At the death of Oliver Cromwell his son, Richard, was made Lord Protector. He was a pleasant, gentle and virtuous man but lacked the ability and force to lead troubled England. He came to be known as "Tumbledown Dick". The army obtained his retirement and took over the government. To provide an appearance of respectability the army recalled the Rump Parliament. With its old arrogance the Rump Parliament tried to dictate to the army; the army dismissed Parliament. General George Monk, commander of the troops in Scotland, marched on London and restored the Rump Parliament. He ordered the Rump Parliament to dissolve itself but it refused. Monk brought back the Presbyterian members who had been expelled in Pride's Purge in 1648. Parliament ordered a new election and then dissolved itself. The new Parliament was called the "Convention Parliament," because it was called without the king's authorization. It met in 1660 and immediately invited Charles II to occupy the throne. It was a Parliament of Anglicans and Presbyterians.

Charles II was living at Breda in Holland when he received the invitation to become King of England. He was the son of Charles I, who had been beheaded in 1649, and of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France. After years of exile in France he was more French than English. He preferred his mother's Catholicism to any of the religious parties in England. His chief advisor was Edward Hyde, faithful servant of the royal family in exile. He had kept Charles in some degree of connection with the Anglican Church and the constitutional royalists. He became Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor and was the architect of the Restoration settlement. From Beda Charles issued his Declaration of Beda—a declaration "of liberty to tender consciences." He offered pardon to all rebels except those whom parliament should designate; to leave to parliament the question of the restoration of the lands of the Royalists; to pay the wages of the army; and to allow parliament to make the religious settlement with the proviso that no religious belief should be persecuted that did not disturb the peace of the realm.

Charles II, guided by Clarendon, had the good sense to restrain the Royalists who were eager for revenge on the Roundheads. The Royalists did remove the bodies of Cromwell and two of his lieutenants from Westminster Abbey, dragged them to Tyburn, where criminals were executed, publicly hanged them until sundown, and then buried them at the foot of the gallows. Vane, the noblest of the survivors of the Commonwealth statesmen, and twelve of the leaders in the beheading of Charles I, were hanged and then cut to pieces before the crowd. The Royalists blamed Clarendon for the King's "Act of Indemnity and Oblivion" of 1660, an act designed to heal the nation's wounds. The Royalists dubbed it "Indemnity for the king's enemies
and Oblivion for his friends." The act provided that lands confiscated by the revolutionary governments from the crown, the church, or private owners should be restored. Many Independents had invested heavily in such lands and were ruined by the Restoration. The Royalists (or Cavaliers) were bitterly disappointed because the acts declared that lands sold by Royalists to pay taxes or fines should not be restored. The new owners of much of these lands were Presbyterians. Ownership of these lands established them as the new gentry, and as such they were well represented in the Convention Parliament.

One of the wild, fanatical groups that arose in the time of Cromwell was the group known as "Fifth-Monarchy Men," an apocalyptic, military extremist group, who maintained that the time of the fulfillment of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the Book of Daniel had come. It was time for the little stone cut out without hands—the Kingdom of God. The assassination of the king would open the way for the Kingdom of God. Their final rising was crushed by the army and the movement suppressed in 1650. The threat against the new king resulted in a great burst of loyal enthusiasm.

In 1661 regular elections were held and a new Parliament elected. Hundreds of Royalist squires were elected, forming a "Cavalier Parliament". This Parliament was so favorable to the King that he would keep it in existence for eighteen years. The king left the religious settlement to this Cavalier Parliament which was fiercely Anglican, wanting revenge for the almost twenty years of disfavor.

A prelude to the acts of Parliament was the Savoy Conference held in London in April, 1661. By order of the King bishops and clergymen of the Church of England met with Presbyterians to review the Book of Common Prayer in preparation for its restoration. Because Presbyterians were hoping for changes in the Prayer Book that would enable them to remain in the Established Church. All the changes were in favor of the Anglicans and against Presbyterians and Independents. This meant that Presbyterians were unable to accept the new Prayer Book issued in 1662 and 2,000 of their ministers were deprived of their livings.

