. In March 1653 Rupert returned to the French coast, and brought his three years' wandering to an end. He was now 'a changed and broken-hearted man,' his high spirits gone, and his health ruined.

Cromwell's further successes in Ireland, 1649-50.—Meanwhile the pacification of Ireland had been accomplished. After the capture of Cork and Youghal, Cromwell was for a time disabled by sickness, and O'Neill, on whom the hopes of the Irish depended, died on November 6. On November 20

a Parliamentary force under Colonel Reynolds captured **Carrick-on-Suir**, a place of importance owing to its proximity to Waterford, and to the fact that its possession gave its holders the power of communicating easily with the fleet. At the end of November Cromwell besieged Waterford, but though by the capture of the fort at Passage he gained the command of the harbour, he raised the siege on December 2, owing to the rains, and went into winter quarters. Early in 1650 he again took the field. While he secured Kilkenny, another force gained the supremacy in Munster, and on May 10 **Clonmel**, which had been bravely defended by **Hugh O'Neill**, a nephew of Owen O'Neill, capitulated. This was the last **success** gained by Cromwell in Ireland. **He left that country at the end of May, Ireton** (Jones having died the previous autumn) **remaining as his Lord Deputy.** Munster and Leinster had been practically subdued; in Ulster the Scots, resenting the assumption by the Roman Catholics (whose only possession now was Connaught) of the supreme authority, had now no scruple in making terms with the English Parliament.

Ireton in Ireland.—Though much remained to be done by Ireton aided by Ludlow, the issue of the Irish war was no longer doubtful. Coote, on June 21, won a victory in Ulster, and Ireton took Waterford on August 10, though for a time Limerick withstood his attacks. Before the end of the year **Ormond**, realising that all hope of a successful resistance was over, **left Ireland.** In 1651 Ireton, after a long siege, captured **Limerick**, though he himself died in November, leaving to Ludlow and Fleetwood the task of completing the work of conquest. The **surrender of Galway** to Coote in May 1652 marked the **close of the struggle**, and before the end of the year many of the Irish soldiery left Ireland to take service in Spain or France. It is estimated that during the twelve years of war Ireland lost one-third of her population.

The Cromwellian Settlement.—The work of conquest was over, but there remained the more difficult task of establishing order in, and restoring prosperity to, Ireland. Cromwell's work of settlement was based upon certain principles, some of which were admirable. The trade of Ireland with England was to be encouraged, and Ireland was in no respects to be made economically subject to England. The fundamental principle of Cromwell's policy, writes Professor Firth, was that 'the English colony were to be regarded simply as Englishmen living in Ireland and entitled to the same rights as Englishmen living in England.'[1] At the same time, Cromwell was no less anxious than was Strafford to give Ireland an impartial system of justice together with a reform of the law. But in view of the late proscriptions and forfeitures it was not to be expected that Irishmen would willingly accept or obey English laws.

The most **complete failure** in his Irish policy, however, had reference to his **religious schemes.** He seems to have laboured under the belief that the conversion of the Irish to Protestantism could be easily accomplished. 'The ex-soldiers who became yeomen and small farmers,' writes Professor Firth, 'tended to become Catholic in creed and Irish in feeling.'[2] This was due in great measure to their marriages with Irish women, under whose influence they became *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores* ('more Irish than the Irish themselves').

Permanent results of Cromwell's Policy.—The permanent results of Cromwell's Irish policy were (1) the increase of the number of Protestant Nonconformists in Ulster, (2) the land settlement. Not more than one-third of the confiscated land was given back to its original owners, and the new proprietors remained. It must, however, always be remembered that had the Restoration not 'torn up by the roots' Cromwell's settle-

[1] Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 271. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

ment which established the legislative union of England and Ireland, and which gave Ireland 'equal rights with regard to foreign and colonial trade,'[1] Ireland might have settled down and become prosperous and even contented.

Events in Scotland, 1649-1650.—Cromwell's return to England was necessitated by new developments in Scotland, where upon the death of Charles I. **his son had been proclaimed king as Charles II.**

The Scots had followed up their action by entering upon negotiations with Prince Charles, who after staying in Jersey from September 1649 to February 1650 had returned to Holland. After meeting Henrietta Maria at Beauvais he had an interview with the Scottish Commissioners at Breda, agreed to their terms, and returned to Scotland in June 1650.

The Execution of Montrose, May 21, 1650.—While negotiations between Charles and the Scots were proceeding **Montrose,** incited by the Prince to action, had landed in the north of Scotland with a small force. In Sutherland he was disastrously defeated and fled to the west, only to be betrayed by Macleod of Assynt into the hands of his foes. Amid circumstances of great indignity the gallant Montrose was hanged in Edinburgh on May 21, 1650.

The Dunbar Campaign, 1650.—In consequence of the refusal of Fairfax (who was still Lieutenant-General), in spite of Cromwell's urgent entreaties, to undertake an offensive campaign in Scotland, and of his resignation of his command, Cromwell was appointed Commander-in-Chief. He was convinced that the Scots intended to invade England, and at once determined to forestall them by entering Scotland with a large army. In July he was across the border with 5500 cavalry and 10,500 infantry. Opposed to him under David Leslie was a larger Scottish army consisting of 8000

[1] Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 172.

horse and 18,000 foot. This army was composed of the extreme Covenanters and did not include the Royalist followers of the Duke of Hamilton. In order to keep in touch with the fleet Cromwell marched along the coast, and found Leslie's army strongly posted between Calton Hill and Leith. In August, Cromwell's army being much reduced by sickness, and being forced, by the refusal of the Scots to give battle, to retire on Dunbar, was threatened with destruction by the confident advance of Leslie. That general, however, made some blunders in the arrangement of his forces, and Cromwell, with whom acted Lambert and Monk, was able on the early morning of **September 3, 1650**, to surprise Leslie and to inflict upon him a crushing defeat in what is known as the **Battle of Dunbar.**

After Dunbar.—Leslie, who had lost 3000 men killed and 10,000 taken prisoners, fell back on Stirling, leaving Cromwell to occupy Leith and Edinburgh.[1]

On **January 1, 1651**, Charles, who had subscribed the Covenant, was **crowned king** at Scone, and the Royalists and the bulk of the Presbyterians agreed in giving him their hearty support. At the same time the extreme Presbyterians never ceased to regard him with suspicion, and with them the Duke of Argyll's influence remained paramount.

The first seven months of the year 1651 were a trying period both for Cromwell and for his opponents. Between February and June Cromwell was seriously ill, and consequently no serious operations on the part of his army were undertaken.

