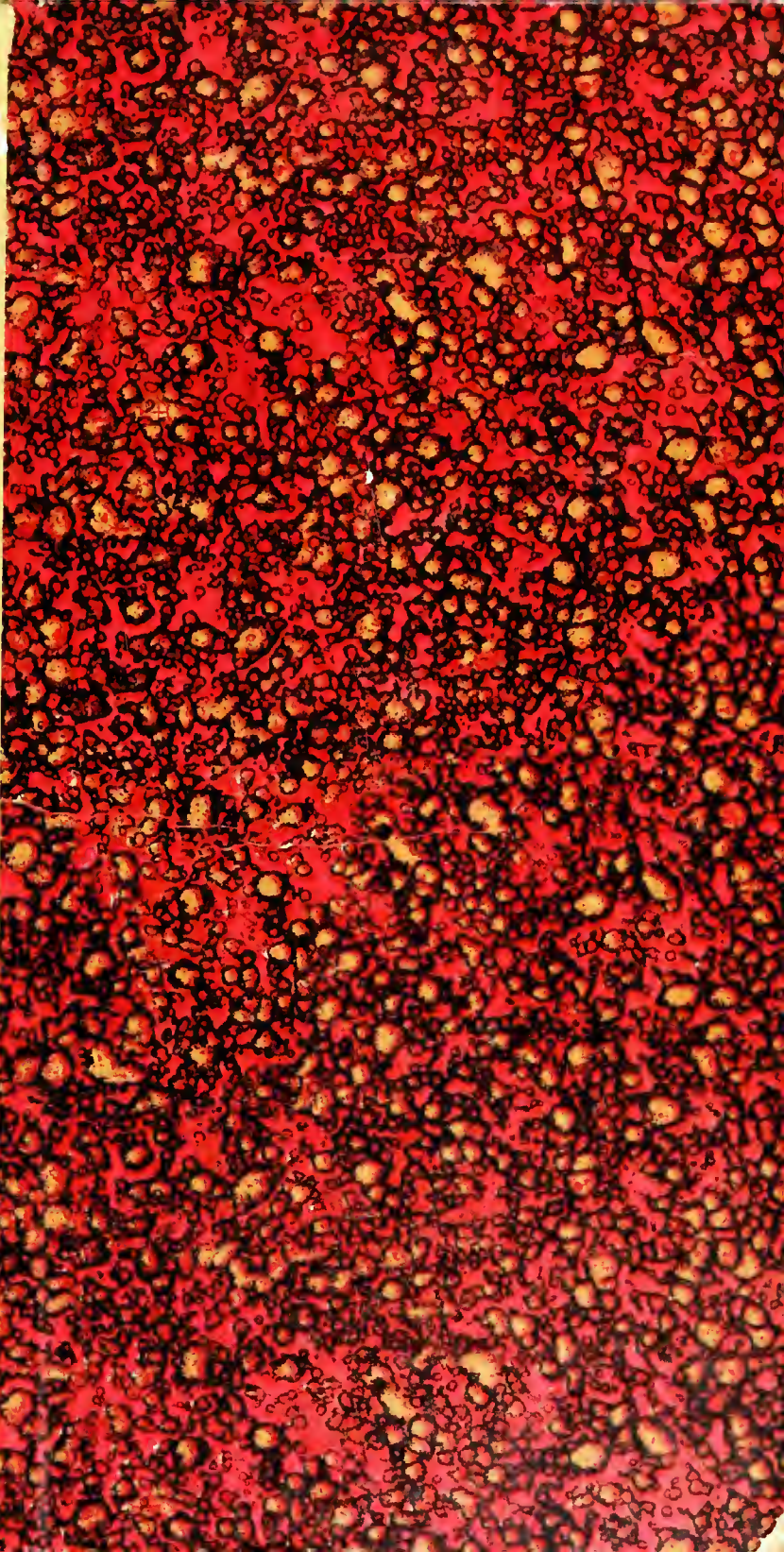
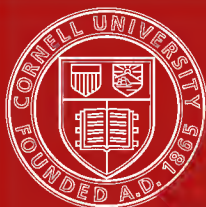


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THE PROTESTANT INTEREST
IN
CROMWELL'S
FOREIGN RELATIONS.

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR

ERLANGUNG DER DOKTORWÜRDE

DER

HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN FAKULTÄT

DER

RUPRECHT-KARLS-UNIVERSITÄT ZU HEIDELBERG

VORGELEGT VON

JACOB N. BOWMAN

AUS

GREENVILLE, OHIO, U. S. A.



HEIDELBERG.

CARL WINTER'S UNIVERSITÄTSBUCHHANDLUNG.

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Preface.

The peculiar part that the Protestant Interest played in Cromwell's diplomacy and the Protector's unconfiding nature excepting to his secretary of State, Thurloe, make his own words and those of Thurloe of the greatest value. The nature of this Interest in being Protestant throws greatest weight upon the letters and reports of the ambassadors in London from the Protestant States.

For the former *Carlyle's* «Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell»¹ takes the most prominent place, excepting that the State Letters must be sought elsewhere, — in one of the several collections of *Milton's* «State Letters.»² These letters in respect to the Piedmontese affair are, like all the State Letters, in the language and conception of Milton, but the thought is that of Cromwell. The State Papers of *Thurloe*³ contain the newsletters and reports — those from his agents in all parts of Europe, and the letters intercepted in the Post Office of which he was head — which gave him much of his knowledge of foreign affairs. But of greater importance are the letters, drafts of treaties, state documents, instructions, etc., in his own handwriting. The correspondence of Thurloe as collected by *Vaughan* — «The Protectorate,»⁴ — is very interesting, especially the corres-

¹ London 1871, 3. Ed., 3 Vols.

² Leipzig & Frankfurt 1690.

³ Published by W. Birch, London 1742, 7 Vols.

⁴ London 1838, 2 Vols.

pondence with the English agents in Switzerland during the Piedmontese Affair. After these works *Bonde's* correspondence in the Swedish Archives, is of next importance. Bonde was special ambassador from Charles X. Gustavus, 1655/6, sent to London to win England as a protector against the Danes and the Dutch during his campaign in Poland. Bonde had many audiences with Cromwell and Thurloe, many of them of a very confidential character. This Correspondence up to Dec. 1655 has been dealt with by *Schröder* in his «Om Riks-rådet Frih. Christer Bondes Ambassad till England 1655,»¹ but unfortunately he did not continue his paper to the end of the negotiations as he had hoped to do. Also of great value is the correspondence of *Fleetwood* — brother of Cromwell's son-in-law, then in Swedish diplomatic service, — it extending from 1655 to the end of the Protectorate and beyond. His letters from 1656 upwards were written in common with the special envoy *Friesendorff* come from Sweden with new offers for an English alliance. These letters are in the Swedish Archives, Stockholm. The general diplomacy between these two countries has been dealt with by *G. Jones* in his dissertation «Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X. Gustavus,» Heidelberg, 1897.