Between 1661 and 1665 the Cavalier Parliament passed the "Clarendon Code", four acts aimed at curbing all Dissenters. The first Act of 1661 was the Municipal Corporation Act that required that all members of the governing bodies of municipalities renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, to take an oath that it was unlawful to resist the king, to take oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to take communion in the Church of England. Few Dissenters could conscientiously pass all these tests, guaranteeing the Anglicans control of the municipal corporations that elected the members of the House of Commons. The second Act was the Act of Uniformity, passed in May, 1662, requiring all incumbents of livings in the church, the universities and the schools to subscribe to the revised Prayer Book. It meant the end of toleration in religion. Some 2,000 members of the clergy resigned. The First Conventicle Act of 1664 imposed fines, imprisonment, and ultimate deportation for presence at a service not in accordance
with the Prayer Book, attended by five or more persons not of the same household. The fourth Act was "The Five Mile Act" of 1665. Any person in Holy Orders or pretended Holy Orders, or anyone who had preached to a conventicle, and did not take the oath condemning armed resistance to the King and pledging no attempt at any alteration of government either in church or state, was forbidden to live within five miles of any incorporated town or within five miles of the former place of his ministry. Such persons were also forbidden to teach school—about the only occupation open to a deprived minister. These Acts resulted in severe persecution of Dissenters. They were followed in 1670 by the Second Conventicle Act that provided that the heavy fines on preacher and hearers could be collected from any attendant in case poverty prevented their payment by all. In spite of the persecution dissenting preaching and congregations continued. Baxter, Bunyan and Fox suffered ruin and imprisonment for attending services that Parliament had made illegal.

Charles II was not restored to all his father's prerogatives. The restoration was the restoration of Parliament as well as of kingship after the period of dictatorship. All the laws that had been passed between 1642 and 1660 became null and void. In the official records the reign of Charles II was dated from the death of his father in 1649. Throughout the reign of Charles the relation of king and parliament was a matter that was slowly resolved in the direction of the increasing power of parliament. Charles had the good sense not to push absolutism. He did not want to go on his "travels" again.

Charles II was an astute politician with a remarkable facility for dealing with people. He had a winning smile and was willing to change his policies when it seemed advisable. He was lazy, selfish and cynical. His love of pleasure and his fascinating mistresses made him the "Merry Monarch." His court shocked Puritans but was tolerated by Anglicans who were reacting to Puritan grimness. Many of the young squires who had been in exile returned as loose-livers. Always there was the suspicion that the king might betray England to the French and return the country to Catholicism. Even so he kept a strong hold on the affection of the majority of his people. He had the wisdom to rule through his ministers who had to take the blame in unpopular situations, such as his first Declaration of Indulgence in 1662. Parliament considered his setting aside the law on Catholics and Independents to be illegal. Independents were embarrassed because they suspected that they were included only as a screen to make possible a measure of toleration for Catholics in his court.

Charles made his influence felt in foreign affairs. He had been exiled from France when the alliance was concluded between Cromwell and France. When Charles came to the throne England was in alliance with France and technically at war with Spain. Charles admired his cousin, Louis XIV and his government which was the strongest in Europe and growing in power and riches. Clarendon was blamed when Charles married Catharine of Braganza (1661), the Catholic princess of Portugal. The blow was softened when it was learned that the dowry included the trading post of Bombay in India.
and Tangier, an important naval base at the mouth of the Mediterranean. Clarendon was again blamed when Charles sold Dunkirk to Louis XIV for a large sum. The sale was highly unpopular in England.

In 1663 Parliament passed a new Navigation Act that led to the Second Dutch War (1665-1667). The royal navy seized a Dutch trading post on the coast of West Africa and the Dutch colony of New York. It was during this war that England was hit by two terrible catastrophes. There was the plague in 1665 and then the great fire in London in 1666. A third disaster came in 1667 while peace negotiations were under way with Holland. The English fleet was laid up at Chatham and the crews disbanded as a forced economy. The Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames and the Medway and burned and captured the best of the British fleet. It was a terrible blow to English pride. Clarendon was blamed. In the treaty (1667) England gave up claims to the Spice Islands and received New York, a disappointment to many Englishmen.

Charles II made Clarendon the scapegoat, dismissed and exiled him. In his place he chose five advisers (1667-1673) that came to be known as the "Cabal." None were Anglicans. Clifford and Arlington were Roman Catholics. The other three were Protestants. Lauderdale and Buckingham were unprincipled adventurers and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, would later become the founder of the Whig party. Charles manipulated and used the Cabal to his own advantage.