In David Leslie the Scots had an able leader, and when Cromwell in June took the field he found his opponents, who now included the Duke of Hamilton and other influential

[1] In October Charles fled from Perth in order to join the Scottish Royalists in the North. He was, however, caught and brought back. The incident is known as *The Start.*

Engagers, in a strong position south of Stirling.[1] However, by means of his fleet, Cromwell landed troops in Fife, captured Perth on August 2, and turned Leslie's position.

The Worcester Campaign, 1651.—Thus cut off from communication with the north of Scotland, Charles decided upon the bold course of marching into England, where, as well as in Wales, earlier in the year, Royalist plots had shown the existence of a feeling in his favour. Marching by Carlisle and through Lancashire, Charles was joined by the Earl of Derby with a small force, and on August 22 reached Worcester at the head of 16,000 men. Meanwhile Cromwell, who left Monk with 6000 troops in Scotland, marched into England by way of Yorkshire, and when he arrived at Evesham he found himself at the head of 30,000 troops. Having sent 11,000 troops across the Severn to prevent the Royalists from retreating into Wales he advanced to Worcester, and on **September 3**, a year after the battle of Dunbar, the **Battle of Worcester** was fought. The Scottish Royalists suffered a severe defeat, almost the whole of Charles's army being either killed or taken prisoners. Among the few who escaped was Charles himself, who, after a series of adventures, managed to reach France on October 22.

Monk in Scotland.—Meanwhile Monk was enabled to complete the subjugation of Scotland. After the battle of Worcester Argyll yielded; by **May 1652** the whole of the country, as well as the Orkneys, was in the hands of the English Parliament, and a rising in the Highlands in 1653 and 1654 was easily suppressed.

In **April 1652 the Union of England and Scotland** had been proclaimed, toleration was enforced, Presbyterianism had lost

[1] On December 26, 1647, Charles I. from Carisbrooke signed with the Scots a treaty called the *Engagement* recognising the Covenant, etc. Many Scottish Royalists, such as the Duke of Hamilton, were *Engagers*. Hamilton's rival in Scotland was Argyll.

its political influence, and Scotland became like Ireland an integral portion of the British Commonwealth.

The 'Eikon Basilike.'—It was now possible to make definite arrangements for the future government of Great Britain. In the previous November Parliament had fixed November 3, 1654, as the date of its dissolution, and in February 1652 it had passed an Act of Oblivion of all offences committed before the battle of Worcester. But the execution of Charles I. had rendered all attempts to conciliate the Royalists impossible, and the publication of *Eikon Basilike*, a book purporting to give an account of Charles I.'s life in prison, had aided in creating a revulsion of feeling in his favour.

Foreign Policy: The Dutch War, 1652-1654.—Questions of foreign policy soon demanded the attention of the English Government. The **Peace of Westphalia** in 1648 had not brought to a close the struggle between France and Spain, and both these countries between 1650 and 1652 evinced a desire to secure the alliance of the English republic. But before any decision on the part of the young Commonwealth could be arrived at, Cromwell's attention was distracted by the outbreak of **a war with the Dutch.**

The Navigation Act, October 9, 1651.—After the death of Charles I., it had been hoped that an alliance, if not a political union, between England and Holland, might be effected. But after 1648 **commercial interests** began to outweigh religious sympathies. In March 1651 the Dutch had made a Treaty with Denmark injurious to England's Baltic trade, and on October 9, 1651, the English Parliament passed the **Navigation Act,** which insisted that goods from Asia, Africa, and America should be imported into England **only** in English ships, or in ships belonging to the country from which the goods came. This Act was a direct attack upon the **carrying trade** of the United Provinces, and upon their fishing industry, and once put into force implied the ruin of Dutch commerce, and a severe

blow to Dutch fishermen, who were deprived of their market in England. Other questions at issue referred to the English demand of the recognition of the sovereignty of the seas which encircled Great Britain, to the attacks of English privateers upon Dutch ships, and to the English claim to the ownership of the fishing rights in the North Sea.

The chief battles of the war in 1652.—After an encounter, on May 19, 1652, in the Downs between **Blake** the English admiral, a native of Somerset, and **Tromp**, a famous Dutch sailor, **war definitely** began on June 1652. After some indecisive combats, Blake and Ayscue the English admirals, defeated, on September 28, Vice-Admiral de Witt, with whom was Ruyter, off the **Kentish Knock**, a sandbank near the mouth of the Thames. On November 30, off **Dungeness**, Blake was himself defeated by Tromp (who had lately been temporarily superseded by de Witt), and the end of the year found the Dutch supreme in the Channel as well as in the Mediterranean. The war continued with varying fortunes, Monk and Deane the two English generals being associated with Blake, and opposed by Tromp and de Witt.

English successes, 1653.—Throughout the year 1653 the struggle never ceased. A three days' indecisive battle off **Portland** (Feb. 18-20) testified to the good effects of the reorganisation of the English fleet which had been carried out after the defeat off Dungeness.

On June 2 and 3 a fierce engagement took place off the **Gabbard Shoal**, east of Harwich, between Tromp and an English fleet under Monk and Deane, in which the last named was killed. The English secured a hard-earned victory, with the result that they regained the command of the Channel, were able to blockade the Dutch coast, and opened negotiations for peace. These, however, soon came to an end, and on July 30-31, 'the last and most tremendous battle of the

war,'[1] in which Tromp was mortally wounded, was fought off the **Texel**.

The close of the war, April 5, 1654.—Though the English won the day, the Dutch had succeeded in breaking the blockade, and were determined to continue the contest. **Opdam** succeeded Tromp, **Ruyter** remained Vice-Admiral, and plans were drawn up for a blockade of the Thames. No serious engagement, however, took place, and, after long discussions over the terms of peace, which as first proposed by the English were impossible for the Dutch to accept, the war came to an end. By the **Treaty of Peace**, which was signed on April 5, 1654, the English sovereignty of the seas was acknowledged, and a defensive alliance was concluded between the two nations. The Navigation Act remained in force, and commissioners were chosen by the two Governments to assess the damages due to the English and Dutch who had settled in the East Indies or elsewhere. Though England's maritime supremacy was assured, the Dutch sea-power remained formidable.

Cromwell's hands now free.—Peace with the Dutch, however, enabled Cromwell not only to establish firmly his Government at home, but also to make it respected abroad. He was now free to turn his attention to what is known as his 'Western Design,' or, in other words, he was able to endeavour to carry out his scheme of foreign policy.

Cromwell's Foreign Policy.—That policy was based on the idea of a union of the Protestant States of Europe, and was Elizabethan in its character. The triumph of the Protestant religion, according to his policy, was to be accompanied by a notable expansion of British commerce. Though the commercial supremacy of England was not attained till the total discomfiture of the Dutch in the reign of Charles II.,

[1] Montague, *History of England*, 1603-1660, p. 406.