Of the ambassadors at London from foreign States, Bonde, above mentioned, and Nieupoort, ambassador from the Netherlands, stood nearest Cromwell. Nieupoort was one of the negotiators of the peace that ended the Dutch-English War; he stood in high regard at Whitehall, and during the Piedmontese Affair and the first year of the Northern troubles he received more audiences with

¹ Upsala 1851.

Cromwell and Thurloe than any other ambassador. For this reason his letters and reports — in «*De Witt Brieven*»¹ and the «*Verbael*»¹ — are of great authority particularly from the peace negotiations to the beginning of the Northern question. In *Balthazar's Helvetia*,² Bd. I., is found the report of John Stocker, the mediator from Protestant Switzerland to England during the Dutch-English War. Its special value is in showing Cromwell's idea of a closer relationship between the three republics. Besides the above given letters for the Swedish-English relations should be mentioned here the letters of *Spirinck-Silvercroen* to Queen Christina, covering a few months of 1651—2. Like the letters of the other Swedish ambassadors in London they are still in MSS form in the Swedish Archives. In *Erdmannsdörffer's* «*Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*,»³ Bd. VII., is found the correspondence of the Great Elector's agent in London. The direct relations between England and Denmark during the Protectorate were but slight and at no time intimate. The «*Relation of Erick Rosenkrantz og Peter Reedtz*,» May—Oct. 1652, and the «*Relationer fra Simon de Petkum*,» covering the years 1654—9, — both papers in the State Archives, Copenhagen, — contain nothing of interest to the Protestant Cause. In the «*Documents historiques*» in *Guizot's* «*Hist. de la république d'Angleterre et d'Oliver Cromwell*»⁴ are found a number of letters and papers relating to the Protestant Interest. The «*Relazioni degli stati europei lette al senato dagli ambasciatori Veneziani, XVII. — Inghilterra*,»⁵ and *Prayer's* «*Oliver Cromwell della Battaglia de Worcester*

¹ 's Gravenhagen 1723—25.

² Zürich, 1823—30.

³ Berlin 1871.

⁴ Paris 1856, 2 T.

⁵ Venez. 1863.

alla sua morte»¹ throw no new light on this subject. In respect to the Northern affairs may be mentioned Vol. VI. of «*Somers' Tracts*,»² *Meadow's* «Wars betwixt Sweden and Denmark,»³ and especially *Whitelocke's* «Swedish Embassy.»⁴ *Whitelocke's* «Memoirs»⁵ cover the general relations and of the times. *Frib. von Bischofshausen* in his «Die Politik des Protector's Oliver Cromwell etc.»⁶ has published a number of new Thurloe letters, besides giving in full for the first time, Thurloe's «Foreign Affairs in Cromwell's Time.» The part of this paper bearing on the Northern question had already been printed in Jones' Dissertation.

The *Newspapers* and *Tracts* in the British Museum are of interest to the Protestant Cause in so far as they give the general tone of the times and the general course of events. The «Hist. of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont» by *Morland*,⁷ Cromwell's special envoy to the Duke of Savoy, gives at length the relations between London and Turin. *Clarendon's* «Hist. of the Rebellion»⁸ and «State Papers»⁹ cover the whole of the Protectorate, but are not so valuable as *Burton's* «Diary.»¹⁰ In *Burnet's* «Hist. of his own Times»¹¹ is found the only mention of Cromwell's idea of a Council for the Protestant religion. Besides *Dumont's* «Corps Diplomatique,»¹² *Mrs. Green's* «Calendar of State Papers»¹³ and the Journal of the House Commons, other works are mentioned in the notes as occasion demands.

¹ Genoa 1882.

² London 1809—15.

³ London 1677.

⁴ London 1732.

⁵ London 1772, 2 Vols.

⁶ Innsbruck 1899.

⁷ London 1658.

⁸ Oxford 1857.

⁹ London 1767.

¹⁰ London 1828.

¹¹ London 1724—84.

¹² Amsterdam 1726.

¹³ London 1867.

Prof. Gardiner's «Hist. of the Commonwealth and Protectorate»¹ unfortunately has not yet reached the last years of the Protectorate. His «*Oliver Cromwell*»² came into my hands after this paper was written. The impression received from the «Hist. of the Commonwealth and Protectorate» in respect to the Protestant Interest is not what one should expect in the «*Oliver Cromwell.*» But as the former is not yet completed it is hardly fair to judge it by the latter. *Prof. Gardiner* has not gone to the extremes of *Geddes'* — «*John de Witt*»³ — and *Jones* in placing the Protestant Interest as one of the prime factors in *Cromwell's* diplomacy; this is done less in his last work than in his «Hist. of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.» *Weingarten*, in his work — *die Revolutionskirchen Englands*⁴ — also tends to the side of *Geddes* and *Jones* in making the possible «*Weltherrschaft des Protestantismus*» the «*Grundgedanke seiner auswärtigen Politik.*» *Ranke*,⁵ however, takes a still less extreme view and seems to follow *Cromwell's* own words on the subject in placing the Protestant Interest and England's national welfare side by side, yet gives the former the preference.

Besides the letters already mentioned from *Rikarkivet*, *Stockholm*, I examined the letters of *Appelboom* (1652), *Lagerfeldt* (1653), *Bonnel* (1655—9), and *Barkmann* (1655—9) — all Swedish agents in London — but found in them nothing touching the Protestant Interest. In the University Library, *Upsala*, I found the so-called «*Bondes Journal*» to be a «*Journal öfver R. R. Frih. Christer Bondes Ambassad*

¹ London 1894, 1897, 2 Vols.

² London 1899.

³ Hague 1879.

⁴ Leipzig 1868.

⁵ *Englische Geschichte* (Sam. Werke), Leipzig 1881, IV.

till England 1655, 1656.» «*Christer Bondes bref från London 1655, 1656*» are notes and copies of the letters preserved in the Archives at Stockholm.

I herewith acknowledge the kindness of the officials of the British Museum, of the Archives in Stockholm and Copenhagen, and of the University Library, Upsala. To Prof. Gardiner, Oxford, and to Dr. Theodor Westrin, Arkivarie i Riksarkivet, Stockholm, I am especially indebted for the assistance they gave me.



Introductory.

The Protestant Interest, or Cause, was the common opposition of the Protestant religion and States to the active religious attacks of Rome and the Catholic powers. It was direct in active diplomacy or war against Rome or the aggressive Catholic princes; indirect in the national policies and sympathies giving only moral support and aid to foreign Protestants in their conflicts.