In 1667 Louis XIV invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch sought an alliance with England. England did not want France in the Netherlands and entered the Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden. Louis XIV in 1670 entered into the Treaty of Dover with Charles. It was a secret treaty in which he agreed to pay Charles an annual pension to keep England from helping Holland. The second part of the treaty was even more secret. Louis XIV promised Charles men and money necessary to establish Catholicism in England.

In 1672 Charles issued his second Declaration of Indulgence, suspending penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters. Charles had just led England into the third war with Holland (1672-1674). The Declaration of Indulgence proved very unpopular. Parliament refused to grant any money for the war unless the Declaration were withdrawn. Charles withdrew the Declaration but the war proved so unpopular that he was forced to end it in 1674. The English did not know that Charles was receiving a pension from France. Parliament passed the Test Act in 1672 requiring all holders of office under the crown to take communion in the Anglican church and to make a declaration against transubstantiation. This broke up the Cabal because the Catholics could not sign it and resigned. Charles dropped the Catholic side of his policy, and dismissed the Protestant members. Shaftesbury had already suspected that the indulgence was designed to promote Catholicism.

Charles chose as his new adviser the Earl of Danby, the leader of the intolerant Anglicans in Parliament; his party also
favored enlarging royal prerogatives. Danby was opposed in Parliament by a group who favored toleration for Protestant Dissenters and the supremacy of Parliament. This party was led by Shaftesbury. Danby's party consisted of rural gentry, their tenants, and the clergy. They became known as the Tories—the nickname of Irish Catholic outlaws. Shaftesbury's party was made up of many of the nobles, the commercial classes of the towns and the Dissenters. They came to be known as Whigs—the nickname of Scotch Presbyterian outlaws.

In 1677 Parliament suggested that Charles arrange a marriage alliance with the Dutch. He arranged for his niece, Mary, daughter of his brother, James, with William of Orange. Louis XIV felt Charles had betrayed him and cut off the pension payments. William of Orange saved Holland by breaching the dikes and flooding the land. Louis XIV signed a peace treaty in 1678. During the war he had renewed the payments to Charles to keep England out of the war.

In 1578 Titus Oates concocted and circulated a series of lies that the Catholics were planning to assassinate Charles, take over the government, and establish Catholicism. A frenzy of fear swept over England. Parliament had granted Charles money to join in the war with Holland against France before the peace of 1678. Louis XIV thinking that Charles had double-crossed him published a letter written by Danby offering to help Louis secure peace with Holland for a sum of money. The Cavalier Parliament was going to impeach Danby. Charles, to save his minister, and to keep the fact that he had ordered him to send the letter, dissolved the Cavalier Parliament.

In 1679 when Charles called for the election of a new Parliament the Whigs gained a majority. Danby was imprisoned. James, the king's brother, had openly declared himself Catholic. When the Whigs introduced a bill to exclude Catholics from succession to the throne, Charles dissolved the Parliament. The next two years two new Parliaments were summoned only to be quickly dismissed for the same reason. The fear of Catholic plots gradually subsided. The Whigs lost favor by attempting to vest succession in the Duke of Monmouth, the king's illegitimate son. Charles summoned Parliament to meet at Oxford (1681) which was strongly royalist and where there would be no London mob to back the Whigs. The Tories gained a majority. Charles failed in an effort to have Shaftesbury convicted and after his acquittal Shaftesbury fled into exile. The king accused two other Whig leaders of plotting against the person of the king and they were convicted and executed. The Whigs were leaderless. Charles instituted proceedings against municipalities that had Whig governments and the Tories were restored to control of the municipal governments, assuring their control of the House of Commons. The persecution of Dissenters was renewed.

The last four years of his reign Charles ruled without Parliament. Shaftesbury died in exile. Danby was left in prison. The Whigs plotted an insurrection but were crushed. The leaders, Russel and Sidney were executed along with a few others. Halifax
and the moderates in the court wanted to maintain the balance of power in Europe and opposed any alliance with France. James, the heir to the throne, and his courtiers were all for France.

Charles died in 1685. He remained the Anglican king until his death-bed. As he lay dying he received the sacraments of the Catholic faith.