Cromwell, desirous of ending a war with a Protestant nation, had pressed on the conclusion of peace with Holland.

Events leading to the establishment of the Protectorate, December 1654.—During the course of the Dutch war, important events and developments had taken place in England. After the king's death, it was obvious that the Parliament had ceased to represent the nation, and November 1654 was fixed upon as the date for the elections to a new Parliament. **With all classes the Parliament was unpopular.** The army tolerated with difficulty its rule; the majority of the nation strongly opposed its attempts to establish Presbyterianism in England, and disliked its attempts to restrict the freedom of the press. Early in 1653 it became evident that the Parliament would not hold a General Election, and that some of its members were intriguing against Cromwell.

The officers and the Council of State at once determined to insist upon a General Election. In order to prevent the Parliament from perpetuating its powers, Cromwell, acting in full accord with the officers, proceeded in April 20, 1653, to the House with some soldiers and upbraided the members for their selfishness and lack of any sense of justice. He then ordered the soldiers to drive out the members, and to take away the mace, which he styled a 'bauble.'

The Expulsion of the Long Parliament, or **The Rump** as it was contemptuously called, by military force was effected to the satisfaction of the nation, and its expulsion was followed by the dissolution of the Council of State. Cromwell and the army, which had already destroyed the monarchy and the House of Lords, were now the masters of England, and Cromwell was urged by some to assume the title of king.

The 'nominated' or Little Parliament, 1653.—But Cromwell still desired to govern under Parliamentary forms. A new Council of State (seven soldiers and three civilians) was formed, and one hundred and forty men (one hundred and

twenty-nine English, five Scottish, six Irish representatives) were **nominated** to form an assembly which is known as the **Little Parliament.** On July 4, 1653, this Parliament met. Having set up a new Council of State, it proposed to ignore the capitulations made by the soldiers with the Royalist commanders, and, at the same time, set to work in most energetic fashion to reform abuses. Composed mainly of Puritan doctrinaires, who in no sense represented the nation, and resembling in many ways the Girondists in the French Revolution, it endeavoured to carry out reforms—some admirable, some the reverse—rapidly and not always after due consideration. In a very short time it had alarmed and alienated all classes—the clergy, the army, the lawyers, and even the Fifth Monarchy Men. In November, Lambert and the officers offered Cromwell the title of king. On December 12, 1653, the Little Parliament, its members being divided among themselves on the question of the disestablishment of the Church, **came to an end** in a somewhat unusual fashion. Headed by the Speaker, about eighty of the members left the House, and resigned their powers into the hands of Cromwell at Whitehall; the remainder, some twenty-five, were ejected from the Chamber by two colonels at the head of a small number of musketeers.

IMPORTANT DATES.

1649-1653.

Execution of Capel, Hamilton, and Holland (March 9).	1649
England declared a Commonwealth (May 19) . .	,,
Defeat of Ormond by Jones at Rathmines (August 2) .	,,
Cromwell lands in Ireland (August 15) . . .	,,
Drogheda stormed and sacked (September 11) . .	,,
Prince Charles arrives in Jersey (September) .	,,
Wexford stormed and sacked (October 12) . . .	,,
Prince Rupert escapes with his Fleet from Kinsale (November)	,,
Cromwell raises the Siege of Waterford (December 2).	,,
Prince Charles leaves Jersey (February) . . .	1650
Prince Charles Signs a Treaty with the Scots in Holland (May 1)	,,
Cromwell takes Clonmel (May 10)	,,
Montrose is executed in Edinburgh (May 21) . .	,,
Return of Cromwell to England (May 24) . . .	,,
Prince Charles lands in Scotland (June 23). . .	,,
Cromwell enters Scotland (July 22)	,,
Fall of Waterford (August)	,,
Battle of Dunbar (September 3)	,,
Prince Charles crowned King of Scotland at Scone (January 1)	1651
Cromwell takes Perth (August 2)	,,
Monk captures Stirling (August 14)	,,
Monk captures Dundee (September 1) . . .	,,
Battle of Worcester (September 3)	,,
Navigation Act (October 9)	,,
Prince Charles lands in France (October 17) . .	,,
Fall of Limerick (November)	,,
Death of Ireton (November)	,,

Parliamentarians occupy the Orkneys (February) . 1652
An Act of Oblivion for offences committed before the battle of Worcester (February) . . . . „
Surrender of Dunottar Castle (February) . . . „
Proclamation of the Union of England and Scotland (April) . . . . . „
Fall of Galway: end of Irish War (May) . . . „
Fight off Dover between Tromp and Blake (May 18) . „
Outbreak of War against the Dutch (July) . . . „
Act confiscating land of Irish Roman Catholic rebels (August) . . . . . „
Argyll yields. Subjugation of Scotland completed (August) . . . . . „
Naval Victory off the Kentish Knock (September 28) . „
Defeat of Blake by Tromp off Dungeness (November 30) „
Defeat of Tromp off Portland Bill (February) . . 1653
Rupert returns to France (March) . . . . „
Cromwell expels the members of the Long Parliament (April 20) . . . . . „
Naval Victory off Harwich: Tromp killed (June 2 and 3) . . . . . „
Meeting of the *Little or Barebones Parliament* (July 4) „
Naval Victory off the Texel (July 30-31) . . . „
Dissolution of the Barebones Parliament (December) . „
Instrument of Government: Cromwell Dictator (December 16) . . . . . „

Period II.—The Protectorate (December 1653—September 1658), and The Interregnum (September 1658—May 1660).

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Cromwell Protector, December 16, 1653—The Instrument of Government—Cromwell's religious policy—His general position, 1653-1658—The question of a French or Spanish Alliance—Colonial Policy—Conquest of Jamaica—French Alliance, 1655 and 1657—Exploits and death of Blake—Capture of Dunkirk—Cromwell and Sweden—Criticism of Cromwell's Foreign Policy—Cromwell and his Parliaments—The First Protectorate Parliament—Penruddock's Rising—The Second Protectorate Parliament—Refusal of the title of King—The Petition and Advice—Cromwell's strong position—His death, September 3, 1658—His Character—The Interregnum—Richard Protector—Ascendency of the Army—Retirement of Richard—A Royalist Rising—Lambert and Monk—Monk's Ascendency—Events leading to the Restoration—Return of Charles II.—The real meaning of the Great Rebellion.

CHIEF NAMES.