The Protestant Interest was the common interest — the common defence. The first four decades of the Reformation were directed principally against Rome, but in the years following the death of Charles V., Rome stepped behind the throne of the Habsburgs and there directed the course of the Counter-Reformation. Ever after to the end of the Thirty Years War the Protestant Interest was the common opposition to the Houses of Austria. The Protestant Cause was a general and a common Interest, but it was the national interests that made the Common Cause an armed opposition.

The pre-Reformation oppositions to Rome were in some respect related to or drawn into political movements antagonistic to the temporal power. These isolated religious and political movements were united and made common by the Reformation — in giving Catholicism a common heresy to fight and the opponents a common faith to defend.

Cromwell's administration stood between a religious and a commercial age and partook of the characteristics of both. To him the Common Cause was the defence of

international toleration, the relief and protection of persecuted Protestants; he sought their protection through treaties with the Catholic States and through embassies to the persecuting princes. He saw the papal politics directed against Protestantism, and feared the nullification of the Treaty of Westphalia by the House of Habsburg. His thoughts on the relations between the Protestants on the one hand and Rome and the Habsburgs on the other, belonged to the age of the Thirty Years War; but his means of defence belonged to another. Only in case of a renewal of the religious strife would he, in all probability, have taken arms in defence of Protestantism. His fears of further persecution of the Protestants belonged to the age of his youth, but his interest in oppressed co-religionists belonged to the centuries following: the former was broad and general — the Protestant world as opposed to the Catholic world; the latter was special and particular — the Protector in behalf of the Huguenots and the Waldenses.

During the first three years of the Commonwealth, in its struggle for recognition among the European States, Cromwell had but little time for more than a passive activity in foreign affairs. But by the time the Dutch war began he was free to take a foremost part in the fight for the political existence of the new Government. The Protestant Interest in his foreign relations followed the fate of the Protectorate. In the Spanish-French rivalry it was passive. After the Treaties of 1654 he declared his interest in foreign Protestants, and in the Piedmontese affair it played a foremost part; with the French Alliance and the Spanish war it merged into the anti-Habsburg policy — where it continued through the remaining years of his Protectorate and that of Richard.

I. The Treaties of 1654.

1. The Dutch Treaty.

The relationship between the Houses of Orange and Stuart and the rivalry of Trade and Fleets made the Netherlands the most dangerous enemy of the new English government. The first embassy sent out by Parliament was to the Hague to turn this enmity into neutrality, but the negotiations ended unsuccessfully and unfortunately in the death of the English ambassador. But the Dutch Republic established at the death of the Prince of Orange, aroused among the English Republicans the hopes of something more than a Dutch neutrality. Parliament had already put down the rebellion in Ireland, defeated the Scots at Dunbar and driven Prince Rupert from the mouth of the Tagus, and showed itself worthy of respect at the hands of foreign states; yet a union with the Dutch Commonwealth would cut off the greatest danger England had to fear.¹ Accordingly in the spring of 1651 Chief Justice St. John and Walter Strickland were sent to the Hague to negotiate a union and alliance with the States General.² What the plan and inner working of this union was to be is not

¹ Spain was engaged in a war with France, and France, besides this war, was engaged with the Fronde; Portugal had learned the power of Blake's fleet, and the Northern countries had no special interest in English affairs. The Netherlands alone were in a position to give aid to the Stuarts.

² St. John reported to the Committee from the Assembly on March 25, «Dat de Republiq̄ue van Engelandt begreede met desen Staet in Alliance te treden, naenwer en strickter, als oyt voor desen was geweest.» Aitzema. Saken van Staet en Oorlogh (Hague 1669), III. 657.

known,¹ but that one of the prompting motives was the common Protestant religion of the two countries is seen from St. John's speech to the States General and from his propositions to their committee.² This political fusion being practically rejected by the Dutch, the ambassadors returned and through St. John's influence the Navigation Act was passed primarily against the Dutch. Worcester decided the

¹ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I. 357 note. Spirinck-Silvercroen to Christina 26 Dec. 1651, wrote that it «word hier voorgegeven dat desen staat met alle Evangelische soecht in correspondentie ende in eenelique sich inne te laetan, om soo een conterpoids tsaemen te maachen tegens den Roomscke Staet en alle Catholique Potentaten.» Also same to same 16/26 Jan. 1652.—«Soo als het sich toet aensien, schynt desen Staat te willen persisteren by haar voor desen gemantioneest Placaet aengaende de navigatie der Vrembden, ende dat sy wel willen innegaen eenvast Verband met de Vereenischde Nederlanden oach met andere Potentaten aengaende de maintainne van de Protestantsche Religie.» The news-sheet «Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres 1/21—8/28 May 1653, [in Lagerfeldt's letter to Christina 6/16 May 1653] said «Les Lettres de Paris du 23, disent que l'Ambassadeur de Hollands y résident avait dit en bon lieu qu'il était expédient que la guerre entre les 2 Républiques durat, peur d'un' autre de Religion plus cruelle, vu le dessein qu'ont, dit-il, les Anglais de se joindre aux Provinces Unies pour la protection de tous les Protestants de la Chretienté.»

² Old Parl. Hist. XIX. 467—470. Aitzema, III. 639—640. St. John in the beginning of his speech hoped that the good relations between the two states might continue because of their common profession of the true Reformed religion; and in closing said that the «Parlament sal altijd hebbende Satisfactie ende gerustheyt van gedaen te hebben nae behoovan, ende waer toe de Welvaert van de Ware Gereformeeende Religie.» This speech was delivered before the «Groote Vergaderingh» five days before ouvertures were made to the Committee. The following were among the considerations brought before the Committee: «Dat in't Deutsche Rijck de Protestanten stonden tot dispositie van den Paus. Ghelijck uyt des self Bullen tegen de Tractaten van Munster gemaneert was gebleecken. Dat in Franckrijck de Religions-Verwanten alleen stonden tot discretie van den Konningh aldaer.»

fate of the Commonwealth and before the end of the year Dutch ambassadors had arrived in London soliciting a treaty.

Cromwell, who had returned to London after the Scottish war, now took an active part in the Council of State. What his opinion of the Dutch-English union was at this time is not definitely known, but the union of two such Protestant states and the winning of a Stuart ally could not but have met with his approval, and his later negotiations on the same subject seem to show the same.¹ The Dutch war which broke out in the summer of 1652, was opposed by Cromwell² as well as by many of his officers and by the army in general. He considered it a religious inconsistency to wage war against a Protestant state. Hugh Peter's efforts for peace he highly commended and in the spring of 1653 when Holland hinted at peace he influenced Parliament to return a favorable answer.³

After the defeat of the Dutch off the Gabbord (2 June 1653) four ambassadors arrived in London from the States General.⁴ Their reception in England was not the most cordial,⁵ and Cromwell to make amends suggested to them more considerate demands than those insisted upon by the Council of State.⁶ The second of these demands gives some idea of his views respecting the union of the two countries. He thought

¹ Comp. Godwin, Commonwealth of England (London 1824—28), III. 374.

² Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, XIII. 169.

³ Gardiner, II. 120—121, 127—128, 182—184. Aitzema, III. 803—805. Geddes', Hist. of the Administration of John de Witt, I. 359.

⁴ Beverning, Nieupoort, vande Perre and Yongstall.

⁵ Verbael, 21.

⁶ Thurloe, State Papers, I. 394, 418.

that they should «give with a formal and full treaty mutual security to each other, . . . that they on both sides should admit in the government two or three lords viz. of the English in the assembly of the lords of the states general, or the council of State; and of the Netherland Provinces in the council of England.»¹ In such a coalition the English Republicans and Anabaptists saw great advantages for their religion. The Council of State, and more particularly Cromwell at their head, were especially sensitive to the Protestant Cause in this union, and this fact the Dutch ambassadors soon noted and made use of in their negotiations.²

Near the end of July Cromwell, as speaker of the commissioners for the Dutch negotiations, told the ambassadors of his great hopes for an understanding with the Netherlands, that he wished for a union and coalition between the two nations like that existing between the states of the United Provinces and like that between the Cantons of the Swiss Republic;³ and that «above all, what must be first thought of were the essential points tending to the preservation of freedom and the outspreading of the Kingdom of Christ;⁴ not for themselves only, but also for posterity, in order that the Treaty, built on such a foundation (yet according to the form and character of the respective governments) might be permanent and inviolable. That it had often happened that after a quarrel friendship became stronger than before; and that neither of them knew what God the

¹ Thurloe, I. 394. Aitzema, III. 856. Verbael, 84. Balthazar, Helvetia, I. 568.

² Thurloe, I. 302, 315.

³ Aitzema, III. 854—855. Thurloe, I. 382.

⁴ Verbael, 42. — «ende dat oversulks vooral, op substantiele punten, dienende tot conservatie van de Vryheydt, ende uytbreydinge van het Rijcke Christe.»

Lord for the magnifying of his holy name, and the delivery of so many oppressed nations, who now more than ever groaned under insufferable tyranny, might intend to accomplish by the two republics in his own good time.»¹ The next day Cromwell met the ambassadors² in St. James' Park, and in the course of the conversation «declared to them that he heartily wished that a good and durable peace would be established, because he knew well what management the Papists everywhere employed to obtain their object, and how important to all honourable people was the preservation of the true religion and their freedom.»³ The solicitation of Condé and the French Huguenots and the isolated rumours of the persecution of the Brethren in Bohemia, Polen and elsewhere turned his thoughts from a war which he had always hated to the hopes of giving succor to those in persecution. To effect a peace with the Dutch he was therefore willing to sacrifice various trade advantages,⁴ and this even in face of the rigid demands of the Council of State — for a strict political amalgamation.⁵ But these lenient propositions did not meet with the approval of the ambassadors. On August 6 Cromwell again met the Dutch

¹ Verbael, 42. Translation from Geddes, I. 338. In a memorial to the Council of State on July 25 the ambassadors answered this plea «avec une sincère et véritable expression touchant le maintien et avancement de la Religion Orthodoxe et le Evangile de Jesus Christ.» Verbael, 50.

² Beverning and vande Perre.

³ Geddes, I. 339. Verbael, 45—46. Cromwell no doubt had in mind the Papal-Spanish intrigues in Ireland 1649—50.

⁴ The first formal proposal of amalgamation between the two states was made on July 21 1653, and a few days later the demand was repeated. Geddes, I. 340, note. Aitzema, III. 854. Comp. Helvetia, I. 568.

⁵ Comp. Geddes, I. 364. Gardiner, I. 334.

ambassadors in St. James' Park and in a conversation expressed his great interest in the welfare and safety of the Protestant religion.¹

During these months of official diplomacy private and unknown mediators were busily at work. The propositions of three such mediators remain showing the religious atmosphere surrounding the negotiations. All the propositions were based upon a Dutch-English alliance but extended to a great Protestant union, and to the conquest of the world for the Dutch and English trade and for the Protestant Faith. The first proposition in the form of a memoir, was delivered to Cromwell for his consideration by an unknown mediator. Among the things proposed was a union and a confederation of the two Republics against all persecutors of the Reformed religion.² The second proposition for a treaty was delivered to one of the Dutch ambassadors by Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, a friend of Cromwell. This proposition set forth the great advantages to both countries won by a perpetual amity, and proposed a general conquest of the world for trade and religion — the trade to go to England and the Netherlands, and a universal ministry to provide for the Protestant religion.³ These propositions could not have possibly met with Cromwell's full sanction, yet there was no doubt something in them that coincided with his own opinions on the Protestant question. The third proposition was presented by an unknown mediator to

¹ Verbael, 143.

² To this article Cromwell made a marginal note: *cum distinctione et ad praescriptum modum.* Verbael, 147—149.

³ Thurloe, II. 125—126; IV., V. Motives 3, 4, 5. Verbael, 150—153; Arts. 4, 5, 17. The name of the author stands only in Thurloe. In the Verbael and Geddes (I. 360—361) the mediator is «unknown.»

the Dutch ambassador, vande Perre. The mediator set forth his ignorance of any former mediations and further stated that various members of the Council of State, and especially Cromwell, knew of his proposition from the beginning. The alliance and union here proposed was of a more reasonable character from both religious and commercial standpoints. The alliance should include all free states and princes of the Protestant Faith; no close contract should be made with any country upholding the Inquisition; France should be included in the union for the sake of the Huguenots.¹ These three propositions seem to form the basis of Cromwell's later idea of a general Protestant union as reported by Burnet; they at this time no doubt coincided with his religious opinions but it is hardly possible that he had a clear and decided opinion on the Protestant Interest during these months of indecision in the peace negotiations and with the Stuarts still welcomed at all the courts of Europe.²

Proposals of this sort the ambassadors had not been instructed to consider and accordingly were at once laid aside. The less strenuous demands to which Cromwell had given his approval were likewise rejected, and the ambassadors sent two of their number to the Hague for further instructions. After their return the ambassadors made propositions to the English Committee, wherein «they showed some inclination to gratify Cromwell, at least in words, by offering a league — purely defensive in its nature — with France

¹ Verbael, 155—159.

