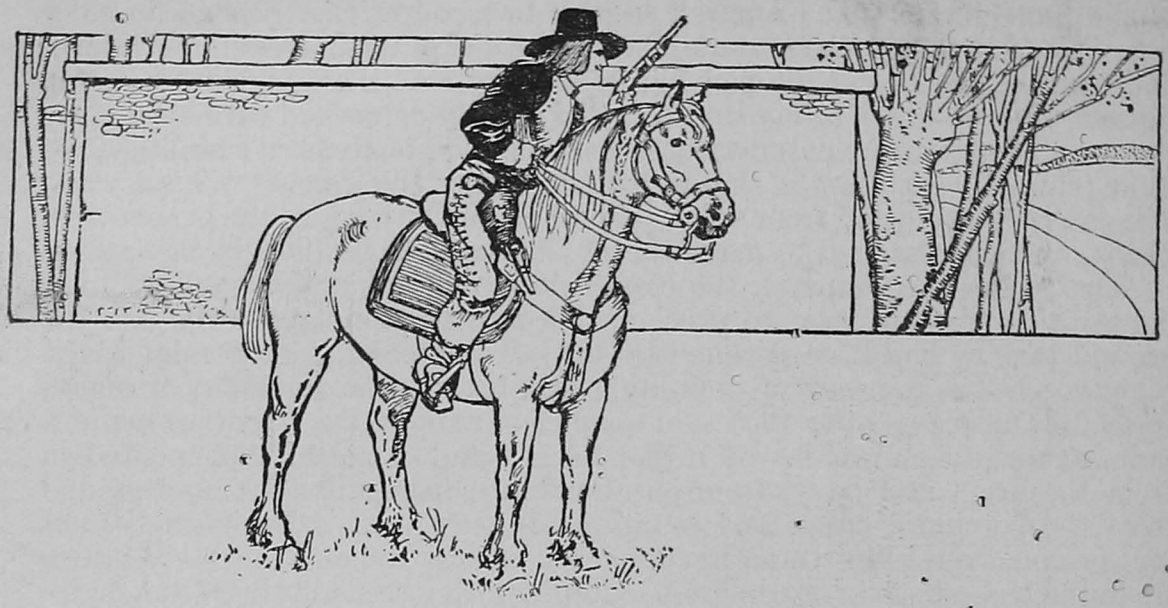

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH

[1658–1660 A.D.]

When revolutions are verging towards their decline, it is a melancholy, but most instructive study to watch the disappointment and anguish of those men who have long been powerful and triumphant, but have at length reached the period when, in just retribution of their faults, their dominion escapes from their grasp, leaving them still subject to the sway of their enlightened and invincible obstinacy. Not only are they divided among themselves, like all rivals who have once been accomplices, but they are detested as oppressors and decried as visionaries by the nation; and, stricken at once with powerlessness and bitter surprise, they burn with indignation against their country, which they accuse of cowardice and ingratitude. Such after the death of Cromwell, was the condition of all those parties which, since the execution of Charles I, had been contending for the government of England as established by the revolution: republicans and partisans of the protector, parliamentarians and soldiers, fanatics and political intriguers, — all, whether sincere or corrupt, were involved in the same fate. — GUIZOT.[b]

By his wife, Elizabeth Bourchier, Cromwell left two sons, Richard and Henry. There was a remarkable contrast in the opening career of these young men. During the civil war, Richard lived in the Temple, frequented the company of the cavaliers, and spent his time in gaiety and debauchery. Henry repaired to his father's quarters, and so rapid was his promotion, that at the age of twenty he held the commission of captain in the regiment of guards belonging to Fairfax, the lord-general. After the establishment of the commonwealth, Richard married, and, retiring to the house of his father-in-law, at Hursley in Hampshire, devoted himself to the usual pursuits of a country gentleman. Henry accompanied his father in the reduction of Ireland, which country he afterwards governed, first with the rank of major-general, afterwards with that of lord-deputy. It was not till the second year

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of the protectorate that Cromwell seemed to recollect that he had an elder son. He made him a lord of trade, then chancellor of the university of Oxford, and lastly a member of the new house of peers. As these honours were far inferior to those which he lavished on other persons connected with his family, it was inferred that he entertained a mean opinion of Richard's abilities. A more probable conclusion is, that he feared to alarm the jealousy of his officers, and carefully abstained from doing that which might confirm the general suspicion, that he designed to make the protectorship hereditary in his family.

The moment he expired, the council assembled, and the result of their deliberation was an order to proclaim Richard Cromwell protector, on the ground that he had been declared by his late highness his successor in that dignity. Not a murmur of opposition was heard; the ceremony was performed in all places after the usual manner of announcing the accession of a new sovereign; and addresses of condolence and congratulation poured in from the army and navy, from one hundred congregational churches, and from the boroughs, cities, and counties. It seemed as if free-born Britons had been converted into a nation of slaves. These compositions were drawn up in the highest strain of adulation, adorned with forced allusions from Scripture, and with all the extravagance of oriental hyperbole. "Their sun was set, but no night had followed. They had lost the nursing father, by whose hand the yoke of bondage had been broken from the necks and consciences of the godly. Providence by one sad stroke had taken away the breath from their nostrils, and smitten the head from their shoulders; but had given them in return the noblest branch of that renowned stock, a prince distinguished by the lovely composition of his person, but still more by the eminent qualities of his mind. The late protector had been a Moses to lead God's people out of the land of Egypt; his son would be a Joshua to conduct them into a more full possession of truth and righteousness. Elijah had been taken into heaven: Elisha remained on earth, the inheritor of his mantle and his spirit!"

The royalists, who had persuaded themselves that the whole fabric of the protectorial power would fall in pieces on the death of Cromwell, beheld with amazement the general acquiescence in the succession of Richard; and the foreign princes, who had deemed it prudent to solicit the friendship of the father, now hastened to offer their congratulations to his son. Yet, fair and tranquil as the prospect appeared, an experienced eye might easily detect the elements of an approaching storm. Meetings were clandestinely held by the officers; doubts were whispered of the nomination of Richard by his father; and an opinion was encouraged among the military that, as the commonwealth was the work of the army, so the chief office in the commonwealth belonged to the commander of the army. On this account the protectorship had been bestowed on Cromwell; but his son was one who had never drawn his sword in the cause; and to suffer the supreme power to devolve on him was to disgrace, to disinherit, the men who had suffered so severely, and bled so profusely, in the contest. These complaints had probably been suggested, they were certainly fomented, by Cromwell's son-in-law, Fleetwood, and his friends, the colonels Cooper, Berry, and Sydenham. Fleetwood was brave in the field; but irresolute in council; eager for the acquisition of power, but continually checked by scruples of conscience; attached by principle to republicanism, but ready to acquiesce in every change, under the pretence of submission to the decrees of Providence. Cromwell, who knew the man, had raised him to the second command in the army, and fed his ambition with distant and delusive hopes of succeeding to the supreme magistracy.

The protector died, and Fleetwood, instead of acting, hesitated, prayed,

and consulted; the propitious moment was suffered to pass by; he assented to the opinion of the council in favour of Richard; and then, repenting of his weakness, sought to indemnify himself for the loss by confining the authority of the protector to the civil administration, and procuring for himself the sole, uncontrolled command of the army. Under the late government, the meetings of military officers had been discountenanced and forbidden; now they were encouraged to meet and consult; and, in a body of more than two hundred individuals, they presented to Richard a petition, by which they demanded that no officer should be deprived, but by sentence of a court-martial, and that the chief command of the forces, and the disposal of commissions, should be conferred on some person whose past services had proved his attachment to the cause. There were not wanting those who advised the protector to extinguish the hopes of the factious at once by arresting and imprisoning the chiefs; but more moderate counsels prevailed, and in a firm but conciliatory speech, the composition of Secretary Thurloe, he replied that, to gratify their wishes, he had appointed his relative, Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of all the forces; but that to divest himself of the chief command, and of the right of giving or resuming commissions, would be to act in defiance of the Humble Petition and Advice, the instrument by which he held the supreme authority.

For a short time they appeared satisfied; but the chief officers continued to hold meetings in the chapel at St. James's, ostensibly for the purpose of prayer, but in reality for the convenience of deliberation. Fresh jealousies were excited; it was said that another commander (Henry Cromwell was meant) would be placed above Fleetwood; Thurloe, Pierrepoint, and St. John were denounced as evil counsellors; and it became evident to all attentive observers that the two parties must soon come into collision. The protector could depend on the armies in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, his brother Henry governed without an opponent; in Scotland, Monk, by his judicious separation of the troops, and his vigilance in the enforcement of discipline, had deprived the discontented of the means of holding meetings and of corresponding with each other. In England he was assured of the services of eight colonels, and therefore, as it was erroneously supposed, of their respective regiments, forming one half of the regular force. But his opponents were masters of the other half, constituted the majority in the council, and daily augmented their numbers by the accession of men who secretly leaned to republican principles, or sought to make an interest in that party which they considered the more likely to prevail in the approaching struggle.

From the notice of these intrigues the public attention was withdrawn by the obsequies of the late protector. It was resolved that they should exceed in magnificence those of any former sovereign, and with that view they were conducted according to the ceremonial observed at the interment of Philip II of Spain. Somerset House was selected for the first part of the exhibition. The spectators, having passed through three rooms hung with black cloth, were admitted into the funereal chamber; where, surrounded with wax-lights, was seen an effigy of Cromwell clothed in royal robes, and lying on a bed of state, which covered, or was supposed to cover, the coffin. On each side lay different parts of his armour: in one hand was placed the sceptre, in the other the globe; and behind the head an imperial crown rested on a cushion in a chair of state. But, in defiance of every precaution it became necessary to inter the body before the appointed day; and the coffin was secretly deposited at night in a vault at the west end of the middle aisle of Westminster Abbey, under a gorgeous cenotaph which had recently been erected.