The reign of Charles II is remembered as the times of the playwrights William Wycherley and John Dryden, of Dryden's poetry, of Samuel Pepys' Diary, of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and his Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, of John Milton's Paradise Lost, of Jeremy Taylor's The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and his The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying, and of Richard Baxter's Saints' Everlasting Rest. Ralph Cudworth and the Cambridge Platonists revived interest in Plotinus. In 1662 Charles II granted a charter to the Royal Society.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II (1685-1688)

James, Duke of York and brother of Charles II, came to the English throne in 1685 as James II. He was already fifth-three years old. He had married Anne Hyde, daughter of Clarendon, the minister of Charles II. She had born him two daughters, Mary, who had been married to William of Orange, and Anne. Both had been reared as Protestants. After the death of his first wife, James had married Mary of Modena, an Italian Catholic. This marriage was childless when he became king.

James was tactless and stubborn. His fixed purpose was to restore Catholicism to England. He had given excellent management to the English navy before the Text Act had forced his resignation. In 1679 his brother had put him over Scottish affairs.

The reign of Charles II had been an unhappy time for Scotch Presbyterians. In 1661 the English Parliament had annulled all acts favorable to the Presbyterians and attempted to establish Episcopacy. Four bishops were appointed and James Sharp, a former Presbyterian minister, was made archbishop of St. Andrews. The Scotch bishops were consecrated by English bishops. All office-holders were required by Parliament to disown the covenants of 1638 and 1643. In 1663 heavy fines were enacted for absence from the episcopally governed churches. Many Presbyterian ministers were deprived. When parishioners absented themselves from the services conducted by new appointees they were fined. If they did not pay soldiers were quartered on them. A High Commission Court was established in 1664 to repress Presbyterianism. In 1666 a group of Covenanters engaged in the Pentland Rising that was ruthlessly crushed. On May 3, 1679 Sharp was murdered, and there was another armed rising. This was crushed at Bothwell Bridge with great cruelty and James was put in charge of Scottish affairs. The extreme Presbyterians continued uncompromising under the leadership of Richard Cameron and were known as Cameronians.

When James II became King of England he also became James VII of Scotland. In 1685 Parliament made death the punishment for
attending a conventicle. James' first year was known as the "killing time" in Scotland.

Five months after James became king, the Duke of Monmouth, the bastard son of Charles II, attempted to lead a revolt in England. Whigs in exile on the continent had persuaded him that as soon as he showed his face in England the people would flock to his banner. With only a hand-full of followers he landed on the southwest coast of England. Some four or five thousand peasants did flock to him. They fought bravely at Sedgemoor but were crushed by the royal army. Monmouth was beheaded and a thousand others were hanged or sentenced to slavery in the Barbados. Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys was made Lord Chancellor for the "Bloody Assizes" notorious for their brutality—a woman was beheaded for harboring two refugees.

James began to move to make both England and Scotland Catholic. England had tolerated his declaring himself Catholic and privately attending Mass. But when he became king he publicly attended Mass. Anglicans would have tolerated his persecuting Dissenters but he began to antagonize powerful Anglicans. Nine months after he became king Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in France and began a terrible persecution of Huguenots. Huguenot refugees flocked to England with tales of horrible atrocities. In such a moment when England was filled with fear of Catholicism James asserted his right to appoint Catholics to any position in defiance of the Test Act. When Parliament objected and would not vote him any money he dismissed Parliament. He began tampering with the municipal governments to secure members who would choose a Parliament favorable to the king's plans. James claimed he had the right to set aside the laws and began appointing Catholics to high offices. He placed a Catholic at the head of the Irish government. He made a Catholic commander of the navy. He appointed Catholics as mayors and justices of the peace. He brought in monks and Jesuits from France. He made Catholics members of the House of Lords and members of the Privy Council, including the Jesuit, Father Petre, one of his most influential advisers. He began replacing Protestant officers in the army with Catholics. Hales, a Catholic, was appointed governor of Dover, the port facing France. He reestablished the Court of High Commission and put a Catholic at the head of Magdalen College at Oxford, the stronghold of the Anglicans.