² Geddes (I. 362), however, goes further and says «from these three documents we are able to form a conception of the magnificence and grandeur of Cromwell's foreign policy. . . . The end in view was a great Protestant alliance between all the Protestant powers of Europe for the purpose of propagating the Gospel.»

and the Protestant states, of which an alliance between England and the United Provinces was to be the cornerstone.»¹ On November 18 the Council of State handed the ambassadors several articles similar to those proposed by the Dutch: they should be the effectual means «not only to stop the further effusion of Christian blood in the present war, but to bring both states into such an union and consistency of interest as might totally have extinguished the seeds of all future differences, and render their forces and other advantages more serviceable for promoting those great ends of liberty and religion, professed to be aimed at by both sides.»²

Cromwell was very anxious — especially after he had taken the Protectorship — that the negotiations proceeding on this basis should end in a treaty; though deeply as he was interested in the religious side of the negotiations business was not forgotten.³ The few weeks preceding the signing of the treaty were spent in considering the admission of Denmark into the treaty and the exclusion of the Prince of Orange from the Stadtholderate — Denmark had not yet settled for the depredation done to English commerce in

¹ Gardiner, II. 363. Verbael, 168.

² Verbeal, 197. These articles formed the basis of the treaty finally signed. Dumont, Corps Diplomatiques, VI. (II) 74.

³ v. Bischofshausen, Die Politik des Protector Oliver Cromwell etc. Anh. VIII. Thurloe to Pell, Feb. 1654, — «I can assure you the Protector bleeds over the lamentable state of (the) Protestant Cause, whilst this warre continues, and therefore very heartily hath endeavoured the peace . . .» Stocker (Helvetia, I. 571—572), relates how the Dutch ambassadors desiring to leave the negotiations ad referendum the Protector replied sharply that the negotiations must go on or drop. Also that at the news of Beverning's return from the Hague with instructions concerning this point Cromwell exclaimed to Stocker «God be blessed! I am very glad.»

the Sound for her Dutch ally during the Dutch-English war; the exclusion of the Prince of Orange, still a child, from command in the Provinces was to deprive the Stuarts of an effective weapon against the Protector.

But even after the treaty had been signed one important question remained. Application for admission to the Dutch-English alliance had been received from various northern princes and states. On May 5 Thurloe handed the ambassadors an article — to stand apart from the original treaty — proposing to include in the alliance the Evangelical Cantons the Duke of Holstein, the Count of Oldenburg and the Hansetowns, Bremen, Lübeck and Hamburg.¹ The ambassadors consented to the article, it being very similar to the one they had presented to the Council of State in the preceding November.² But they were not empowered to sign it so referred it at once to the States General. In the Netherlands the article was approved and early in August ratified.

On the day that the treaty was signed with the Netherlands John Dury began his second period of labours on the continent for peace and union among the Protestants; this time however he went with the countenance and good will of the Protector,³ and was everywhere received with marked consideration.

The treaty concluded with the States General contained little or nothing in common with the propositions of St. John.

¹ Verbael, 428—429. Also Whitelocke, Memorials, 590. Thurloe, II. 283, 305.

² Verbael, 168.

³ Ecclesiastical Tracts, 1653—1658 (Brit. Mus.). «The Effects of Master Dury's Negotiations for the Uniting of Protestants in Gospel Interest.» Stern, Milton, (Leipzig 1876—1879) II. (II), 171—172. Ranke, Engl. Gesch., IV. 146.

The coalition of the Protestant states that Cromwell and others had so long cherished, had been defeated. Yet in separate treaties with Holland and Friesland he won the exclusion of the Prince of Orange from the Stadtholderate — an indirect blow at the Stuarts. Besides the commercial and political treaties with the States General and the exclusion articles with the two provinces it was the ending of a war between two Protestant states; and was in spite of the efforts of France an alliance of two enemies of Rome. A few weeks after the treaty was signed Thurloe wrote Whitelocke, the English ambassador to Sweden, that in this treaty with so many Protestant princes, and the pending alliance with Sweden, «there will be I hope a good understanding between most of the Protestant states and opportunities may through God's blessing arise from thence to promote that interest.»¹

2. The Danish Treaty.

The close alliance that existed between the Netherlands and Denmark made their relations with England very similar. Ambassadors arrived from Copenhagen in 1652 with letters to the new government, but at the outbreak of the Dutch-English war they returned. The Danes aided their Dutch allies by detaining English merchantmen found in the Sound; and in a new treaty with the States General still further aid was promised in wholly excluding the English from the Sound.² Later, however, the Danish envoy in London offered to mediate a peace between the Republics, but nothing came of the matter. Cromwell reluctantly agreed to their inclusion in the treaty with the Netherlands, —

¹ v. Bischofshausen, Anh. XXII.
Dumont VI. (II) 65.

but all differences in commercial affairs were settled by a board of arbitration soon after the Dutch Treaty was signed. The Danes were not regarded as especially active in the Protestant Cause,¹ yet the Danish ambassador negotiating a separate treaty at Whitehall «hoped all would conduce to a happy peace, to the advancement of the Protestant Religion and stopping the effusion of innocent blood.»² A commercial «peace and confederation» was subsequently signed at Westminster in September,⁴ the last of the treaties of 1654.

The importance of the relations with the Dutch overshadowed these short negotiations, and no further interest in regard to the Protestant Cause is noted than that the treaty was concluded with a Protestant state.

3. The Portuguese Treaty.

Negotiations began with Portugal early in 1649 through the harboring of Prince Rupert in the mouth of the Tagus. The Parliament's ambassador in Lisbon was unsuccessful, but Blake's fleet more than made good this failure. Portugal, not long independent from Spain, became Spain's rival for the good will of the new Commonwealth. Ambassadors arrived from Lisbon but the negotiations were principally of a commercial character, religion entering no further than the demands for the liberty of worship for the English traders and sailors in Portugal and her dependencies.⁴ The negotiations dragged, and Cromwell, on becoming Protector,

¹ Birch MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 4459, fol. 175 ff.

² Perfect Account, May 4 1654.

³ Dumont, VI. (II) 92.

⁴ Similar demands had been made by the Dutch. Aitzema, III. 873. Thurloe, I. 350, 468—469. Comp. Prayer, Oliver Cromwell della Battaglia de Worcester alla sua morte, CXLII.

made a change in the demands in regard to the liberty of worship.¹ The treaty finally signed in July 1654 contained two articles insuring freedom of worship to the English merchants, sailors and officials within the jurisdiction of the king.² Cromwell was not averse to a treaty with a Catholic power if thereby he could gain some advantage for his country or his religion.³

4. The Swedish Treaty.

Diplomatic relations between Sweden and England began in the autumn of 1652, when a Swedish ambassador arrived in London. Immediately after the establishment of the Commonwealth, however, the Swedish ambassadors at the Hague were on very good terms with the English representatives there, and had instructions to recognize the new government if they considered it to the interest of Sweden. The Swedes and the English had similar interests in preventing a Dutch and Danish control of the Sound. For Sweden it was putting great advantages in the hands of a sworn national enemy; for England it was an indirect blow of the Dutch in cutting off the English trade and naval supplies. This common interest drew the two states together, and before the Swedish ambassador arrived in London, Lord Lisle had been selected by the Council of State for a similar embassy to Sweden. His instructions were of a purely commercial character — the Protestant Cause being but a subordinate matter.⁴

¹ Thurloe, II. 248.