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The effigy was now removed to a more spacious chamber; it rose from a recumbent to an erect posture; and stood before the spectators not only with the emblems of royalty in its hands, but with the crown upon its head. For eight weeks this pageant was exhibited to the public. Thus did Fortune sport with the ambitious prospects of Cromwell. The honours of royalty which she refused to him during his life, she lavished on his remains after death; and then, in the course of a few months, resuming her gifts, exchanged the crown for a halter, and the royal monument in the abbey for an ignominious grave at Tyburn.[1]

RICHARD CROMWELL AND HIS UNRULY PARLIAMENT

In a few days after the funeral of his father, to the surprise of the public, the protector summoned a parliament. How, it was asked, could Richard hope to control such an assembly, when the genius and authority of Oliver had proved unequal to the attempt? The difficulty was acknowledged; but the arrears of the army, the exhaustion of the treasury, and the necessity of seeking support against the designs of the officers, compelled him to hazard the experiment; and he flattered himself with the hope of success, by avoiding the rock on which, in the opinion of his advisers, the policy of his father had split. Oliver had adopted the plan of representation prepared by the Long Parliament before its dissolution, a plan which, by disfranchising the lesser boroughs, and multiplying the members of the counties, had rendered the elections more independent of the government: Richard, under the pretence of a boon to the nation, reverted to the ancient system[2]; and, if we may credit the calculation of his opponents, no fewer than one hundred and sixty members were returned from the boroughs by the interest of the court and its supporters. But to adopt the same plan in the conquered countries of Scotland and Ireland would have been dangerous; thirty representatives were therefore summoned from each; and, as the elections were conducted under the eyes of the commanders of the forces, the members, with one solitary exception, proved themselves the obsequious servants of government.

It was, however, taken as no favourable omen, that when the protector, at the opening of parliament (Jan. 27th, 1659), commanded the attendance of the commons in the house of lords, nearly one-half of the members refused to obey. They were unwilling to sanction by their presence the existence of an authority, the legality of which they intended to dispute: or to admit the superior rank of the new peers, the representatives of the protector, over themselves, the representatives of the people. As soon as the lower house was constituted, it divided itself into three distinct parties. 1. The protectorists formed about one-half of the members. They had received instructions to adhere inviolably to the provisions of the Humble Petition and Advice, and to consider the government by a single person, with the aid of two houses, as the unalterable basis of the constitution. 2. The republicans, who did not amount to fifty, but compensated for deficiency in number by their energy and eloquence. Vane, Haslerig, Lambert, Ludlow, Neville, Bradshaw, and Scott, were ready debaters. With them voted Fairfax, who, after a long

[1] The charge for black cloth alone on this occasion was six thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, six shillings, and fivepence.

[2] The old representative system was to be restored. Small and decayed boroughs, which had been disfranchised, were again to elect burgesses. Commercial towns, such as Manchester, which had grown into importance, were again to cease to have members. The loss of ancient privileges by petty communities had given more offence than the gain of new franchises by large sections of the people had afforded satisfaction. — KNIGHT.[c]

retirement, appeared once more on the stage. So artfully did he act his part that, though a royalist at heart, he was designed by them for the office of lord-general, in the event of the expulsion or the abdication of Richard. 3. The "moderates or neuters" held in number the medium between the protectorists and republicans. Of these, some wavered between the two parties; but many were concealed cavaliers, who, in obedience to the command of Charles, had obtained seats in the house, or young men who, without any fixed political principles, suffered themselves to be guided by the suggestions of the cavaliers.

To the latter, Hyde had sent instructions that they should embarrass the plans of the protector, by denouncing to the house the illegal acts committed under the late administration; by impeaching Thurloe and the principal officers of state; by fomenting the dissension between the courtiers and the republicans; and by throwing their weight into the scale, sometimes in favour of one, sometimes of the other party, as might appear most conducive to the interests of the royal exile. The lords, aware of the insecure footing on which they stood, were careful not to provoke the hostility of the commons. They sent no messages; they passed no bills; but exchanging matters of state for questions of religion, contrived to spend their time in discussing the form of a national catechism, the sinfulness of theatrical entertainments, and the papal corruptions supposed to exist in the Book of Common Prayer.

In the lower house, the first subject which called forth the strength of the different parties was a bill which, under the pretence of recognising Richard Cromwell for the rightful successor to his father, would have pledged the parliament to an acquiescence in the existing form of government. The men of republican principles instantly took the alarm. Each day the debate grew more animated and personal; charges were made, and recriminations followed: the republicans enumerated the acts of misrule and oppression under the government of the late protector; the courtiers balanced the account with similar instances from the proceedings of their adversaries during the sway of the Long Parliament. Weariness at last induced the combatants to listen to a compromise, that the recognition of Richard as protector should form part of a future bill, but that at the same time, his prerogative should be so limited as to secure the liberties of the people. From the office of protector, the members proceeded to inquire into the constitution and powers of the other house; and this question, as it was intimately connected with the former, was debated with equal warmth and pertinacity.

The new lords had little reason to be gratified with the result. They were acknowledged, indeed, as a house of parliament for the present; but there was no admission of their claim of the peerage, or of a negative voice, or of a right to sit in subsequent parliaments. The commons consented "to transact business with them" (a new phrase of undefined meaning), pending the parliament, but with a saving of the rights of the ancient peers, who had been faithful to the cause; and, in addition, a few days later (April 8th), they resolved that, in the transaction of business, no superiority should be admitted in the other house, nor message received from it, unless brought by the members themselves. On all questions, whenever there was a prospect of throwing impediments in the way of the ministry, or of inflaming the discontent of the people, the royalists zealously lent their aid to the republican party. It was proved that, while the revenue had been doubled, the expenditure had grown in a greater proportion; complaints were made of oppression, waste, embezzlement, and tyranny in the collection of the excise: the inhumanity of selling obnoxious individuals for slaves to the West India planters was severely

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reprobated; instances of extortion were daily announced to the house by the committee of grievances.

THE DISCONTENT IN THE ARMY

But, while these proceedings awakened the hopes and gratified the resentments of the people, they at the same time spread alarm through the army; every man conscious of having abused the power of the sword began to tremble for his own safety; and an unusual ferment, the sure presage of military violence, was observable at the head-quarters of the several regiments.

Hitherto the general officers had been divided between Whitehall and Wallingford House, the residences of Richard and of Fleetwood. At Whitehall, the Lord Fauconberg, brother-in-law to the protector, Charles Howard, whom Oliver had created a viscount; Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and a few others, formed a military council for the purpose of maintaining the ascendancy of Richard in the army. At Wallingford House, Fleetwood and his friends consulted how they might deprive him of the command, and reduce him to the situation of a civil magistrate; but now a third and more numerous council appeared at St. James's, consisting of most of the inferior officers, and guided by the secret intrigues of Lambert, who, holding no commission himself, abstained from sitting among them, and by the open influence of Desborough, a bold and reckless man, who began to despise the weak and wavering conduct of Fleetwood. Here originated the plan of a general council of officers, which was followed by the adoption of The Humble Representation and Petition, an instrument composed in language too moderate to give reasonable cause of offence, but intended to suggest much more than it was thought prudent to express. It made no allusion to the disputed claim of the protector, or the subjects of strife between the two houses; but it complained bitterly of the contempt into which the good old cause had sunk.

This paper, with six hundred signatures, was presented to Richard, who received it with an air of cheerfulness, and forwarded it to the lower house. There it was read, laid on the table, and scornfully neglected. But the military leaders treated the house with equal scorn; having obtained the consent of the protector, they established a permanent council of general officers; and then, instead of fulfilling the expectations with which they had lulled his jealousy, successively voted, that the common cause was in danger, that the command of the army ought to be vested in a person possessing its confidence, and that every officer should be called upon to testify his approbation of the death of Charles I, and of the subsequent proceedings of the military; a measure levelled against the meeting at Whitehall, of which the members were charged with a secret leaning to the cause of royalty. This was sufficiently alarming; but, in addition, the officers of the trained bands signified their adhesion to the Representation of the army; and more than six hundred privates of the regiment formerly commanded by Colonel Pride published their determination to stand by their officers in the maintenance "of the old cause."

The friends of the protector saw that it was time to act with energy; and, by their influence in the lower house, carried the following votes (April 18th): that no military meetings should be held without the joint consent of the protector and the parliament, and that every officer should forfeit his commission who would not promise, under his signature, never to disturb the sitting, or infringe the freedom of parliament. These votes met, indeed, with a violent opposition in the "other house," in which many of the members had

been chosen from the military; but the courtiers, anxious to secure the victory, proposed another and declaratory vote in the commons, that the command of the army was vested in the three estates, to be exercised by the protector. By the officers this motion was considered as an open declaration of war: they instantly met; and Desborough, in their name, informed Richard that the crisis was at last come; the parliament must be dissolved, either by the civil authority, or by the power of the sword. He might make his election. If he chose the first, the army would provide for his dignity and support; if he did not, he would be abandoned to his fate, and fall friendless and unpitied. The protector called a council of his confidential advisers. Whitelocke opposed the dissolution, on the ground that a grant of money might yet appease the discontent of the military. Thurloe, Broghill, Fiennes and Wolseley maintained, on the contrary, that the dissension between the parliament and the army was irreconcilable; and that on the first shock between them, the cavaliers would rise simultaneously in the cause of Charles Stuart.

A commission was accordingly signed by Richard, and the usher of the black rod repeatedly summoned the commons to attend in the other house. But true to their former vote of receiving no message brought by inferior officers, they refused to obey; some members proposed to declare it treason to put force on the representatives of the nation, others to pronounce all proceedings void whenever a portion of the members should be excluded by violence; at last they adjourned for three days, and accompanied the speaker to his carriage in the face of the soldiery assembled at the door. These proceedings, however, did not prevent Fiennes, the head commissioner, from dissolving the parliament; and the important intelligence was communicated to the three nations by proclamation in the same afternoon of April 22nd. Whether the consequences of this measure, so fatal to the interests of Richard, were foreseen by his advisers, may be doubted. By the dissolution Richard had signed his own deposition; though he continued to reside at Whitehall, the government fell into abeyance; even the officers, who had hitherto frequented his court, abandoned him, some to appease, by their attendance at Wallingford House, the resentment of their adversaries, the others, to provide by their absence, for their own safety. If the supreme authority resided any where, it was with Fleetwood, who now held the nominal command of the army; but he and his associates were controlled both by the meeting of officers at St. James's, and by the consultations of the republican party in the city; and therefore contented themselves with depriving the friends of Richard of their commissions, and with giving their regiments to the men who had been cashiered by his father.