In 1687 James issued a Declaration of Indulgence to both Dissenters and Catholics in both England and Scotland. Catholics and Dissenters were released from prison. All were free to worship in their own way. In the spring of 1688 he issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, legalizing his granting of civil and military posts to Catholics. Seven Anglican bishops protested the declaration and James ordered them tried for sedition and libel. The London mob cheered loudly when the jury acquitted the bishops.

In his foreign policy James further alienated the Anglicans. He surrounded himself with Frenchmen and sought close alliance
and financial backing from Louis XIV.

In 1688, after fifteen years of childless marriage, Mary Modena bore James a son. The very thought that the young Catholic Prince of Wales would inherit the throne before his Protestant half sisters made both Whigs and Tories ready for a change.

Whigs and Tories united to invite William of Orange to come from Holland to secure the succession for his wife, Mary, daughter of James II and Anne Hyde. William himself was a grandson of Charles I by his daughter. Sixteen years earlier William had saved Holland from Louis XIV by cutting the dikes. He had saved Europe from French domination.

William was cautious. He insisted on a formal invitation signed by the leading men of the nation. Seven Whigs and Tories signed the invitation, binding their fate with that of William. William also made sure of Dutch support. When Louis XIV attacked the Germans on the Rhine this removed the threat of an attack on Holland. William sailed for England protected by Dutch warships and regiments. The wind favored him. The English naval commander saved face by anchoring his fleet at the mouth of the Thames where it was held immobile by the wind while William's ships sailed past. On November 5, William landed at Torbay on the southwest coast. James with an army of thirty thousand marched to meet him, but John Churchill, the commander and future Duke of Marlborough, had informed James that he would not oppose William. So many officers and men followed Churchill in defecting that James returned to London.

In the negotiations that followed William demanded that Catholics be excluded from office and that a parliament be summoned to guarantee the liberties of the people and of the Protestant religion. James could have yielded and saved his throne but he tried to flee to France, dropping the Great Seal in the Thames. He was apprehended by fishermen and turned over to the authorities. The English decided it would be better to declare that he had abdicated and to let him quietly slip out of the country than to execute him. James spent the remainder of his life in the court of his cousin, Louis XIV.

William called a meeting of all those who had sat in a parliament of Charles II to give him advice. They suggested that he assume the government until a new parliament could be elected. The new parliament met as another "Convention Parliament" on January 22, 1689. Whigs and Tories were not agreed on the type of government. Tories insisted on kingship by divine right and wanted to declare Mary the rightful heir. Whigs insisted on a government elected by Parliament. Tories wanted Mary as queen with William as her consort. Both William and Mary refused such an arrangement. William declared that if they did not want him as king he would return to Holland. The majority of the Tories joined the Whigs in making William and Mary rulers by act of Parliament. A few Whigs would not give up kingship by divine right and became known as "Jacobites". Parliament settled the crown on William III and Mary and their heirs. Should their line
fail the crown was to be transferred to the line of Anne, Mary's sister, and her heirs.

For the English it was the "Glorious Revolution" because the change was made without bloodshed. For the Scotch it was more difficult. The Stewarts were Scottish. Episcopalians disliked the Catholicism of James and the Calvinism of William. Presbyterians favored William. On May 11, 1689 William and Mary became the rulers of Scotland. In 1690 Parliament restored all ejected Presbyterian ministers, ratified the Westminster Confession, and declared Presbyterianism the form of religion recognized by the government.

In England before the crown was bestowed on the new king and queen Parliament set forth its Declaration of Rights, ending the divine right of kings in England. It would be illegal to make or suspend laws without the consent of Parliament. There would be free elections to Parliament and free debate. The crown could never be worn by a Roman Catholic. The Declaration of Rights became the English Bill of Rights.

In 1689 Parliament passed the Toleration Act settling the religious question. Freedom of worship was granted to all Dissenters who swore or affirmed the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, rejected the jurisdiction of the Pope, transubstantiation, the mass, the invocation of the Virgin and saints, and who subscribed to the doctrinal positions of the Thirty-nine Articles. The three old denominations, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists became the English free churches. They had to pay tithes to support the establishment. Dissenters were excluded from the higher offices of government including army and navy, and from the universities. They could hold some offices in local government on condition that they practice "occasional conformity"—Anglican communion once a year. Catholics and all who denied the Trinity were excluded from all these privileges. Limited relief would come by degrees in 1778 and 1791 but complete religious toleration would not be granted to all until 1829.