² Dumont, VI. (II). 82. Arts. VI., VII.

³ Gardiner, II. 382.

⁴ Thurloe, I. 226—232, — «The present state of affairs between certain neighbouring states offer a better opportunity for a peace whereby the commerce and tranquility of the nations may be preserved and provided for, with respect also to the common interest and concernment of the true Protestant religion.»

Lisle declined the commission and the embassy was not considered again until late in the following year.

In the meantime Lagerfeldt had arrived from Queen Christina for the ostensible purpose of mediating a peace between England and the Netherlands. This mediation for «the peace and welfare of the Protestant Churches» was not accepted by the Council of State, and the negotiations then turned to commercial relations, and especially was this true when Denmark and the Netherlands began negotiations for a new and closer alliance.¹

The Dutch-Danish alliance and the detention of English ships in the Sound by Denmark roused the Council of State to action, and Whitelocke — through Cromwell's influence — was selected as special ambassador to Queen Christina. Whitelocke was reluctant to go but accepted at the appeal of Cromwell who urged upon him the importance of trade affairs and the Protestant Interest, and his ability to uphold the same at the Swedish Court.²

The instructions again bear a marked commercial character; in his speech to the Queen Whitelocke stated his mission to be for «a nearer union and correspondence than heretofore; whereby the commerce and tranquility of both (states) may be preserved and provided for, with respect also to the common interest and concernment of the true Protestant Religion.»³ After Cromwell had become Protector the question of opening the Sound was especially considered, but with the end of the Dutch war a commercial treaty

¹ Aitzema, III. 864—865.

² Gardiner, II. 378, note 1,—On Whitelocke's departure for Sweden Cromwell said to him «Bring us back a Protestant alliance.»

³ Whitelocke, Swed. Embassy, I. 239.

only was concluded, placing the two states in a good and friendly understanding with each other.¹

Whitelocke's negotiations were of a purely commercial character, begun and influenced by trade and political relations. War materials for the English navy came from the Swedish and Baltic forests, and during the war with the Dutch a good understanding with Sweden was very desirable — to offset the good relations of the Netherlands with Denmark, the enemy of Sweden.

That trade seems to have been of greater importance than the Protestant interest, — and that this Interest was but vague and general, — may be seen in Cromwell's statement to Whitelocke² that he was «to let that Queen know that you are come qualified with power to communicate with her majesty, by what ways and means to open a free trade through the Sound; that it may not depend upon the will of the King of Denmark, or the United Provinces of the Netherlands, when they shall think fit (as now they have done) to obstruct it.» In the instructions to Whitelocke Cromwell further stated³ «if you find them inclinable to it (to action against the Dutch and Danes) put it on as farre as you can. . . . No business can be of greater consequence to us; and our trade, wherein the Dutch will endeavour to overreach us; and it were good to prevent them, and the Dane, and first serve our own interest.»⁴

The religious interest in these negotiations was of the

¹ Dumont, VI. (II) 80.

² Whitelocke, Swed. Embassy, I. 89.

³ Whitelocke, Swed. Embassy, I. 95.

⁴ Comp. also Barton, Diary, III. 380. v. Bischofshausen, Anh. VII. Meadowe, Narrative, 16. Jones, Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X. Gustavus. App. A.

most general character. Cromwell was no doubt pleased that good relations were being established with a Protestant power, that behind the immediate interests in the Sound and in the Dutch war an indirect blow was given to the old religion.¹ After he had become Protector and the treaty with the Dutch and the other Protestant states had been concluded he said to Whitelocke on his return to London with the Swedish treaty, «I may say it, that this treaty hath the appearance of much good, not only to England, but to the Protestant Interest throughout Christendome; and I hope it will be found so.»²

5. Negotiations with France and Spain.

After the death of Charles I. the Spanish ambassador, Cardenas, remained in London but without letters to the new government. He proposed to the Council of State an alliance for the political and religious interests of both countries;³ but this was rejected. The Spanish favor towards England is seen in the aid rendered Blake in his chase after Prince Rupert in the Mediterranean, and in the settlement for the murder of the English ambassador in Madrid. Philip IV. was desirous of English aid against France and so recognized the Commonwealth soon after Dunbar had been fought.

The French relations with England were but slowly and reluctantly renewed. Agents were sent to London, but they were either dismissed or not received. Not until after

¹ Gardiner (II. 378) goes further, — «neither he nor Whitelocke would be satisfied unless an agreement with Sweden brought some accession of strength to Protestantism.»

² Whitelocke, Sw. Amb., II. 411.

³ Guizot, Hist. de la république d'Angleterre et d'Oliver Cromwell, I. 187. Doc. Hist., V. 3.

the battle of Worcester did the real rivalry between France and Spain for an English alliance begin.

In the autumn of 1651 Condé — at the head of the Fronde — appealed to England for aid for his cause and the Huguenots, and also for Bordeaux and Rochelle then menaced by the royal armies. Cromwell sarcastically replied to the agents that if France should become a republic he would himself lead an army to their aid.¹ Rochelle was then offered to Cromwell for his aid, but this he refused. At this time Cromwell stood in opposition to France; the duty on English goods and the sympathy shown to the Stuarts gave him cause to consider the pleas of the French revolutionists and the Huguenots, and to turn to the advanced Puritans in England then laboring for a Spanish alliance in behalf of the Huguenots. The few reports of persecution of Protestants by the Inquisition had moderated the Puritan hatred against Spain, and Cromwell not unwillingly considered the policy of using the Spanish arms to succor the French Protestants. But before such steps could be taken an exact account of the condition of the Huguenots was desirable. For this purpose Sir Henry Vane² was sent to Paris to consult with Cardinal de Retz, «the demagogue of the Fronde»; and Edward Sexby was dispatched by Cromwell and Whitelocke³ to the southern provinces. De Retz failed to grasp Cromwell's meaning that if he entered French politics the Huguenots were to secure Protection; Sexby got no further than Bordeaux where he spent his time preaching Republicanism. The failure of

¹ Gardiner, II. 90—91. *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, (1896), 479.

² Identification doubtful, — Joachim Hane, *Journal* (Oxford 1896), XV.

³ Joachim Hane, XIV., XVI.

these two missions was followed by Cromwell's secret negotiations with Mazarin for the possession of Dunkirk in lieu of English aid against Spain.¹

While these negotiations were in progress two other envoys arrived in London, one from Condé and the other from Bordeaux. Both solicited Cromwell's aid, offering for certain assistance great advantages to the Huguenots.² But these propositions joined with that of Cordenas — of winning Calais from the French for England — only led Cromwell to seek a higher bid from France.³ The Dunkirk negotiations were renewed. Fitzjames, Cromwell's agent at Dunkirk, reported to the Governor-general of the fortress that among other things demanded from France for English aid against Spain was security and religious freedom for the Huguenots.⁴ Mazarin's reluctance to surrender Dunkirk and the power of the party in the Council of State friendly to Spain put an end to these negotiations, and the following months in England were occupied with the beginning of the Dutch war.