Unable to agree on any form of government among themselves, they sought to come to an understanding with the republican leaders. These demanded the restoration of the Long Parliament, on the ground that, as its interruption by Cromwell had been illegal, it was still the supreme authority in the nation; and the officers, unwilling to forfeit the privileges of their new peerage, insisted on the reproduction of the other house, as a co-ordinate authority, under the less objectionable name of a senate. But the country was now in a state of anarchy; the intentions of the armies in Scotland and Ireland remained uncertain; and the royalists, both Presbyterians and cavaliers, were exerting themselves to improve the general confusion to the advantage of the exiled king. As a last resource, the officers, by an instrument in which they regretted their past errors and backsliding, invited the members of the Long Parliament to resume the trust of which they had been unrighteously deprived. With some difficulty, two-and-forty were privately collected in

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the Painted Chamber; Lenthall, the former speaker, after much entreaty, put himself at their head, and the whole body passed into the house through two lines of officers, some of whom were the very individuals by whom, six years before, they had been ignominiously expelled.

THE RECALL OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT: THE RUMP (MAY 7TH, 1659)

The reader will recollect that, on a former occasion, in the year 1648, the Presbyterian members of the Long Parliament had been excluded by the army. Of these, one hundred and ninety-four were still alive, eighty of whom actually resided in the capital. That they had as good a right to resume their seats as the members who had been expelled by Cromwell could hardly be doubted; but they were royalists, still adhering to the principles which they professed during the treaty in the Isle of Wight, and from their number, had they been admitted, would have instantly outvoted the advocates of republicanism. They assembled in Westminster Hall; and a deputation of fourteen, with Sir George Booth, Prynne, and Annesley at their head, proceeded to the house. The doors were closed in their faces; a company of soldiers, the keepers, as they were sarcastically called, of the liberties of England, filled the lobby; and a resolution was passed (May 9th) that no former member who had not subscribed the Engagement, should sit till further order of parliament. The attempt, however, though it failed of success, produced its effect. It served to countenance a belief that the sitting members were mere tools of the military, and supplied the royalists with the means of masking their real designs under the popular pretence of vindicating the freedom of parliament. By gradual additions, the house at last amounted to seventy members, who, while they were ridiculed by their adversaries with the appellation of the "Rump," constituted themselves the supreme authority in the three kingdoms. They appointed, first, a committee of safety, and then a council of state, notified the foreign ministers of restoration to power, and, to satisfy the people, promised by a printed declaration to establish a form of government, which should secure civil and religious liberty without a single person, or kingship, or house of lords. The farce of addresses was renewed; the "children of Zion," the asserters of the good old cause, clamorously displayed their joy; and heaven was fatigued with prayers for the prosperity and permanence of the new government.

That government at first depended for its existence on the good-will of the military in the neighbourhood of London; gradually it obtained promises of support from the forces at a distance. Monk, with his officers, wrote to the speaker, congratulating him and his colleagues on their restoration to power, and hypocritically thanking them for their condescension in taking up so heavy a burthen; but, at the same time, reminding them of the services of Oliver Cromwell, and of the debt of gratitude which the nation owed to his family. Lockhart hastened to tender the services of the regiments in Flanders, and received in return a renewal of his credentials as ambassador, with a commission to attend the conferences between the ministers of France and Spain at Fuenterrabia. Montague followed with a letter from the fleet; but his professions of attachment were received with distrust. To balance his influence with the seamen, Lawson received the command of a squadron destined to cruise in the Channel; and, to watch his conduct in the Baltic, three commissioners, with Algernon Sydney at their head, were joined with him in his mission to the two northern courts.

THE RETIREMENT OF THE CROMWELLS (1659 A.D.)

There still remained the army in Ireland. From Henry Cromwell, a soldier possessing the affections of the military, and believed to inherit the abilities of his father, an obstinate, and perhaps successful, resistance was anticipated. But he wanted decision. Three parties had presented themselves to his choice; to earn, by the promptitude of his acquiescence, the gratitude of the new government; or to maintain by arms the right of his deposed brother; or to declare, as he was strongly solicited to declare, in favour of Charles Stuart. Much time was lost in consultation. While he thus wavered from project to project, some of his officers ventured to profess their attachment to the commonwealth, the privates betrayed a disinclination to separate their cause from that of their comrades in England, and Sir Hardress Waller, in the interest of the parliament, surprised the castle of Dublin (June 15th). The last stroke reduced Henry at once to the condition of a suppliant; he signified his submission by a letter to the speaker, obeyed the commands of the house to appear before the council, and on July 6th, having explained to them the state of Ireland, was graciously permitted to retire into the obscurity of private life.[1] The civil administration of the island devolved on five commissioners, and (July 18th) the command of the army was given to Ludlow, with the rank of lieutenant-general of the horse.

ENGLISH HOUSE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

But the republican leaders soon discovered that they had not been called to repose on a bed of roses. The officers at Wallingford House began to dictate to the men whom they had made their nominal masters, and forwarded to them fifteen demands, under the modest title of "the things which they had on their minds," when they restored the Long Parliament. The house took them successively into consideration. A committee was appointed to report the form of government the best calculated to secure the liberties of the people; the duration of the existing parliament was limited to twelve months; freedom of worship was extended to all believers in the Scriptures and the doctrine of the Trinity, with the usual exception of prelatists and papists; and an act of oblivion, after many debates, was passed, but so encumbered with provisoes and exceptions, that it served rather to irritate than appease. The officers had requested (July 12th) that lands of inheritance, to the annual value of £10,000, should be settled on Richard Cromwell, and a yearly pension of £8,000 on "her highness dowager," his mother. But it was observed in the house that, though Richard exercised no authority, he continued to occupy the state apartments at Whitehall; and a suspicion existed that he was kept

[1] Henry Cromwell resided on his estate of Swinney Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, till his death in 1674.

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there as an object of terror, to intimate to the members that the same power could again set him up, which had so recently brought him down.

By repeated messages, he was ordered to retire; and, on his promise to obey, the parliament granted him the privilege of freedom from arrest during six months; transferred his private debts, amounting to £29,640, to the account of the nation, gave him £2,000 as a relief to his present necessities, and voted that a yearly income of £10,000 should be settled on him and his heirs, a grant easily made on paper, but never carried into execution.

Ludlow[d] makes the present £20,000; but the sum of £2,000 is written at length in the Journals; May 25. While he was at Whitehall, he entertained proposals from the royalists according to Clarendon,[e] consented to accept a title and £20,000 a year, and designed to escape to the fleet under Montague, but was too strictly watched to effect his purpose.[f]

Of Richard Cromwell's character W. H. S. Aubrey has written:[a] "He was an amiable, accomplished, but somewhat indolent country gentleman; with no capacity for ruling, no special force of character, and no taste for public affairs; though he had been a member of parliament and of the upper house. Strictly speaking, he never possessed supreme authority; for he was supplanted before acquiring it. He could not bend the bow of Odysseus. If he was timid, inert, and irresolute, he was also disinterested and patriotic. He did not use his high position for his own advantage, nor secure a competence prior to his own retirement, as he might have done. He quietly stepped aside, May 29th, 1659, into the private life and the rural pursuits that he loved. The men who profited by his self-abnegation afterwards wrote of him as a milksop, a poor creature, a poltroon, and as Tumble-down Dick. In Dryden's trenchant satire of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' he stands for Ishbosheth; as his father is represented by Saul.

"Such epithets and such a characterisation of Richard are wholly undeserved. True, he had not a scintilla of his father's genius, nor any of his firmness of purpose and resolute action; but he was by no means a fool or a coward."[g]

After his quiet abdication, Richard retired to his family estate at Hursley, Hampshire; but the necessity of paying the enormous public funeral expenses of his father, which parliament had promised to defray, so embarrassed his resources that he withdrew to Paris where he spent most of his life until 1680, when he returned to England, and died at Cheshunt, in 1712, aged eighty-six. Dr. Isaac Watts, who was his intimate friend, said that he never alluded to his former glory but once, and then indirectly.[a]

THE COMMONWEALTH RESTORED

The great object of the parliament was now, as Ludlow[d] expresses it, to provide "that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition." For this purpose two bills were passed; the one nominating a committee of seven persons to recommend officers to the house; the other making Fleetwood commander-in-chief, but only for the present session, or till they should take further order therein, and directing that the officers approved of by the parliament should receive their commissions not from him but from the speaker. These restrictions were opposed by Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, as needless and only tending to disgust the army, but the fervent zeal of Haslerig, Sidney, and Neville, would hearken to no suggestions of prudence. Notice being given to the officers that it was expected they would take new commissions from the speaker, a council was

held at Desborough's house, at which Ludlow and Haslerig, who now had regiments, attended. The officers were very high; Desborough even said, that he thought the commission he had as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. But the next morning (June 8th) Colonel Hacker and his officers came at the persuasion of Haslerig, and took their commissions from the speaker, and the ice being now broken, others followed. Fleetwood took his the day following, and Lambert soon after. It was voted at this time (June 6th) "that this parliament shall not continue longer than May 7th, 1660."

While the republican oligarchs were thus employed, the royalists were by no means idle. Negotiations had been carried on with the leading Presbyterians, and they were now all pledged to the royal cause. Richard Cromwell had been offered a title and 20,000*l.* a year; his brother was also solicited, and he at one time, as we have seen, is said to have meditated declaring for the king. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk also were applied to. A general rising on the 1st of August was arranged, and the king and his brothers were at the same time to pass over with the troops which they had assembled.

BOOTH'S RISING, AND THE WALLINGFORD HOUSE PETITIONS

Willis still kept up his correspondence with Thurloe, and the parliament was thus put in possession of their secrets. His treachery however was at this time discovered through Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who forwarded to the court at Bruges some of Willis's communications in his own hand-writing. Willis, after his usual manner, when the government had been put on its guard by himself, represented to the Knot that the project was now hopeless, and persuaded them to write circulars forbidding the rising (July 29).