Charles X.—Mazarin—Fleetwood—Lambert—Desborough—Vane—Turenne—Blake—Penn—Venables—Whitelocke—Monk—Richard Cromwell—Milton.

The Protectorate—1653-1658.

Cromwell Protector, December 16, 1653. — Cromwell's honest attempt to carry on the government of the country in a semi-constitutional manner had again failed, and he found himself in the position of dictator. A new Constitution, known as **the Instrument of Government**, had already been drawn up by Lambert and the officers. It was accepted

on December 16, 1653, by Cromwell, who was installed as Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and remained Protector till his death.

The Instrument of Government, 1653.—The new Constitution, indeed, represented the views of the officers of the army. 'Popery and Prelacy' were alone exempted from toleration, but with this exemption freedom of worship was allowed to all denominations. The Lord Protector was to govern with the aid of a Council of State, composed for the most part of military men, and numbering from thirteen to twenty-two; and Parliament, which consisted of a single House of 400 members, was to be elected every three years, and to sit during at least five months of each year. The electors to the first Parliament were limited to the supporters of the Parliament in the late war, and Scotland and Ireland were 'empowered to send representatives (supporters of the Rebellion in Ireland and all Roman Catholics 'being permanently disqualified from sitting or voting,' while in England no Royalist could sit in the first four Parliaments). The Instrument of Government was an attempt to place the legislative power in the House of Commons, while giving the executive power to the Protector and the Council of State. Its merits as a constitutional settlement, however, cannot be estimated, as the Parliament elected under it never gave it a fair trial.

Cromwell the Saviour of Society.—From the time of his elevation to the Protectorate on December 16, 1653, Cromwell adopted a conservative attitude, rendered necessary by the conduct of the Little Parliament. 'Amid the ruins of all authority, political and ecclesiastical,' writes Ranke, 'Cromwell stood forth as the champion of the institutions of Society, of property, of civil right, and of the inferior clergy.' At the same time, though the clergy and lawyers might welcome Cromwell's elevation to the Protectorate as the only possible safeguard against anarchy, the Royalists were never won over,

the Anabaptist sects resented their own position of impotence, and the Republicans generally were discontented.

To the nation as a whole, however, the Protectorate implied the maintenance of civil order, and after the period of uncertainty which had followed the death of Charles I., the new form of government, though illegal, was regarded as offering some security against anarchy. The Church, the Judicial Bench, and the Universities saw in the proclamation of the Protectorate the recognition of law and order. Thus the new government was accepted, and continued, in the words of Whitelocke, to 'act honest and lawfull things, though under an unlawfull power, which they cannot be done otherwise.'

It had been arranged when the Instrument of Government was produced, that Parliament, which was to be triennial, was to meet on **September 24, 1654**. Until that date Cromwell and the Council carried on the government with vigour and success.

Cromwell's Religious Policy. Severe Treatment of the English Church.—Generally speaking, the rule of Cromwell implied toleration of all opinions, provided that they did not aim at the destruction of his authority. But though religious views of all kinds were allowed, the Church of England, which was regarded as closely bound up with royalty, was severely treated. The cause of religion as represented by the Anglican portion of the community suffered a series of severe blows after the establishment of the Commonwealth. Cromwell and his adherents attached great importance to the hearing of sermons, but no efforts were made to instruct the people, who soon became 'ignorant of even the common points of Christianity.'

In the early years of the Commonwealth, the services of the Church of England seem to have been to some extent tolerated. Even as late as April 1655, we learn from Evelyn that Church services were held openly in London. But in

September of that year Cromwell published an edict prohibiting the clergy of the Church of England from preaching or teaching. A further proclamation **forbade, after December 25, 1655, preaching, teaching in schools, and the administration of the Sacraments by the Clergy of the Church of England,** under pain of imprisonment or exile. 'So this,' writes Evelyn, 'was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seene, or the Church of England herselfe since the Reformation; to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter.' Under the Commonwealth the clergy of the Church of England were often in great want, and were subject to many indignities. Services were indeed held, but only in private houses, and under circumstances of difficulty. It is quite clear that throughout the Commonwealth the English Church and its adherents were regarded with great suspicion and disfavour by the Government. Roman Catholics were also severely treated, but Jews, for the first time since Edward I.'s reign, were allowed to settle in England. A new sect known as **the Society of Friends** or **the Quakers** arose at this time, but received no support from Cromwell.

Cromwell's difficulties after 1653.—Between December 1653 and the summer of 1658, Cromwell showed his ability and strength both at home and abroad. At home his difficulties were enormous. The Royalists were numerous and never became well affected towards the Government, while the Presbyterians and Independents who formed the bulk of Cromwell's supporters were by no means unanimous. The chief point, indeed, upon which his civilian allies agreed was opposition to the **supremacy of the Army.** And it was upon the question of military supremacy that Cromwell's difficulties at home chiefly arose.

The question of an Alliance with France or Spain, 1654-6.—On the Continent France and Spain were continuing their long struggle, which not even the Peace of Westphalia in

1648 had interrupted. Neither State seemed able to crush the other, and it was evident that victory would lie with whichever power gained the support of England. Three leading ideas, it has been said,[1] are discernible in Cromwell's somewhat confused conception of foreign policy. Of these the **religious** idea at first occupied the chief place in Cromwell's mind, and he had aimed at the somewhat out-of-date policy of uniting all the Protestant nations in a league. But religion was no longer the dominating force in European politics, and the Dutch war had emphasised the greater importance now placed on the **commercial** idea, which eventually led Cromwell to ally with France against Spain, and to claim for British trade a share of the New World. Closely connected with the commercial went the **national** idea, which aimed at giving England a commanding position in Europe.

England's strong position.—Before 1654 closed, Cromwell had placed England in such a strong position that both France and Spain desired his alliance. Treaties had been concluded not only with Holland, but also with Sweden, ruled by Queen Christina, with Denmark, and with Portugal, while Englishmen attacked France in North America and Spain in the West Indies. With a curious misconception of what was feasible in foreign policy, Cromwell imagined that he could attack the distant possessions of a European Power and yet remain at peace with that Power in Europe.

From the Spanish ambassador Cardenas he demanded that Englishmen in Spanish lands should be allowed to practise their own religion, and to enjoy trading privileges. 'You are demanding my master's two eyes,' was the well-known reply of Cardenas, and open war with Spain in the New World followed.

Cromwell's Colonial Policy.—Hitherto the hostile relations of England, first with the French and then with the Dutch,

[1] Corbett, *England and the Mediterranean*, vol. i. p. 272.

had given Cromwell an opportunity of attempting to extend England's colonial possessions at the expense of France and Holland.