The Dutch war revived the question of an alliance with France or Spain. The French ambassador who came to London without letters to the new government was not received; and Cardenas, who remained as ambassador for

¹ Engl. Hist. Rev., (1896), 484 ff.

² Guizot, I. 217.

³ Gardiner, II. 101. — Cromwell told an unavowed French agent that Louis XIV. «must promise liberty to the Huguenots, and give us a considerable seaport as security and other things besides, before he has a single man from us.»

⁴ Guizot, I. 213, — d'Estrades to Mazarin, «il m'a dit ensuite que M. Cromwell l'avait chargé de me dire, . . . qu'on lui donnerait . . . une sûreté entière et l'exercice de la religion libre.» Comp. Engl. Hist. Rev., (1896), 499, 501-502.

Spain, proposed to the Council of State a treaty of peace, alliance and amity, wherein an indefinite security of freedom and worship for the English in Spain was promised for like concessions in behalf of the catholics in England,¹ these articles did not meet with approval, and counter proposals were made by Parliament at the time when the negotiations for peace were begun between England and the Netherlands. These proposals laid special stress upon the trade with the West Indies, and the freedom of Englishmen from the Inquisition.² The Holy Office was especially troublesome and already two years before the Council of State had set forth at length in a complaint to Madrid the treaty violations in this regard.³ The proposed articles Spain referred to the consideration of the Inquisition, — whose decided answer was that no further toleration could be sanctioned than that granted in the treaty of 1630 with Charles I.⁴

The fall of Dunkirk prompted Mazarin to send another ambassador to London, this time bearing formal letters of recognition to the Commonwealth.⁵ By this time, however, the advanced stage of the Dutch negotiations for peace had lessened the English desire for a league with either France or Spain, and the confirmation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. had lessened to a certain extent one of Cromwell's interests in France. But the envoys from the Huguenots and from Condé came with new solicitations for the relief of Bordeaux, and Cromwell again turned his attention

¹ Guizot, I. Doc. Hist., XXI. 8, Art. XVI.

² Thurloe, I. 706.

³ Thurloe, I. 176.

⁴ Comp. Gardiner, II. 184, note 3.

⁵ Nov. 22/Dec. 2 1653.

to a Spanish alliance as the means of securing aid for the French Protestants. A few ships — but no men — were rented to Spain, but Bordeaux fell before effective aid could arrive. A few months later Cromwell was on the point of sending aid to the Huguenots if Spain would bear the expenses of the campaign. An envoy¹ had already been sent to make a critical examination of several strongholds. Cromwell could not bear the taunt that the French Protestants were suffering because of the inconsistency of English rulers, and hoped to retrieve the honor of his country by decided action.²

Again in November and December substantial aid for the Huguenots was proposed by members of Parliament, but the matter came to an end when the Spanish fleet left the French waters. What part Cromwell took in this proposal is not known but it no doubt had his sympathy.³

During these months it was reported to Mazarin that Cromwell was considering the idea of calling a council of Protestants from all parts of the world for the purpose of a union under one faith.⁴ One of the important objects of the Council, apart from the formation of a common confession, was to engage in a war with Spain against France in behalf of the Huguenots, and to further a general war against the Pope. The Lutherans and Calvinists were to be united and the Pope declared Anti-Christ. The worthiest ministers and professors in France, Geneva, Switzerland, Germany, Polen, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and else-

¹ Joachim Hane.

² Gardiner, II. 356, note 1. Add. MSS. (Brit. Mus.), 32,093, fol. 281. Thurloe, II. 6.

³ Gardiner, II. 422—423.

⁴ Guizot, II. Doc. Hist., VI.

where were to urge their princes to send representatives.¹ But the design — if such it was — came to naught. During these same months Cromwell had intended calling a Council of English Protestants but whether rumor made this into a universal council Protestants is hard to say. The political position of England in 1653 was hardly encouraging for such a policy, although in 1654 such a design would have been possible from a political standpoint, but the condition of Protestants in the various parts of Europe at this time did not call for such a policy as the Vaudois affair later brought forth.

The new Protectorate had found favor among the Reformed in France.² Cromwell, with the government now in his own hands, turned from the idea of an alliance with Spain.³ Both Spain and France renewed their efforts to win his favor and aid, yet he intimated more emphatically than before that freedom of religion would be included in an alliance with either state.⁴ The newly arrived French agent, de Baas, returned to Mazarin with Cromwell's demands for the Huguenots,⁵ and while waiting for a reply the Protector received the envoys from Condé and from the French Protestants who again solicited aid for Rochelle. Stoupe, the minister of the French church in London, was dispatched to France to examine the state of affairs there⁶

¹ Verbael, 171—173. The Dutch knew of such a design already on November 9, 1653. The date of the letter to Mazarin is July 25 1654. *Comp. Hist. d'O. Cromwell* (Paris 1691), 210 ff.

² Thurloe, I. 657.

³ Thurloe, I. 706, 760.

⁴ Guizot, II. 68—69. Masson, Milton, IV. 550. *Comp. Helvetia*, I. 585.

⁵ Gardiner, II. 428, note 3.

⁶ Burnet, *Hist. of his own Times*, I. 123—124.

and to report on the probable reception of an English army among the Huguenots.¹ Together with this new step Cromwell proposed an alliance with Spain, avowedly if not literally, for the benefit of the French Protestants. While an answer to these propositions was coming from Madrid negotiations were in progress with the French ambassador, — Cromwell demanding as usual liberty of conscience for the Huguenots.²

The negotiations with France and Spain wavered from side to side. Both powers were jealous of Cromwell's friendship, and this jealousy he cherished.³ At one time he was about to accept the alliance with Spain, but this, however, was not at all satisfactory. Protestantism was a common factor in either alliance; yet benefits for the Huguenots won by a war could not be so lasting as those won through the consent of the French king. France, too, could give more effective support to the Stuarts than Spain. But the deciding factors were no doubt financial and commercial. The treaties with the Netherlands and Sweden — and one agreed upon with Portugal — pointed to an alliance with France. The longing of the English for conquests in the West Indies was stronger than ever and the course of English trade tended to the Spanish colonies. A commercial treaty with Cardenas was begun, but trade in the West Indies and freedom from the Inquisition insisted upon by Cromwell were difficult points which the ambassador called «his master's two eyes.»⁴

¹ Vaughan, Protectorate, I. 17—18. Thurloe, II. 246.