Accordingly, it was only in Cheshire that it took place, where Sir George Booth called on the people, without mentioning the king, to rise and demand a free parliament. He took possession of Chester, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Sir Thomas Middleton, and other royalists. But their spirits were damped when they learned that their friends all remained inactive, and that Lambert was advancing against them with four regiments of horse and three of foot. They moved to Nantwich, intending to dispute the passage of the Weever; but Lambert easily forced it, and their men broke and fled at his approach (Aug. 16). Colonel Morgan and about thirty men were killed, and three hundred were made prisoners. The earl of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant, and Booth, as he was on his way to London, dressed as a woman, was discovered at Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire.

Lambert hastened up to London, leaving his army to follow by slow marches. A sum of 1,000*l.* which was voted him, he distributed among his officers, and shortly after (Sept. 14th) they sent up from Derby a petition (secretly transmitted to them from Wallingford House), requiring that there should be no limitation of time in Fleetwood's commission, that Lambert should be major-general, that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by sentence of a court-martial, etc. This petition having been shown to Haslerig by Fleetwood (22nd), he hastened into the house, and having caused the doors to be locked, moved that Lambert and two other officers should be taken into custody. But on Fleetwood's asserting that Lambert knew nothing of it, they contented themselves with passing a vote expressive of their dislike of the petition; and it was resolved "that to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable, and dangerous."

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Several meetings were now held at Wallingford House, and another petition was drawn up, which was presented (Oct. 5th) by Desborough and other officers. It was in substance the same as the former, but it further demanded that those who groundlessly informed the house against their servants should be brought to justice. This was aimed at Haslerig and his friends. The house in the usual manner returned them thanks for their good expressions, but soon after (on the 11th) a vote was passed, making it treason to raise money without consent of parliament. Next day Lambert, Desborough, and seven other colonels were deprived of their commissions for having sent a copy of the petition to Colonel Okey, and by another vote Fleetwood's office was taken away, and he and six other persons were nominated to form a board for the direction of the forces. Haslerig having thus thrown down the gauntlet, prepared for defence. He reckoned on the armies of Scotland and Ireland, the regiments of Hacker, Morley, and Okey; and some others about London had assured him of their fidelity, and the parliament had a guard of chosen horse, under Major Evelyn. Orders were given for these troops to move to Westminster, and early in the morning of the 13th the regiments of Morley and Moss, with some troops of horse, occupied the palace-yard and the avenues of the house. Lambert, on the other hand, drew together his men, and posted them in King street and about the abbey.

The two parties faced each other, but the men were loath to fight against their brothers in arms, and their officers did not urge them. When Lenthall the speaker [who claimed to be the chief commander] came up in his coach, Lambert sneeringly ordered one of his officers to conduct the "lord-general" to Whitehall, but he was suffered to return to his own house. The council of state then met, and after a good deal of altercation it was agreed that the parliament was not to sit, that the council of officers should keep the public peace, and cause a form of government to be drawn up, which should be laid before a new parliament speedily to be summoned.[1] Fleetwood was declared to be commander-in-chief, with full powers, Lambert major-general, and a committee of safety was appointed. To ascertain the feelings of the armies in Ireland and Scotland, Colonel Barrow was sent to the former country, and Colonel Cobbet to the latter. Barrow found the officers and men wavering and divided; Cobbet was imprisoned by Monk, who declared for the parliament.

GENERAL MONK TAKES THE REINS

The conduct of Monk, who now becomes the principal object of attention, is ambiguous beyond example. He had early served under Goring in the Netherlands; he was in the royal army in Ireland, and was made a prisoner at Nantwich; he remained in the Tower till the end of the war, when he got a command in Ireland; he attached himself strongly to Cromwell, by whom the government of Scotland was confided to him; he continued his attachment to Cromwell's family, and he wrote to Richard a most judicious letter, pointing out the best modes of securing his power. Monk was no speculative republican, he was no fanatic in religion, though much influenced by his wife, who was a Presbyterian. He was a man of a phlegmatic temper, and of impenetrable secrecy. The royalists always had hopes of him; and it is not improbable, that now seeing the power of Cromwell's house gone, his secret

[1 "By an agreement between mutual weaknesses the Long Parliament retired noiselessly from that hall from which Cromwell six years before, had driven it so ignominiously; and Lambert, the paltry imitator of Cromwell, remained master of the field without having achieved a victory."—GUVOT.[b]]

plan was to aid, if it could be done with safety, in restoring the king. The first care of Monk was to secure Edinburgh castle and Leith fort, and to occupy Berwick. When this was known in London, it was resolved that Lambert should march against him; and he set out forthwith for the north (Nov. 3rd), having previously exacted a promise from Fleetwood, that he would come to no agreement with either the king or Haslerig without his approbation.

Monk meantime went on re-modelling his army: those of his officers who were of the Wallingford House party having resigned their commissions, he supplied their places with such as he could depend on; he also displaced many who had been put in by the parliament. As his treasury and magazines were well supplied, and he knew that his opponents wanted money, he sought to procrastinate; he therefore sent deputies to London, and on their return pretending that the agreement which they had concluded was somewhat obscure, he opened a negotiation with Lambert, who was at Newcastle, in order to have it explained. Meanwhile he went on re-forming his army, dismissing even the privates of whom he was not certain, and supplying their place with Scots. He held a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, and having commended the peace of the country to them during his absence, and obtained a grant of money (Dec. 6th), he fixed his headquarters at Coldstream, where he still continued to amuse Lambert with negotiations.

Meantime the cause of the army was losing ground in city and country. The apprentices in London had frequent scuffles with the soldiers: an attempt was made to seize the Tower; Admiral Lawson declared for the parliament, and brought his fleet up to Gravesend; Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, admitted Haslerig and Morley into the town, and the troops sent against them went over to them; the Isle of Wight declared for the parliament. At length the soldiers themselves abandoned their officers, and putting themselves under the command of Okey and Alured, they assembled (Dec. 24th) in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and having declared for the parliament, marched by Lenthall's house, in Chancery Lane, and saluted him as their general. On the 26th, the speaker and those members who were in town walked to the house, the soldiers shouting and cheering them as they passed. Haslerig returned in triumph, and the Rump once more flourished. Fleetwood had on his knees surrendered his commission to the speaker; Lambert, Desborough, and others, made their submissions in the humblest manner, but they were all confined to their houses at a distance from London. The army was re-modelled; not less than fifteen hundred officers being discharged. The Rump proceeded to punish such members as had been of the late committee of safety; Vane was expelled, and ordered to retire to his house at Raby; Salloway was sent to the Tower; Whitelocke had to resign the great seal, and narrowly escaped being committed also. Charges of treason were made against Ludlow and others.

A new council of state was appointed, and an oath, renouncing kingship and the Stuarts in the strongest terms, was imposed on all members of the parliament. Meantime, Lord Fairfax and Monk had arranged that on the same day (Jan. 1st, 1660), the latter should cross the Tweed, and the former should seize the city of York. The engagement was punctually performed; the royalists in York opened the gates and admitted Fairfax. Though the weather was severe, Monk continued his march; Lambert's troops having obeyed the orders sent to them to disperse, no opposition was encountered; and having stayed five days to consult with Fairfax at York, Monk resumed his march for the capital (16th), the invitation to do so being now arrived. It was Fairfax's advice that he should remain in the north, and there proclaim the king, but he said it would be dangerous in the present temper of his officers; in fact,

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at York he caned one of them for charging him with this design. At Nottingham on the 21st they were near signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart." At Leicester, on the 23rd, Monk was obliged to sign an answer to a petition from his native county, Devon, giving it as his opinion, that monarchy could not be restored, that it would be dangerous to recall the secluded members, and advising submission to the present parliament. At this town he was joined by Scott and Robinson, two of the members sent, as it were, to do him honour, but in reality to discover his intentions. He treated them with great respect, and always referred to them the bearers of the numerous addresses that were presented to him, for the restoration of the secluded members and "a free parliament."

The troops which Monk had brought with him did not exceed five thousand men, and those in and about London were more numerous; he therefore wrote from St. Albans, on the 28th, requiring, to prevent quarrels or seduction, that five regiments should be removed. An order was made to that effect (Feb. 2nd), but the men refused to obey; the royalists of the city tried to gain them over; they remained, however, faithful to the parliament, and, on being promised their arrears, marched out quietly the next morning. Monk led in his troops the following day, and took up his quarters at Whitehall. On the 6th Monk received the thanks of the house. In his reply, he noticed the numerous addresses for a free and full parliament which he had received, expressed his dislike of oaths and engagements, and his hopes that neither cavaliers nor fanatics would be entrusted with civil or military power. By some his speech was thought too dictatorial. "The servant," said Scott, "has already learned to give directions to his masters." Monk also excited suspicion, by demurring to the oath abjuring the Stuarts to be taken by members of the council of state. Seven of the other members, he observed, had not yet taken it, and he should like to know their reasons; experience had shown that such oaths were of little force; he had proved his devotion to the parliament, and would do so again.

The tide of loyalty still continued to swell in the city. The secluded members held frequent meetings there, and some even of the king's judges who were in parliament entered into communications with them. The last elections had given a common council zealous for a full and free parliament; they set the present one at naught, refused to pay the taxes imposed by it, and received and answered addresses from the counties. To check these proceedings, it was resolved by the council of state that eleven of the common council should be arrested, the posts and chains which had been fixed in the streets be taken away, and the city gates be destroyed. In the dead of night of February 9th, Monk received orders to carry this resolution into effect. He obeyed, though his officers and soldiers murmured; the citizens received him with groans and hisses, but made no opposition. When the posts and chains were removed, Monk sent to say that he thought enough had been done; but he was directed to complete the demolition, and he therefore destroyed the gates and portcullises. He then led his men back to Whitehall, and, having there coolly considered the whole matter, he thought he saw a design to embroil him with the citizens, and, finally, lay him aside. In concert with his officers, he wrote next morning to the speaker, requiring that by the following Friday every vacancy in the house should be filled up, preparatory to a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched his troops into Finsbury Fields, caused a common council to be summoned, and told them that he was come to join with them in procuring a full and free parliament.[k]

Monk went to the common council and told them what he had done. Guildhall resounded with cries of "God bless your excellency!" The soldiers were feasted. The cry went forth throughout London of "Down with the Rump." Pepys[h] has described, as none but an eye-witness could describe, the scene of that night: "In Cheapside there were a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King street seven or eight; and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May-pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."