Cromwell undoubtedly desired ardently the well-being and advancement of the English colonies in the New World. His relations with New England were most cordial, and on the outbreak of the Dutch war he called upon the New Englanders to attack the Dutch possessions in America, and despatched ships from England to capture those possessions.

The war that now broke out between England and Spain came at an opportune moment, and enabled Cromwell to attack the Spanish colonies and to win for England valuable possessions and privileges.

Capture of Jamaica.—In December 1654 a fleet under Admiral Penn, carrying 2500 soldiers under General Venables, sailed from England. In April Venables failed to take **San Domingo**, the capital of Hispaniola, but in May **Jamaica** was captured. In spite of repeated attempts of the Spaniards during the next few years to retake it, Jamaica remained an English possession. Cromwell's colonial policy was continued and developed by Charles II. and his successors.

Alliance with France, 1655 and 1657.—These events did not lead immediately to war with Spain **in Europe**, for war was not declared till October 1655. Nor was an alliance with France hastily concluded. The persecution of the **Vaudois** Protestants by the Piedmontese Government had aroused the indignation of Cromwell, and had prompted Milton to compose his famous sonnet, of which the opening lines are—

> 'Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.'

On June 17, 1655, Evelyn relates that there was a collection for the persecuted Churches and Christians in Savoy—remnants of the ancient Albigenses. Mazarin, on July 1655, brought pressure to bear upon the Regent of Savoy; the

massacres ceased, and on October 24, 1655—the day on which the Spanish Ambassador left England—a treaty, mainly commercial, between England and France was signed. **In April 1656** Philip IV., King of Spain, **allied with Charles II.**, and planned the overthrow of Cromwell. Consequently on **March 23, 1657**, Cromwell and Mazarin entered into a **definite alliance against Spain**, Mazarin engaging to hand over Mardyke and Dunkirk, when taken from the Spaniards, to England, while Cromwell promised to aid the French in Flanders against the Spaniards with 6000 troops and a fleet.

Exploits and death of Blake, 1657.—Meanwhile an English squadron under Blake had on September 1656 captured the Spanish Plate fleet, and had on April 20, 1657, in brilliant fashion destroyed the Spanish fleet at **Santa Cruz**, in Teneriffe.

On August 7 Blake died as he and his fleet were entering Plymouth Sound. A great sailor, Blake was deservedly buried in Westminster Abbey, though at the Restoration his bones with those of Cromwell and other Parliamentarians were exhumed.

Capture of Dunkirk, June 14, 1658.—No sooner had the treaty with France been signed, than preparations were made to aid Mazarin. In April 1657 English troops landed at Boulogne, and formed part of the French army under Turenne. In October Mardyke was captured and garrisoned by an English contingent, and on June 14, 1658, after a fierce battle with the Spaniards on June 4, the combined French and English forces took **Dunkirk**, which was handed over to Cromwell.

Shortly afterwards the Spaniards agreed to treat for peace with Louis XIV.'s government, and in November 1659 the **Treaty of the Pyrenees** ended the long war between France and Spain.

Cromwell and Sweden.—The events of the year 1658 had amply justified Cromwell's alliance with France; his diplomacy

was not equally successful in the north of Europe. There Charles X., King of Sweden, the successor of Queen Christina, with whom Cromwell had established friendly relations, had invaded Poland, with the result that complications ensued in Northern Europe which were not removed till after his death. Cromwell, who never understood questions of foreign policy, persisted in regarding Charles X. as being animated with the feelings and intentions of Gustavus Adolphus. In June 1655 he assured the Swedish envoy, that for the sake of the cause of Protestantism he was willing to enter into an alliance with Sweden. But when Charles became involved not only in a war with Roman Catholic Poland, but also with the Protestant States of Brandenburg, Denmark, and Holland, Cromwell contented himself with making merely a **Commercial Treaty** with Sweden in July 1656. In 1657 the fortunes of Charles became desperate, and his foes being joined by Austria, Cromwell began to fear that the dream of Wallenstein would be fulfilled, and that Roman Catholic Austria would reign supreme over the Baltic. This fear, which illustrates his ignorance of foreign politics, led Cromwell in February 1658 to mediate (through his ambassador) the **Treaty of Roskild** between Sweden and Denmark. Just before he died the northern war broke out again, and only came to a close upon the death of Charles X.

Summary and Criticism of Cromwell's Foreign Policy.—The alliance with France has been frequently and severely criticised on the ground that, in aiding France, a rising Power, to crush Spain, a declining Power, Cromwell was preparing the way for the predominance of Louis XIV. in Europe. It is further said that while an alliance with France was necessary and justified in the reign of Elizabeth, it was unwise during the Protectorate, in view of the coming rivalry between the two nations in India, in America, and in the West Indies.

The answer to this criticism is, (1) that the future greatness

of France was by no means apparent between the years 1648 and 1658, when she was with difficulty holding her own against Spain; (2) Spain's refusal to permit the English merchants to trade in South America, or to treat Englishmen when captured otherwise than as heretics, subject to punishment by the Inquisition, rendered an alliance impossible; and (3) England's chief commercial and colonial rival from 1648 to 1672 was not France but Holland.

Cromwell himself, as has been said, did not realise that after 1648 commerce was taking the place of religion as the chief lever in European politics, and it was only the national appreciation of England's real interests that forced him into the Dutch war. That the London merchants appreciated the real question at issue for England was evident from their assertions that Holland was England's natural enemy. At the same time, the importance of trade is seen in their outcry against cessation of trade with Spain and her colonies.

'Cromwell's foreign policy,' writes Professor Firth,[1] 'was in part a failure, but only in part. He promoted the material welfare of his country, and saved her from foreign interference in her domestic affairs.' He gave England a great position abroad. She was respected and feared.

'Cromwell's greatness at home,' writes Clarendon, 'was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad.' In defence of Cromwell's ideas upon foreign policy it must always be remembered that religion, even after the Peace of Westphalia, continued for many years to play a part in politics, though it gradually yielded to the growing importance of commercial questions.

The first Protectorate Parliament, Sept. 1654—Jan. 1655.—The years 1653-4 saw Cromwell's first definite attempt to provide England with a Parliament and a Constitution. On September 3, 1654, **the first Protectorate Parliament met.**

[1] *Cromwell*, by C. H. Firth, p. 389.

England was represented by four hundred members, and Scotland and Ireland by thirty each. It consisted mainly of Presbyterians and Independents. Though the extreme men who sat in the Little Parliament had not been returned, Cromwell found it necessary on September 12 to exclude about one hundred members, who, headed by Vane, wished to alter the form of government which the officers had devised.

In spite of this drastic action, the Commons persisted in amending the Constitution, in demanding the reduction of the army, and in attempting to take the control of the military forces of the country out of the hands of Cromwell. The result of the strained relations between Cromwell and the Parliament was to encourage the hopes of all opponents of the Government, and both Cavaliers and Levellers were in Cromwell's words 'endeavouring to put us into blood and confusion, more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw.' Plots in both Scotland and England were widespread, a feeling of uncertainty was engendered, and in the interests of order Cromwell was perfectly justified, **on January 22, 1655, in dissolving the Parliament.**

Penruddock's Rising, 1655.—Cromwell's action disconcerted those who hoped to see the embarrassments of the Government increase, and only one rising took place. It was headed by a **Colonel Penruddock,** who, on March 10, assembled at Salisbury between three hundred and four hundred men and proclaimed Charles II. king. The insurgents fled into Devonshire, where they were dispersed. Penruddock was executed, and many of his followers transported to the West Indies.

Cromwell supreme, 1655.—Constitutional government was in the then condition of England impossible, and Cromwell made no attempt to govern constitutionally. Moreover, foreign affairs demanded constant vigilance on the part of the English Government. Cromwell dealt in drastic fashion with

the legal opposition to his rule; he collected money without obtaining any Parliamentary sanction; he dismissed independent judges. In August 1655 he divided England into eleven military districts, over each of which he placed a major-general. The despotic character of his rule was undisguised, but was forced upon him by the fact that he only represented a minority of the nation, and that his power depended upon the loyalty of the army.

The second Protectorate Parliament, September 17, 1656—February 4, 1657.—The rule of major-generals which continued for some **eighteen months** was exceedingly unpopular, and at the elections to the **second Protectorate Parliament** in the autumn of 1656 many opponents of the Government were returned. However, after the exclusion of the one hundred malcontents, the remainder not only passed Acts in support of Cromwell's Protectorate (though they resented the rule of the major-generals), but decided to offer him **the title of King**, thus placing his power upon 'an old and sure foundation.'

Cromwell refuses the title of King, 1657.—The idea of making the crown hereditary and of offering Cromwell **the title of King** dates as far back as December 1653, when Cromwell refused the proposal of Lambert and the officers which had been embodied in the first draft of the Instrument of Government. A similar proposal was made in Parliament a year later, and in the summer of 1655 the Council of State suppressed a widely signed circular in London, which embodied a desire that Cromwell should take a royal or imperial title. Coincident with this movement in favour of the revival of royalty went one in favour of making the Protectorate hereditary. But by the Parliament of 1654 neither suggestion was approved, and the Protector himself opposed both of the changes proposed. In 1656, however, a new situation had been created. The rule of the major-generals was universally unpopular, and the reaction against it led to the attempt to

make Cromwell king on March 31, 1657. Parliament by a large majority had resolved on March 25 to offer Cromwell the kingship, and the scheme took form in the Humble Petition and Advice.[1] The army, however, was opposed to the wishes of Parliament, and for some weeks discussions and conferences took place. **The Petition and Advice** not only offered Cromwell the title of king, but included a constitutional scheme which in many ways was excellent. Liberty of conscience was safeguarded, as was civil liberty. The revival of monarchy and of a Second Chamber would, it was hoped, prove adequate to check the power of the Commons. It, however, soon became evident that the proposed revival of the monarchy was very distasteful, not only to the army, but to many of Cromwell's civilian supporters. On May 8, 1657, Cromwell informed Parliament that he could not accept the title of king. On May 25 Cromwell accepted the Petition and Advice, the title of Protector being substituted for that of king.

The Petition and Advice, 1657.—Cromwell's assent to, and acceptance of, the Petition and Advice placed his authority on a constitutional basis. 'Henceforward,' writes Professor Firth, 'he was not merely the nominee of the army, but the elect of the representatives of the people.'[2] But these representatives of the people were only so in name, for hitherto the Parliaments had been packed, and many members arbitrarily excluded.

As regards the new Second Chamber, called the House of Lords, Cromwell was given the right to appoint seventy members. He had also received a permanent revenue.

Dissolution of the second Protectorate Parliament, 1658.—In January 1658 Parliament met after an interval of six months, during which Cromwell had removed some forty of

[1] *English Historical Review*, pp. 429-442.
[2] *Cromwell*, by C. H. Firth, p. 427.

his supporters from the House of Commons to the new House of Lords. His supporters in the Lower House were thus considerably weakened, and before long the opposition gained the majority, and on January 20, 1658, when Parliament met, the Second Chamber was at once attacked. Its title—the House of Lords—was resented, and preparations were made for a demonstration against its existence, and in support of the supreme authority of the House of Commons. Realising the gravity of the crisis, Cromwell, on January 24, 1658, advocated in strong terms the necessity of united action. He pointed out that the Government and the army alone prevented the outbreak of anarchy, and emphasised the danger to Protestantism from the war then proceeding on the shores of the Baltic. But the Republican leaders persisted in attacking the new House of Lords, and intrigued with the soldiers and some of the citizens of London.

Hearing of the intrigues and intentions of the Republican leaders, Cromwell suddenly summoned the Houses of Parliament to meet him on February 4. After accusing the Commons of attempting to upset his late settlement, he declared the Parliament to be dissolved.

Cromwell's strong position.—Cromwell's position at the time of the dissolution of his last Parliament seemed impregnable. 'From the dissolution of Cromwell's last Parliament,' says Clarendon, 'all things at home and abroad seemed to succeed to his wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been.' His power however, as always, depended upon the fidelity of the army, and the increase of his influence in Parliament.

Cromwell's Death, September 3, 1658.—Shortly before his death Cromwell had decided to summon another Parliament, and Professor Firth is of opinion that had it met the majority of its members would have loyally supported his rule.[1]

[1] Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 431.

On September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell died at the age of fifty-nine.

Cromwell's Character.—Cromwell was a great soldier, and to his military skill the Parliament owed its victory over the king. He had deep religious convictions, and as far as possible he acted in accordance with them. From the death of Charles I. to his own death he had a difficult part to play, and was compelled to rely upon the fidelity of the army. He placed England in the forefront among foreign nations, and his foreign policy was on the whole brilliant and successful.

His ideas of religious toleration, though in many ways imperfect, were in advance of his age, and even Clarendon testifies to his greatness as a ruler.

The Interregnum—1658-1660.