Charles and his court were at Brussels when the news reached them of these events in London. "They thought all their sufferings over," says Clarendon.[i] And yet the best informed men in London, whether republican or royalist, could not penetrate the thick veil of Monk's real intentions. Aubrey[j] who lived a gossiping life in places of public resort, and had access to persons of influence, says of certain friends, "they were satisfied that he [Monk] no more intended or designed the king's restoration, when he came into England, or first came to London, than his horse did." Sir Henry Vane, after the menacing letter had been written to the parliament, said to Ludlow,[d] that "unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masks to put off." Ludlow went to see him in the city, and after much discourse Monk exclaimed, "Yea, we must live and die together for a commonwealth." Whatever were his real intentions, he maintained his ascendancy by the most earnest professions of fidelity to the republican party and their opinions. Yet his actions were more than doubtful. The house had twice resolved that the secluded members should not be admitted. Monk had determined the contrary. The infusion of so many of these who had been originally thrust out of parliament for the moderation of their opinions, was the surest way to neutralise the power of the republican faction, who clung to authority with a tenacity that indicated their real weakness.

Monk, on the 21st of February, sent an escort of his soldiers to accompany a body of the secluded members to the house of commons, he having previously read them a speech, in which he formally declared for a commonwealth. When they took their seats the greatest heats were exhibited; and some of the republicans withdrew from the house. Seventeen of them went in a body to Monk, to demand his reasons for these proceedings. He protested his zeal to a commonwealth government; "and they then pressed him more home by demanding, if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party?" He took off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur Haslerig's hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting-up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." Ludlow[d] who records this, says that Monk then expostulated with them touching their suspicions, saying, "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly." The members thus restored by Monk were chiefly

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of that great Presbyterian body who had been ejected by the Independents; and who now expected that they should be strong enough, in the event of the restoration of the monarchy, to make terms for the establishment of their form of church government.

They immediately became a majority in parliament; appointed Monk general-in-chief; formed a new council of state; and superseded sheriffs, justices of the peace and militia officers, who were supporters of republican institutions. The covenant was again to be promulgated; the confession of faith of the assembly of divines to be adopted; the penal laws against Catholics, which Cromwell rarely put in force, were to be called into full vigour. The tendencies of some of the members towards monarchy were still very feebly indicated. Uncertainty everywhere prevailed, whilst the man who had the power of the sword was well known to have no fixed principles of politics or religion — was more greedy of wealth than excited by any daring ambition — and would only declare himself by some irrevocable action when he had made up his mind as to the probable success and permanency of king or commonwealth. Admiral Montague had been apointed "general at sea," the republican admiral Lawson being put aside. He was the patron of Pepys, and told him, on the 6th of March, that there were great endeavours to bring in the protector again, but that he did not think it would last long if he were brought in. Montague added, "No, nor the king neither — though he seems to think he will come in — unless he carry himself very soberly and well."

PURSE AND DAGGER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

How Charles carried himself was perfectly well known to his most zealous friends — even to those who themselves lived "soberly and well." When a proposal was made to Oliver Cromwell that Charles should marry his daughter, the protector objected his "debauched life" as an insuperable difficulty. The royalists, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, saw no such objection in the marriage of Charles with the state of England. Very curious combinations of men long separated were now forming. Old faithful friends of his house were flocking to the king at Breda. Amongst them now and then appeared some country gentleman, whose clothes were of a soberer hue and a more English cut, than those of Charles's habitual courtiers. These had discarded the love-locks of the cavaliers, their slashed doublets and flowing mantles, for the hideous periwigs and embroidered surtouts of the Parisian fashion. Very tarnished were the gold and silver embroideries of the courtiers at Brussels, of Breda, or the Hague, in the early spring of 1660, when Englishmen from home gathered about them. "Their clothes were not worth forty shillings, the best of them," says Pepys. London soon sent money to the exiles, and Paris was ready to provide fineries of which the Louvre might have been proud. For there was a growing confidence that the commonwealth was fast coming to an end. Men, by a sort of instinctive feeling, were setting up the king's arms, and drinking the king's health, though Monk and his bands were still dominating in the City and at Whitehall.

END OF THE RUMP PARLIAMENT, MARCH 16, 1660

The Long Parliament was to terminate its sittings on the 16th of March. On the 13th, that once formidable republican assembly voted that the oath of a member of parliament — to be "true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a king or house of lords," — should be abolished. On the 15th of March the popular sentiment was manifested at the royal exchange. A statue of Charles I had been removed after the tragedy of the 30th of January; and in the niche where it stood was written, "*Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini 1648.*" For twelve years few had ventured to affirm that "tyrant and the last of kings" were words of offence; or had asserted that the year 1648 was not the first year of the restored liberty of England. On the evening of the 15th of March, a ladder was placed against this niche; soldiers stood around; a house painter mounted the ladder, painted out the inscription, and waving his cap, shouted "God bless King Charles II!" Again bonfires blazed in the streets.

On the 16th of March, the parliament met to vote their own dissolution, and England hoped that a long term of rest and security had been earned by the sufferings and changes of twenty years. Some few uplifted their voices against the inevitable event; and still clung to their faith in a commonwealth; to their assured belief that liberty and peace would be best maintained by the absolute authority of a "grand or general council of the nation." This was Vane's opinion, having no misgiving for his past actions and no dread of his future lot, even though it were the hardest: "He had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto." This was also his friend Milton's[l] opinion: "What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss, the good old cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders: thus much I should, perhaps, have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free! nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."[c]

Nineteen years and a half had now elapsed since the Long Parliament first assembled — years of revolution and bloodshed, during which the nation had made the trial of almost every form of government, to return at last to that form from which it had previously departed. On the 16th of March, one day later than was originally fixed, its existence, which had been illegally prolonged since the death of Charles I, was terminated by its own act. The reader is already acquainted with its history. For the glorious stand which it made against the encroachments of the crown, it deserves both admiration and gratitude; its subsequent proceedings assumed a more ambiguous character; ultimately they led to anarchy and military despotism. But, whatever were its merits or demerits, of both posterity has reaped the benefit. To the first, the English are indebted for many of the rights which they now enjoy; by the second, they are warned of the evils which result from political changes effected by violence, and in opposition to the habits and predilections of the people.[f]

The clouded determinations of Monk were very soon becoming more trans-

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parent. He had secretly received his cousin, Sir John Grenville, who had long sought an interview in vain, to deliver a letter from the king. He would send no letter in answer. [He wrote one, read it to Grenville, then burned it and told Grenville to remember the contents.] He entrusted Grenville to promise Charles that he would be his devoted servant. Monk made no conditions, but he tendered some advice — that there should be a general amnesty, with only four exceptions; that the possessors of confiscated property should not be disturbed; that there should be liberty of conscience. Grenville repaired to the king at Brussels, where they met in secret. A more formal body of envoys from England now presented themselves to the king — a deputation of Presbyterians, who came to offer the same terms which had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight. The parliament was to have the control of the army; the civil war was to be declared lawful; new patents of nobility were to be annulled. Charles laughed in his sleeve. "Little do they think," he said, "that General Monk and I are upon so good terms."

The Presbyterians believed that they alone had any chance of success. "Leave the game in our hands," they said to the cavaliers. They probably thought correctly that Charles was indifferent as to the form of worship under which England should be when he came to be king. But they knew that Hyde was devoted to the restoration of the Anglican church, as a necessary consequence of the restoration of the monarchy. They wished that Hyde should be expelled from power or influence, and used the strongest arguments to induce the belief that the restoration could not be accomplished whilst he was a royal counsellor. In spite of their conviction of Monk's adhesion to their cause, the few to whom Charles had entrusted the secret of his correspondence with him, still sometimes doubted. The French ambassador tried to obtain Monk's confidence. He would give no opinion as to the future government of England. That must be settled by the next parliament. Monk's real opinions were the less necessary to be disclosed; for all England was becoming impatient for the restoration. Old servants of the commonwealth — Broghill, and Thurloe, and Lenthall — offered to Charles their submission and their advice. The king, from mixed motives of indolence and prudence, suffered matters to proceed without committing himself to any party, or making any engagements for his future conduct. He yielded to Monk's advice in one particular. He left the Spanish Netherlands, and established himself at Breda.[1]

LAMBERT'S INSURRECTION AND THE "FREE PARLIAMENT"

In the midst of the apparent certainty of the restoration being at hand, a new cause of alarm suddenly arose. Lambert had been committed to the Tower, when Monk's interest became predominant. He escaped on the 9th of April, and was speedily at the head of some soldiers, who had revolted; and, marching through the midland counties, he called upon all to join him who would preserve the commonwealth. Monk sent Ingoldsby to encounter Lambert; and declared to Grenville that, if Lambert met with any success, he would no longer have any reservation, but act in the king's name and under his commission, to summon the royalists to arms. On the 22nd of April, Lambert and his men were met at Daventry by Ingoldsby's troops. A parley was proposed: but Ingoldsby refused any accommodation. The two armies had advanced close to each other, and the conflict seemed imminent, when

[1 It is said to have been the intention of the Spaniards to detain Charles till Jamaica and Dunkirk should be restored. According to Clarendon [e] he narrowly escaped detention.[k]]

Lambert's cavalry threw away their pistols; and their leader was quickly a prisoner.