On Cromwell's death difficulties at once appeared. On his deathbed the Protector appears to have nominated his son Richard as his successor. He was declared Protector by the Council, and addresses of congratulation flowed in. But it was soon seen that a new situation had been created. Military power had been the basis of the system presided over by Oliver Cromwell, who had seized the civil power and united it with the military. But with his death the question of the relation of the civil to the military power was raised afresh. Both Richard and Henry Cromwell wished to limit the military power and to establish a constitutional government, and to secure for the house of Cromwell a continuance of the enjoyment of the supreme authority in England. On the other hand, Fleetwood, the son-in-law of Cromwell, and Desborough, the latter's brother-in-law, saw in the perpetuation of the powers of the army the only safeguard of their religious opinions.

On January 27, 1659, Parliament assembled. In the debates it was evident that there was a deep feeling of opposition to the prospect of the army erecting itself into a separate estate, holding assemblies and passing 'decrees in opposition to those of Parliament.'[1] The army, however, remained obdurate, and for a time a deadlock prevailed.

Fall of the House of Cromwell, May 1659.—The Commons had determined to suppress the meetings of the officers, and on April 19 Richard Cromwell went to Wallingford House and dissolved the Council of the Officers. In the struggle that ensued the army won an easy and bloodless victory. Richard Cromwell was forced to dissolve the Parliament. In May the **remnant of the Long Parliament was recalled by the officers**, and Lenthall again was its Speaker. Neither Richard Cromwell nor his brother Henry, who was in Ireland, attempted any resistance. They retired into private life, and the new Government was speedily established.

At **Wallingford House** the leaders of the army drew up a declaration, stating that the recall of the Long Parliament, which had sat until April 20, 1653, was desirable. Further, a Council of State was appointed, which contained fifteen officers and sixteen civilians. On May 15 a series of Articles were issued from Wallingford House, establishing a Republican Constitution, and enunciating the 'old avowed religious and political views of the army.'

Royalist rising, August.—Fleetwood, Lambert, and the officers had established their predominance, and the suppression of a premature **Royalist insurrection** in Cheshire and Lancashire strengthened the position of the army, and apparently that of Lambert, who on August 19 had defeated a force of rebels under Sir George Booth at **Winnington Bridge, near Warrington.**

The Parliament, however, which consisted of about one

[1] Ranke, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 230.

hundred and twenty members, like its predecessors attempted to assert its authority over the army, and a deadlock ensued.

Expulsion of the Parliament, October 13, 1659.—On October 13 Lambert, who was a man of considerable ability, and his soldiers expelled the Parliament and nominated a Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-three members to act as the executive. Fleetwood was appointed commander-in-chief, Lambert major-general, and Desborough master of the horse. The army had thus established itself as the supreme authority, but the future remained uncertain. Would Lambert, whose ambition was undoubted, make himself Protector?

Ascendency of Monk.—At this crisis he was confronted by Monk, the distinguished general in whom Cromwell had had great confidence, and whose headquarters in 1659 were at Dalkeith House, near Edinburgh. His position in Scotland was strong; he had favoured the English Parliament in its late struggle with the army; public opinion in England was in his favour.

A meeting took place between Lambert and Monk in the north of England, and before the year closed the strength of Monk's position was as evident as was the real weakness of Lambert. For while Monk had all Scotland ready to support him, Lambert was opposed by the general feeling of the English people. The only course left for the army under Fleetwood was to summon a Parliament, and accordingly **the Long Parliament—the Rump**—a second time restored, assembled on December 26, 1659. Lambert's influence had disappeared, and on January 11, 1660, Monk at the head of a strong force was at York.

Monk in London and supreme, 1660.—England as well as Scotland was now at his mercy. In England the opposition to the Commonwealth was unmistakable. In London the absence of a settled form of government rendered property, if not life, insecure, and the hostility to the sectarian congrega-

tions became each day more pronounced. During Monk's advance through England he received numberless proofs of the desire of the nation for a settled form of government. Fairfax and his army had joined Monk in Yorkshire on January 3, and on February 3, 1660, Monk entered London. On March 16 the Long Parliament, which had been in existence for nearly twenty years, dissolved itself, after a vain attempt to force Presbyterianism upon the English people.

The Restoration of Charles II.—As the weeks passed, Monk realised that a restoration was inevitable, and entered into communication with Charles II. On April 25 **the Convention Parliament** met and at once showed its Royalist leanings. The House of Lords was restored, and on May 1 both Houses declared in favour of government by King, Lords, and Commons. On May 8 Charles II. was proclaimed King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland. On May 23, having issued from **Breda** certain promises, he left Holland and embarked on the fleet, and on May 29, his birthday, amid scenes of great enthusiasm, he entered London.

The real meaning of the Great Rebellion.—With the Restoration England entered upon a new period of its history. That event marks the beginning of modern times. The twenty years of struggle through which England had passed were by no means fruitless. The English Constitution and the position of the Monarchy in 1660 were very different from what they were in 1640. In 1640 the chief objects attacked by the popular party were the offshoots of the Privy Council—the Star Chamber, the Courts of the North and of Wales, as well as the High Commission Court. In 1660 the Privy Council reappeared shorn of these offshoots, and their non-appearance testified to the magnitude of the revolution that had been effected.

Between 1660 and 1715 the Constitution rapidly assumed its modern form.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Peace with the Dutch (April 5)	1654
Treaty with Sweden (April)	,,
Treaty with Portugal (July)	,,
First Protectorate Parliament (September 3)	,,
Treaty with Denmark (September)	,,
Dissolution of the First Protectorate Parliament (January 22)	1655
Penruddock's Rising at Salisbury (March 10)	,,
Capture of Jamaica by Penn and Venables (May 10)	,,
Division of England into eleven Military Districts under Major-Generals (August)	,,
Treaty with France (October)	,,
The Anglicans are forbidden to preach or teach in Schools (December 25)	,,
Philip IV. of Spain allies with Charles II. (April)	1656
Commercial Treaty with Sweden (July)	,,
Blake captures the Spanish Plate Fleet (September)	,,
The Second Protectorate Parliament meets (September 17)	,,
Alliance with France against Spain (March 23)	1657
The Humble Petition and Advice (March 29)	,,
Blake destroys a Spanish Fleet at Santa Cruz off Teneriffe (April 20)	,,
Cromwell refuses the title of King (May 8)	,,
Death of Blake (August 7)	,,
The Second Protectorate Parliament reassembles (January 20)	1658
Treaty of Roskild (February)	,,
Battle of the Dunes (June 4)	,,
Capture of Dunkirk (June 14)	,,
Death of Cromwell (September 3)	,,
Richard Cromwell Protector (September)	,,

Parliament meets (January)	**1659**
Dissolution of the Parliament (April 21)	**„**
The Rump (the remains of the Long Parliament) is restored by the Army (May 7)	**„**
Retirement of Richard Cromwell (May)	**„**
Suppression of a Royalist Rising (August)	**„**
Lambert turns out the Rump (October 13)	**„**
The Peace of the Pyrenees (November)	**„**
Monk enters England (December)	**„**
The Rump is restored (December 26)	**„**
Dissolution of the Rump (March 16)	**1660**
The Convention meets (April 25)	**„**
Charles II. enters London (May 29)	**„**

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The Battle of Dunbar.