The last battle of the commonwealth had now to be fought at the hustings. The elections took place. A few of the old republicans were returned. Some members were elected who believed that the restoration of the monarchy could be effected, without losing any of the liberties which had been won since the days of Laud and Strafford. The greater number were men who were either led away by a fever of loyalty, or were indifferent to any re-action which would end the struggles and uncertainties of twenty years. It was impossible that a king thus restored amidst a conflict of passions and prejudices — of old hatreds and new ambitions — should be forward to make any professions of public duty, or cherish any deep affection for the people he was to govern. It was fortunate that Charles was only a heartless voluptuary, and was too selfish in his craving for ease and pleasure, to add the personal energy of the tyrant to the almost inevitable tyranny of those who believed that the king and the people could return to the same condition in which they were before Hampden refused to pay ship-money. The king's position with regard to the church was, in a similar degree, under the control of the same spirit of indifference. Secretly a papist, openly a scoffer, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent might harass each other, so that Charles was quiet. He fancied himself most safe with those who professed to believe that his authority was divine; and that "Render unto Cæsar" meant, if rightly interpreted, let Cæsar's will be the one law.

Five hundred and fifty-six members had been elected[1] to the house of commons, the greater number of whom took their seats on the 26th of April. Ten peers only met in the house of lords on that day. Presbyterians and cavaliers looked suspiciously at each other; but the Presbyterians, more accustomed to act in union, manœuvred that one of their party should be elected speaker. The first business of both houses was to return thanks to Monk for his services, and the lords voted that a statue should be erected in his honour. Colonel Ingoldsby also received the thanks of the commons for his prompt action against Lambert. The house was not yet in the humour to forget the sound advice of Monk to the lords when he returned them his thanks — "to look forward and not backward in transacting affairs." The cavaliers soon made the house and the nation understand that the day of a triumphant reaction was fast approaching. Their spirit spread amongst the moderate and independent: "Every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disowned all things they had before advised," says Mrs. Hutchinson.[m] "Every ballad singer sang up and down the streets ribald rhymes, made in reproach of the late commonwealth."

The day after parliament met, Sir John Grenville went to the sitting of the council of state, and asked to speak with the lord general. To his hands he delivered a packet sealed with the royal arms. Monk affected surprise and alarm, and it was decided that Grenville should be called in. He said that the packet had been entrusted to him by the king, his master, at Breda. The council resolved that the letters which Grenville brought should be delivered to the parliament. On the first of May, Grenville appeared at the door of the lower house, and being called to the bar presented a letter addressed "To our

[1 If ever there was a parliament freely chosen, it was the present one: there was no court or army now to control the elections; the territorial aristocracy was enfeebled, and could use none but its legitimate influence; the royalists (the Catholics of course excepted) were no longer deprived of the right of voting; all parties therefore put forth their strength, and the royalists (the moderate Presbyterians included) had a most decided majority. The republicans obtained few seats, and their only hopes lay now in the army. — KEIGHTLEY.[k]]

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trusty and well beloved the speaker of the house of commons." He then went through the same formality at the house of lords. With each letter was enclosed a document addressed to the whole nation — the Declaration from Breda. Grenville then proceeded to the city, and presented a letter from the king addressed to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, which also contained the Declaration.

CHARLES' DECLARATION FROM BREDA, AND THE AMNESTY (1660 A.D.)

In all these papers, the composition of Hyde, there was little to alarm, and much to propitiate, the prudent and peaceful. The commons were assured "upon our royal word — that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem for parliaments than we have;" — parliaments were "so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that, we well know, neither prince nor people can be, in any tolerable degree, happy without them." The Declaration professed the king's desire "that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land." It declared "a free and general pardon to all our subjects" — excepting only such persons "as shall hereafter be excepted by act of parliament." All are invited to a perfect union amongst themselves.

Deploring the existence of religious animosities, "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." All matters relating to the possession of estates "shall be determined in parliament." Both houses immediately applied themselves to prepare answers to the royal letters; declared that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons"; voted 50,000*l.* to the king as a gift; and presented Grenville with 500*l.* to buy a jewel. Commissioners from both houses were chosen to convey their answers to the king. Grenville preceded them with the best proof of loyalty and affection—4,500*l.* in gold, and a bill of exchange for 25,000*l.* Pepys[h] tells us that Charles, when Grenville brought him the money, was "so joyful, that he called the princess royal and duke of York, to look upon it, as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out."

On the 8th of May the two houses of parliament proclaimed Charles II king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the city. Although the king had not arrived, the restoration of the monarchy was completed. In a delirium of loyalty the Convention Parliament never thought of making conditions for the liberties of the country. Hale, the great judge, and Prynne, the learned lawyer, had ventured to propose a committee for considering what propositions should be made to Charles, before the destinies of the country were irrevocably committed to his guidance. Monk opposed this: "I cannot answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay is put to the sending for the king. What need is there of sending propositions to him? Might we not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he shall come over? He will bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt us." The house assented by acclamation. It rested the conservancy of all that the nation had won since the opening of the Long Parliament upon the flimsy foundation of the Declaration from Breda. Bills were prepared, which were to be presented for the acceptance of the king, "when he shall come over."

Magna Charta and the Petition of Right; privilege of parliament; pardon, indemnity and oblivion, were words glibly used as if they were things of course. Bills were prepared for confirming purchases of property during the times of trouble; and for the abolition of knight service, the feudal tenure which was most obnoxious. But the real temper of this parliament was to be subjected to a severer test — the question of amnesty had yet to be settled. Monk had just protested that if he were to suffer any one to be excluded from such amnesty, he would be the arrantest rogue that ever lived. Ashley Cooper had said to Hutchinson, "If the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel."

Ingoldsby had received the thanks of the commons for recent services. He, and others who had signed the warrant for the king's execution, were members of the commons. On the 9th of May, the debate on the Amnesty Bill came on in both houses. The earl of Northumberland said, that though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those concerned; "that the example may be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitances." Fairfax, in a noble spirit of generosity, exclaimed, "If any man must be excepted, I know no man that deserves it more than myself; for I was general of the army at that time, and had power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king; but I did not think fit to make use of it to that end." Lenthall, the son of the famous speaker, provoked the house to tumult by boldly saying, "He that first drew his sword against the king committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head."

The house at last voted as to the number of regicides to be excluded from the amnesty, and decided that seven should be excepted. But it also resolved that every one should be arrested who had sat upon the king's trial, and their property seized. Other arrests took place. Some who had laboured best with Cromwell to uphold the honour of England, such as Thurloe, were impeached. The titles bestowed by the two protectors were annulled. Upon all great questions, political or religious, which affected the future safety and liberties of these nations, postponement was the ruling policy of the cavaliers. The Presbyterians, who were the first to aim at religious supremacy, began clearly to see that the day was fast approaching, when they would regret the tranquillity they had enjoyed under the toleration of that ruler whom they had now agreed to declare a traitor.

The fortunes of Charles had so decidedly changed in the course of a little month, that the foreign courts who had looked adversely or coldly upon him, now embarrassed him with their rival professions of friendship. He was wisely advised not to be too forward to receive such civilities from France or from Spain as might compromise him in the future policy of England. The states of Holland invited him to take his departure from the Hague; and he arrived there from Breda on the 15th of May. Thither came the commissioners of the parliament; the town-clerk of London, with aldermen and lesser dignitaries; deputations of the Presbyterian clergy; and a swarm of Englishmen of every variety of opinion, who wanted to prostrate themselves at the feet of power. Holles, who had been one of the earliest leaders, in the battle of the Long Parliament was the orator on the part of the house of commons. Their hearts, he said, were filled with veneration and confidence; their longings for their king, their desires to serve him, expressed the opinions of the whole nation — "lettings out of the soul, expressions of transported

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minds." Other lords had had dominion over them; but their hearts and souls did abhor such rulers, and ever continued faithful to their king. Anthony Ashley Cooper had civil words from Charles. Fairfax was received with kindness.

The king made smooth speeches to the Presbyterians; but they obtained no satisfaction as to the future of England in the great question of religious union. No one, however, pressed hardly upon him. There were no strong words spoken, as the earlier race of Puritans would have spoken. Burnet,[n] describing the general character of Charles, says, "He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long, was the being easy, and the making everything easy to him." The modern phrase is "to make things pleasant"; and both phrases mean that there should be a large ingredient of falsehood in human affairs. Admiral Montague, who was to have the honour of receiving the king on board his ship, had long been in communication with him. The ship which carried the admiral's flag had an ugly name, the "*Naseby*." On the 23rd, the king, with the dukes of York and Gloucester, and a large train, came on board. "After dinner," says Pepys,[h] who was now Montague's secretary, "the king and duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz.: the *Naseby* became the *Charles*; the *Richard*, *James;* the *Speaker*, *Mary*, the *Dunbar* (which was not in company with us), the *Henry*."

Lady Fanshawe,[o] who was on board, is in ecstacies: "Who can express the joy and gallantry of that voyage; to see so many great ships, the best in the world; to hear the trumpets and all other music; to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind with vast cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships, the gallantry of the commanders, the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious majesties of the king and his two brothers, were so beyond man's expectation and expression." The sky was cloudless, the sea was calm, the moon was at the full. Charles walked up and down the quarter-deck, telling all the wonders of his escape from Worcester — his green coat and his country breeches — the miller stopping his night walk — the inn-keeper bidding God bless him. "He was an everlasting talker," writes Burnet,[n] and his gossip amongst his new friends in this moonlight voyage gave some better promise than the cold dignity of his father, which many must have remembered. It was a merry trip — and Pepys chuckles over "the brave discourse." On the morning of the 25th they were close to land at Dover, and every one was preparing to go ashore. "The king and the two dukes," says Pepys, "did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they ate of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef" — a politic appetite, which no doubt won the favour of Blake's old sailors.

When Charles landed at Dover, Monk was at hand to kneel before him — "to receive his majesty as a malefactor would his pardon,"—says Gumble,[p] a biographer of the wary general. With a feeling that belonged to another time the mayor of Dover presented the king with a Bible. "It is the thing that I love above all things in the world," said the ready actor who knew his part without much study. The royal train went on to Canterbury. There Monk ventured beyond his usual caution, by presenting the king a list of seventy persons that he recommended for employments — men whose names stunk in the nostrils of all cavaliers. Hyde, through Monk's confidential adviser, Morrice, made the general understand that such interference was unpleasant, and Monk quickly apologised after a very awkward attempt at explanation. Hyde was at Charles's side, and prevented him being too easy.

Monk received a lesson; but he was consoled by the order of the Garter being bestowed upon him.

On the 28th of May, King Charles set out from Canterbury, and slept that night at Rochester. At Blackheath the royal cavalcade had to pass the army of the commonwealth. Thirty thousand men were there marshalled. Many of these veterans had fought against the family and the cause which was now triumphant. The name of Charles Stuart had been with them a name of hatred and contempt. They had assisted in building up and pulling down governments, which had no unity but in their determination to resist him who was now called to command them, with no sympathy for their courage, no respect for their stern enthusiasm. The great soldier and prince who had led them to so many victories had now his memory profaned, by being proclaimed a traitor by a parliament that when he was living would have been humbled at his slightest frown. The procession passed on in safety; for the old discipline, that no enemy was ever able to prevail against in the battle-field, was still supreme in this pageant — this last harmless exhibition of that might through which the liberties of England had been won; through whose misdirection they were now imperilled.

Charles went on in the sight of all London to Whitehall — a wearisome procession, which lasted until nine at night, amidst streets strewn with flowers, past tapestried houses and wine-spouting fountains; with civic authorities wearing chains of gold, and nobles covered with embroidered velvets; trumpets braying, mobs huzzaing. In this delirium of joy there was something beyond the idle shouts of popular intoxication. It was the expression of the nation's opinion that the government of England had at length a solid foundation upon which peace and security, liberty and religion, might be established. It was late in the evening before the ceremonies of this important day were concluded; when Charles observed to some of his confidants, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before; for I have met with no one to-day who did not protest that he always wished for my restoration." The re-establishment of royalty presented perhaps the only means of restoring public tranquillity amidst the confusion and distrust, the animosities and hatreds, the parties and interests, which had been generated by the events of the civil war, and by a rapid succession of opposite and ephemeral governments. "To Monk," says Lingard, "belongs the merit of having, by his foresight, and caution, effected this object without bloodshed or violence; but to his dispraise it must also be recorded,[1] that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch.

"Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining, by mutual consent, the legal rights of the crown, and of securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. That Charles would have consented to such conditions, we have sufficient evidence; but, when the measure was proposed, the lord-general declared himself its most determined opponent. It may have been, that his cautious mind figured to itself danger in delay; it is more probable that he sought to give additional value to his services in the eyes of the new sovereign. But, whatever were the motives of his conduct, the result was, that the king ascended the throne unfettered with conditions, and thence inferred that he was entitled to all the powers claimed by his father at the commencement of the civil war. In a few years the consequence became manifest. It was found that, by the negligence or perfidy of Monk, a door

[1 On the question of the possibility or desirability of such a stipulation, historians have differed radically. See the following chapter.]

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had been left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and the people; and that very circumstance which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of the kingdom."[f]

With the Restoration the historic interest of Monk's career ceases. The rude soldier of fortune had played the game with incomparable dexterity, and had won the stakes. He was made gentleman of the bedchamber, knight of the Garter, master of the horse, commander-in-chief, and duke of Albemarle, and had a pension of £7,000 a year allotted to him. His utmost desires were satisfied, and he made no attempt to compete further in a society in which neither he nor his vulgar wife could ever be at home, and which he heartily despised. As long as the army existed of which he was the idol, and of which the last service was to suppress Venner's revolt, he was a person not to be displeased. But he entirely concurred in the measure for disbanding it, and thenceforward his influence was small, though men's eyes turned naturally to him in emergency. In the trial of the regicides he was on the side of moderation, and his interposition saved Haslerig's life; but his action at the time of Argyll's trial will always be regarded as the most dishonourable episode in his career.[g]

COMMERCE AND LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The most instructive period in English history is the interval from 1640 to 1660. Its various occurrences, however, are found to suggest very different lessons according to the political bias of the persons who make them an object of attention. Those who regard that struggle as assuming its more objectionable character, not so much from any love of change and spoliation incident to the people, as from the want of timely and amicable concessions on the part of their rulers, are naturally disposed to look with forbearance on a good deal in the temper and manners of the party deemed to have been least in the wrong. It is not to be doubted that the parliamentarians, particularly such as served in the army, were remarkable for the sobriety and regularity of their conduct. Profanity, drunkenness, debauchery of every description, may be said to have been unknown among them to a degree unparalleled in history; nor did they allow themselves to participate in any of those games or amusements which are the favourite relaxations of the people in most countries. Horse-racing, bear-baiting, the sport of the cock-pit, and the representations of the theatre, all were condemned.

Instead of giving their leisure to such things, they sought their enjoyments in religious meetings, and in discussions on points of theology or civil government; and when such points were the matters contended for, whether by means of argument or of the sword, it became manifest that the roundhead, while despising the sensual riot of the cavalier, had a region of his own, where, in his turn, he became susceptible of the highest degree of excitement. As the difficulty of acquiring and maintaining this ascendancy of the mental over the physical sympathies of human nature must have been great, it was natural that it should be viewed with some feeling of pride; and it is not surprising that their enemies, obliged to acknowledge their freedom from the vices of the appetites, should accuse them of being much greater offenders than themselves in everything relating to the vices of the mind.

According to the cavalier, those habits of profane swearing, of drunkenness, and of sensual excess in all respects, by which not a few of his party

studied to testify their abhorrence of all Puritan grimace, and to proclaim their undoubted attachment to the church and the king, were only the vices of men — but spiritual pride, hypocrisy, rebellion, and tyranny, these were the vices of devils, and these were the chosen passions of his enemies. Concerning the charge of insincerity it is more difficult to speak, inasmuch as, from its connection with strong religious impressions, it would often be least suspected in the case of those persons who were most influenced by it. The suppression of all amusements considered as tending to produce dissoluteness among the populace, was a great object with the Presbyterians, and led to some impolitic interferences with popular feeling. It was no uncommon thing to see players conducted through the streets of the metropolis in their theatrical costume, having been seized by the police while in the act of strutting their hour away upon the stage.

We have had occasion to note the manner in which the Presbyterians and royalists obtained supplies of money during the period of the civil war. When that contest was decided, four sources remained from which aids of this nature were derived — the customs, the excise, the monthly assessments, and the estates of political delinquents. The two former branches of revenue were farmed in 1657 at £1,100,000 a year, and with monthly assessments made an income of somewhat more than £2,000,000. The church lands and the estates of delinquents were rarely sold at more than ten years' purchase. About £200,000 a year are supposed to have been obtained from these sources. During Richard's protectorate, the expenditure was declared to be above £2,200,000, the revenue falling short more than £300,000 of that amount.

In 1652 the army of the commonwealth was not less than fifty thousand. Cromwell subsequently reduced the number nearly one-half, but was obliged, on occasions, to increase it again. The general pay of the foot soldiers was a shilling a day, the cavalry, as of a superior order, and liable to greater expense, received two shillings and sixpence. When the army consisted of forty thousand, which was the case in 1648, its pay was estimated at £80,000 a month. Beside the regular force in the pay of the government, there was the volunteer corps, in every county, under the name of militia. At the time of the battle of Worcester, the militia appears to have been nearly as numerous as the standing army, and both together are said to have numbered about eighty thousand men.

Commerce, which made considerable progress during the early part of the reign of Charles I, experienced some check from the civil war, but assumed an importance under the commonwealth unknown in our previous history. This arose, principally, from the war carried on by the English republic with the Dutch, and from the new navigation laws. Families of pretension and long-standing began to direct the attention of their sons to commerce, and such pursuits became more reputable from that time in England than in any of the old monarchical states in Europe. The chartered companies, having derived their exclusive privileges from an exercise of the prerogative, which had often called forth the complaints of parliament, found their power of monopoly thus assigned to them of small value at this juncture, and the free competition which sprung up proved a great benefit to the community at large.

The fine arts obtained but small patronage during this period. Charles I possessed considerable taste in architecture, furniture, pictures, and music, and had the circumstances of his reign afforded him the means and the opportunities of bestowing encouragement on such pursuits, great advances would, no doubt, have been made in them. But the causes which prevented the

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indulgence of such tastes on the part of the monarch, tended to prevent the formation of them on the part of his people. Both were called to engage in a struggle for existence, and both deemed it necessary that all matters having respect only to the luxury and ornament of life should be placed for a while in abeyance. So far was this spirit carried under the commonwealth, that some of the royal palaces were put up for sale, and not a few of the pictures and curiosities which had been collected by the king, with much taste and judgment, and at a great expense, were sold to foreigners.

It is hardly possible that an Englishman should glance at this barbarian conduct on the part of men possessing the supreme power in his country less than two centuries ago, and not blush at the remembrance. It is vain to say that these things were the baubles of royalty, and that this reason, beside the necessities of the government, concurred to make the disposal of them desirable,—since nothing could be a greater libel on republican institutions, or a more manifest untruth, than to describe them as repugnant to the splendour of national edifices, or to the most costly adornment of them by the aid of the fine arts. But the feeling which consented to these acts of rude spoliation was not that of the nation, nor is it the only point to be considered in the character of the faction upon which this disgrace is certainly chargeable. In regard to the great interests of the community, their views were large and generous, and to the nature of the questions with which they were chiefly occupied, and to the earnestness and talent which they brought to the discussion of them, we have to attribute a marked improvement in the character of the literature.

In the literary character of the works on theology which belong to this period, the taste of the present age will find little to admire, and often much with which to be offended. But notwithstanding the tedious scholastic form in which divines continued to treat of the subjects within their province, and the frequent confusion and obscurity of thought observable in their lengthened and parenthetical sentences, an increasing mastery of the language may be perceived even in such works, particularly in the smaller controversial pieces of the age, which were generally characterised by a natural directness and earnestness suited to the immediate occasion. Baxter is a favourable specimen of this class of writers. We do not advert to the eloquence of Bishop Taylor, because his style, in whatever age he had lived, would have been more that of the man than of his times.