Whitelocke in his *Memorials of the English Affairs* quotes extracts from private letters showing that shortly before the battle of Dunbar, 'the English were in a sad posture, very many of their men sick and wanting provisions . . . the whole Scots army on the right hand, and the sea on the left hand, and the whole nation of Scotland behind them.' The account of the battle is very concise: 'The Scots having a resolution to fall upon the English, were prevented by the unseasonableness of the weather; and Cromwell and his officers seeing no other way, resolved to fall on them; which was done, and after one hour's hot dispute they were defeated, and quitted Edinburgh and Leith, which was the same day possessed by the English army.'

2. Royalist Sympathy with the Anti-Commonwealth Movement in Scotland.

At the time of the Dunbar campaign there were many in England who sympathised with Prince Charles. Thus we read that the ministers about Taunton would not observe the day of thanksgiving for the victory in Scotland, but prayed indirectly to the contrary.

3. Prince Charles.

He was present at the battle of Edgehill. Later, being unable to hold his own in the west against Fairfax, he escaped to France by way of the Isles of Scilly and Jersey. In 1650 he went to Jersey hoping to proceed to Ireland. Cromwell's success in Ireland forced him to return to Holland, and there he made terms with the Scots and proceeded to Scotland in 1650.

It is said that upon news of the victory at Dunbar being brought to the king, he thanked God that he was so rid of the Scots, and said the Kirk might now see their error in prohibiting him to be in person with their army, and keeping out the English and the rest of his followers.

4. Summary of the Parliaments.—(1) Under Cromwell.

1. The Long Parliament, 1640-1653.
2. The Little or 'Barebones' Parliament, 1653.
3. The first Parliament of the Protectorate, 1654-5.
4. The second Parliament of the Protectorate, 1656-8.

(2) Under Richard Cromwell.

1. The third Parliament of the Protectorate (January-April), 1659.
2. The Long Parliament—about 120 members—(May-October), 1659.

(3) Under Monk.

1. The Long Parliament revived (the Rump), (December 1659-March 16), 1660.
2. The Convention (April), 1660.

5. The Character and Object of Cromwell's Rule.

Government by a Puritan minority supported by the army. Cromwell wished to govern constitutionally, but he found it impossible to have free Parliaments. He was resolved, with or without the aid of Parliament, to prevent (1) a return to anarchy, (2) the restoration of the Stuarts. He considered that his government acted for the good of the people, and for their interest, and he hoped that in time they would recognise the advantages of his dictatorship.

6. Cromwell's Religious Policy.

He desired—

(1) A National Church connected with the State, and comprehensive.

(2) Liberty of worship to all religious bodies outside the National Church.

On March 20, 1654, he appointed thirty-eight commissioners, called **Triers**, to see that only fit and proper men were admitted to benefices; and in August 1654 he appointed local commissioners in each county, called **Ejectors**, to remove inefficient ministers. After the Royalist rising in 1655, all ejected clergy were forbidden to act as chaplains or schoolmasters.

In the matter of **Toleration** he was in advance of public opinion, but was unable to tolerate Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, or Quakers; in 1656 and 1657, however, he defended the latter.

7. Cromwell's Foreign Policy.

Cromwell is blamed by some historians for his alliance with France. His foreign policy, it is said, was a return to that of Elizabeth, was unsuited to the times, and conduced to the supremacy of France in Europe. This view is entirely wrong. A French alliance at that moment was distinctly advantageous to England, and it was the subservience of Charles II. to Louis XIV. which led to the predominance of France in Europe. Spain, with its exclusive commercial and intolerant religious policy, was bound to come to blows with England. The wars with Holland and Spain, in view of the growing commercial and colonial expansion of England, were almost inevitable. Though Cromwell had probably little knowledge of foreign affairs, or of the tendency of events, he had a keen appreciation of the material needs of England.

8. Cromwell and Napoleon.

In both men were united high political and military ability. Though Cromwell was not as great a general or lawgiver as Napoleon, in him was to be found the combination of the warrior and legis-

lator. Both men aimed at carrying out sweeping legal reforms. Cromwell reformed both the Court of Chancery and the Criminal Law, and the second Protectorate Parliament abolished feudal incidents. While, however, Napoleon rose after a social revolution, Cromwell prevented a political and religious movement from developing into a social revolution. The basis, too, of Cromwell's character was religious conviction, and the motive power of his acts was religion.

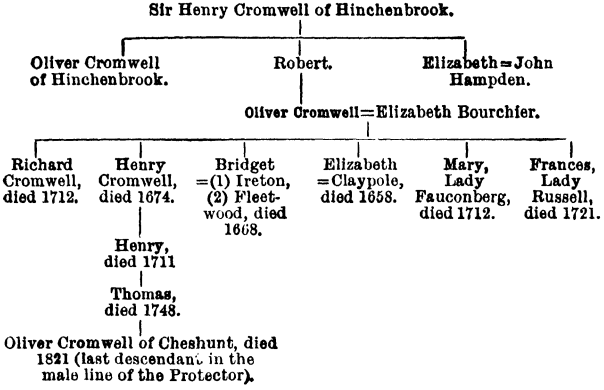
9. Facts to illustrate Cromwell's claim to the title of Statesman.

1. The idea of the union of England with Scotland and Ireland.
2. Under his rule Great Britain became one strong State.
3. Under his rule England gained the mastery of the seas.
4. The failure of absolute monarchy to establish itself in England.
5. His colonial policy and conquest of Jamaica.
6. His bold assumption and vindication of the position of the champion of Protestantism in Europe. Cromwell did not shrink from responsibility.

10. Causes of the Restoration.

1. Dislike of military rule.
2. The breach between the civil and military authorities.
3. Unpopularity of the Puritan restrictions.
4. Richard Cromwell's personal character.
5. Desire of all classes for a settled Government and repose.
6. Attachment to the Monarchy and the Church.
7. Determination to resist 'the permanent limitation of the sovereignty of the people in the interests of the Puritan minority.'
8. Among the Puritans themselves religious interests had come to be subordinated to 'material interests and political necessities.'
9. The Anglican and Presbyterian clergy were strongly opposed to Cromwell's rule.
10. Hatred of the rule of the major-generals and of military government generally.

The Cromwell Family.



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