Prose Writers

The fault mentioned as belonging to the theological literature of this period attaches, in a great degree, to its prose literature generally. We find, for example, both in Mrs. Hutchinson[m] and in Clarendon,[i] a crowd of thoughts pressed together into one long sentence, which an author of a later period, with less power, but more skilled in the art of composition, would have separated into small lucid apportionments, and by giving completeness to the parts, and presenting them in succession, would have communicated the whole more clearly, and with much less demand on the reader's power of attention. The writers of this period moved the more slowly, in consequence of moving at every step amidst such a procession of ideas; but this stately march comported well with the expansion and vigour of their understanding. Such writers are fine examples of the majestic compass of our language in that age, but the best specimens of its lucid energy, and bounding capabilities, will be found in the smaller pieces called forth by the political strifes of the hour—productions in which the writers evidently intend to state their case

with a clearness not to be mistaken, and with a force not to be resisted. Ludlow,[d] though a soldier rather than an author, has less, perhaps, of the fault so observable in Clarendon, than any other considerable writer whose mind was formed during the period of the civil war.

But notwithstanding the frequent obscurity, from the cause mentioned, in the works of this period, and the weariness, in consequence, which is so often felt in reading them, they nearly all evince a singular degree of freedom from those pedantic allusions and studied conceits by which the literature of the age of Elizabeth and James had been so greatly disfigured. In this later period, every man was constrained to be more or less in earnest in regard to the great interests which were then at stake. The English language, accordingly, had never afforded such specimens of oratorical and argumentative efficiency as were produced during this period. The eloquence of strong partisan feeling will ever demand — as in the case of a Dante and a Milton — the loftiest forms of speech in which to express itself; and the language, in consequence, began to display new freedom, copiousness, and power.

The Poets

Cowley the poet flourished during this period, and died in 1667. Charles II, on hearing of his decease, said that England had not a better man; and the testimony of contemporaries to his character is uniformly favourable, notwithstanding his known attachment to the court, and the spirit of faction which continued to prevail to the end of his days. He has been described as the last, or nearly the last, in our old school of metaphysical poets — writers in whom there were stronger indications of pedantry than of the inspiration proper to their art, and who often appear to have mistaken verses for poetry, and singularity for excellence. They indulged much in the personification of the passions; but the general effect of their works is to produce reflection rather than emotion, their strength consisting in an occasional acuteness and playfulness of imagination, much more than in force or pathos of sentiment. Cowley was distinguished from his predecessors by more of the latter quality, by greater sprightliness when the subject was of a nature to demand it, and by a more frequent command of those thoughts which strike at once by their grandeur or their propriety. Suckling and Cleveland were contemporaries and imitators of Cowley, but did not disturb his sovereignty as the fashionable poet of his day.

Denham was three years older than Cowley, and his elegy on the death of that writer was his last performance. His *Cooper's Hill*, on which his fame principally rests, was published in 1643. Its subject, which was in a great degree a novelty in our literature, embraces a description of natural scenery, elevated by historical allusions, and reflections on human character. Pope commends the strength and majesty of this author, and he is generally regarded as one of the fathers of English poetry. His versification, in its smoothness, vigour, and harmony, makes a near approach to that which has been since made familiar to us by the pen of Dryden and his successors. Waller, who was contemporary with Cowley and Denham, survived them both. He is entitled to much of the praise bestowed on Denham. But though he discovers a similar independence of the old models, and even more refinement, his works have little of that compressed power of expression which characterised the *Cooper's Hill*. The polished dress, however, in which he clothed conceptions little removed from commonplace, possessed

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the charm of novelty in his own age, and must be allowed to secure the name of Waller a conspicuous place in the history of English literature.

Concerning the genius of Milton, and the dignity conferred by him on his native tongue, and on the mind of his country, there is now little need to expatiate. Critics who know not how to pardon his republicanism, have in general extended their enmity to the character of the man, and the productions of the author. But when every fair concession shall have been made with regard to the imperfections of his temper and his writings, the excellence which remains will be found to place him so far above his assailants as to render their puny efforts to lower his pretensions a matter more calculated to amuse than irritate the friends of his memory. His attainments as a classical scholar were extensive and profound. In Latin composition he had scarcely a rival. Every European language possessing a literature to recommend it was known to him; and few divines possessed the same intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew scriptures and all rabbinical learning. Indications of these various acquisitions break upon us in almost every page of his works, imparting to his style a grace, a comprehensiveness, and a wonderful power, which must be perceived and felt in the greatest degree by those who have studied him the most.

It is true, in his prose works we are never allowed to forget that it is the prose of a poet, and some critics, whom the stars never destined to be poets, affect to regret that the author's taste with regard to the style proper to performances of that nature should have been so defective and erroneous. But the man who can read the *Areopagitica*, or the *Eikonoclastes*, and not feel a strange awe produced within him by the surpassing greatness of the spirit which has been in converse with his own, so as to be charmed out of all wish that the author had spoken otherwise than he has done, must be a person incapable of sympathising with great eloquence and lofty argument. His style, indeed, in those works is not to be recommended as a model. On the contrary, an attempt to imitate it must betray a want of judgment incompatible with real excellence in anything. It is a sort of costume, which, like that assumed by Jeremy Taylor, must always be peculiar to the individual, and can never become the badge of a class. Modes of expression and illustration which with such men have all the freshness and vigour of nature, become cold and feeble, or, at best, inflated by an artificial warmth, when produced by the mechanic process of the imitator.

In his poetry, the mind of Milton is found open to all the beauties and sublimities of nature, and seems to portray with equal truth the good and evil of the rational universe — the heavens above, and hell beneath. That upon a theme so difficult and so comprehensive, and prosecuted to so great an extent, he should sometimes fail, was perhaps inevitable. But if something less than one-third of the *Paradise Lost* be excepted, the remainder may be safely declared to consist of such poetry as the world had never before seen. In his happier moments, his descriptions of physical existence are the most perfect supplied by human language; but it is when employed in exhibiting the moral energies of the perfect or the fallen, that he rises most above all who preceded him.

WILLIAM HARVEY

Harvey, whose discovery with respect to the circulation of the blood effected so great a revolution in medical science, died in 1657. He was much encouraged in his experiments and studies by Charles I. But it was

remarked that no physician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age when Harvey's discovery was made public, was known to adopt it. His maintaining it is even said to have diminished his own practice and celebrity. So general is the force of prejudice even on matters of the most practical nature, and so liable is it to become fixed beyond all hope of removal after a certain period of life!

GUIZOT ON THE RESTORATION

On the 29th of May, 1660, the royalist party, which had not conquered, had not even fought, was nevertheless national and all-powerful. It was England. England might justly think herself entitled to trust in her hopes; she was not unreasonable in her requirements; weary of great ambitions and disgusted with innovations, she only asked for security for her religion, and for the enjoyment of her ancient rights under the rule of her old laws. This the king promised her. The advisers who then possessed his confidence — Hyde, Ormonde, Nicholas, Hertford, Southampton — were sincere Protestants and friends of legal government. They had defended the laws during the reign of the late king. They had taken no part in any excessive assumptions of power on the part of the crown. They had even co-operated in promoting the first salutary measures of reform which had been carried by the Long Parliament. They expressed themselves resolved, and so did the king, to govern in concert with the two houses of parliament. The great council of the nation would therefore be always by the side of royalty, to enlighten and, if necessary, to restrain its action. Everything seemed to promise England the future to which her desires were limited. But when great questions have strongly agitated human nature and society, it is not within the power of men to return, at their pleasure, into a state of repose; and the storm still lowers in their hearts, when the sky has again become serene over their heads. In the midst of this outburst of joy, confidence, and hope, in which England was indulging, two camps were already in process of formation; ardent in their hostility to each other, and destined ere long to renew, at first darkly, but soon openly, the war which seemed to be at an end.

During the exile of the sons of Charles I, one fear had constantly preyed upon the minds of their wisest counsellors and most faithful friends; and that was lest, led astray by example and seduced by pleasure, they might adopt a creed, ideas, and manners foreign to their country — the creed, ideas, and manners of the great courts of the Continent. This was a natural fear, and one fully justified by the events. Charles II and his brother the duke of York returned, in fact, into England, the one an infidel libertine, who falsely gave himself out to be a Protestant, and the other a blindly sincere Catholic; both imbued with the principles of absolute power; both dissolute in morals, the one with elegant and heartless cynicism, the other with shocking inconsistency; both addicted to those habits of mind and life, to those tastes and vices, which render a court a school of arrogant and frivolous corruption, which rapidly spreads its contagious influence through the higher and lower classes who hasten to the court to imitate or serve it.

Afar from the court, among the laborious citizens of the towns, and in the families of the landowners, farmers, and labourers of the country districts, the zealous and rigid Protestantism of the nation, with its severe strictness of manners, and that stern spirit of liberty which cares neither for obstacles nor consequences, hardens men towards themselves as well as towards their enemies, and leads them to disdain the evils which they suffer or inflict

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provided they can perform their duty and satisfy their passion by maintaining their right, now took refuge.

The Restoration had scarcely given any glimpse of its tendencies, and yet the Puritans were already preparing to withstand it, feeling they were despised, and expecting soon to be proscribed, but earnestly devoted no matter at what risk or with what result, to the service of their faith and of their cause; unyielding and frequently factious sectaries, but indomitable defenders, even to martyrdom, of the Protestant religion, the moral austerity, and the liberties of their country. On the very day after the restoration, the court and the Puritans were the two hostile forces which appeared at the two opposite extremities of the political arena. Entirely monopolised by its joy, the nation either did not see this, or did not care to notice it. Because it had recovered the king and the parliament, it believed that it had reached the termination of its trials, and attained the summit of its wishes. Peoples are short-sighted. But their want of foresight changes neither their inmost hearts nor the course of their destiny; the national interests and feelings which in 1640 had caused the revolution, still subsisted in 1660, in the midst of the reaction against that revolution. The period of civil war was passed; that of parliamentary conflicts and compromises was beginning. The sway of the Protestant religion, and the decisive influence of the country in its own government — these were the objects which revolutionary England had pursued. Though cursing the revolution, and calling it the rebellion, royalist England nevertheless prepared still to pursue these objects, and not to rest until she had attained them.[b]