² Vaughan, I. 15, 21. Gardiner, II. 441.

³ v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 200, II.

⁴ Thurloe, I. 761. Carlyle, Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell, Speech V. Comp. Thurloe, I. 706. Bonde to Charles X. 28 Sept.

In the meantime Stoupe had returned from France with an unfavourable report,¹ consequently the negotiations with France were then more seriously considered. Throughout these negotiations Cromwell was determined not to forget the French Protestants and declared that any injustice done them «contrary to those edicts which have been heretofore made in their favor, he should look upon as done to himself.»² Yet all favors demanded for the Huguenots were rejected by the French court,³ and Mazarin took the position in opposing them that in case war should be declared against France he «might show that it was only a war of religion.»⁴ The ambassador assured Cromwell, however, that requests of favor for the Huguenots addressed to the king personally would be duly considered, — and especially if the treaty were concluded.⁵ Cromwell was fully decided by this time in his course, and the fleets for Blake, Penn and Venables began to gather at Portsmouth.

Early in July a projected treaty of peace and amity between England and France was delivered to the French ambassador by the Council of State. One of the articles

1655— Cromwell in an audience with Bonde «talade först om Spanien, huru han med them om alle andra saker hade kunnat kommit till rätta, alenast efter han af ingen fredh wille wetta, medh mindre the Engelske uthi hans Landh för inquisition motte wara fry, hafwe the icke kunnat therom forlykas. Med Portugal woro thet i lyka måtto, och wore fuller een alliance medh them sluten, men såsom Ecclesiastici ther sedan hafwa bracht några förändringar uthi, hafwer han ther medh ey kunnat wara tillfryds, meente liqwäll att the sigh accomoderander warda.»

¹ Thurloe, II. 447. Gardiner, II. 470.

² Clarendon, State Papers, III. 239.

³ Thurloe, II. 454, 556, — At Cromwell's demands the French «court did but laugh.»

⁴ Thurloe, II. 458.

⁵ Gardiner, II. 471.

demanded the freedom of religion for all English subjects in France, and that to them should be accorded all securities, liberties and priveleges then accorded to the Huguenots.¹ It was still stronger insisted upon that the Huguenots should have the free exercise of their religion as warranted by various grants and edicts.² At this time Thurloe wrote to Pell, the English agent in Switzerland,³ that «His Highness continues his ancient zeal to the Protestant Religion, whereof nobody need doubt nor have the least scruple, but may build the greatest resolutions thereon.» Mazarin, during the last months, had shown favour to the Protestants of Longuedoc, and it was believed in Switzerland that this favor had been greatly influenced by Cromwell.⁴ When Parliament met on September 3 nothing had been definately concluded with France.

During these negotiations with Spain and France Cromwell had played a passive diplomacy and at every turn had demanded favor and aid for the Huguenots and freedom of religion for English subjects in those countries. In these demands is seen the beginning of the particular Protestant Interest — the beginning of his real Protestant policy in foreign affairs. His natural tendency was to a friendship with France, yet in 1652 and again in 1654 he had turned to and even accepted a Spanish alliance;⁵ but this action was due to a great extent to the appeals of Condé and the French Protestants. He saw Mazarin and the nobles of the

¹ Guizot, II. Doc. Hist., VIII. 5, Art. XXII. Vaughan, I. 21. Somers' Tracts, VI. 330.

² Vaughan, I. 25—26. Prayer, LXXXII.

³ Vaughan, I. 25—26.

⁴ Vaughan, I. 60.

⁵ Ranke, Engl. Gesch., IV. 147—148. Comp. Gardiner, II. 478. Godwin, IV. 186.

Fronde striving to win the Reformed to their respective sides, and saw the «need of a strong foreign power to keep them from bartering themselves away and to things detrimental.»¹

6. Relations to other States.

The relations of the Commonwealth with the smaller states were for the most part of a commercial character; the correspondence and embassies being in that interest. Besides this commercial relationship there stood but an indirect interest for religion appearing more clearly in later years.

Hamburg, Dantzig and other Hanse towns, Oldenburg and the three Italian states, Venice, Tuscany and Genoa, had early entered into correspondence with the Commonwealth, and several of these had sent ambassadors to London. Oldenburg and the Hanse towns had been included in the treaty with the Netherlands — making this correspondence still closer.

The relationship with the Swiss Protestant Cantons was somewhat closer — already in 1650 an alliance had been considered by the Council of State. In April 1653 John Stocker arrived in London to mediate a peace between England and the Netherlands. In a conference with the agent in regard to this mission of mediation Cromwell declared «with tears in his eyes and invoking the name of God, that nothing in this world had so grieved him as this war.»² The mediation proved fruitless, yet the good relations between England and the Cantons continued and were gradually increased.³ In the autumn of 1654 John Pell, the mathe-

¹ Add. MSS. (Brit. Mus.), 32,093, fol. 281 *A Brief Information of the Present Condition of those of the Religion in France.* Feb. 1652.

² Verbael, 160.

³ Vaughan, I. 45, 138, 140, 182, 184, 196, 201, 302, etc. *Helvetia*, I. 586, 589.

matician, was sent as ambassador to Protestant Switzerland, where he was joined and aided by Dury in strengthening the friendly undersanding with the Cantons.

* * *

When the first Protectorate Parliament met on September 3 1654, the treaties with the Netherlands, Sweden and Portugal had already been signed — that with Denmark was concluded a few days later; and the relations with France were the best possible. All this had been done since the end of the last Parliament. Cromwell now laid before Parliament for its sanction the results of his labors for the honour and the upbuilding of England. «You are met here,» he began his speech, «on the greatest occasion, that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the Interests of the three great Nations with the Territories belonging to them; — truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the world . . . Your work here, in the issue and consequences of it, will extend so far, even to all christian people.»¹

Peace had been concluded with Sweden, he continued, — «with a kingdom which, not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbors; not yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends.»¹ Whitlocke did not «presume to judge of the advantages by this alliancè to this nation, and to the Protestants throughout the world.»² In respect to the treaty with Portugal Cromwell said that «one thing had been obtained in this treaty, which never 'before' was, since the Inquisition

¹ Carlyle, Speech II. — ² Whitlocke, 603.

was set up there: that our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience, — liberty to worship in chapels of their own.»¹ Peace had been concluded with the Dutch and a treaty ready to be signed with Denmark; Pell and Dury were in Switzerland cultivating a friendly intercourse with the Cantons.² With Spain and France he had shown a firm hand and won the admiration of all Protestants.³ In respect to all these treaties he warmly declared that «as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavour is to drive the Protestant part of the people out,⁴ as fast as is it possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that you will help them as opportunity shall serve.»¹

Much of this religious fervor was no doubt the rhetorical style of the age, yet interwoven with the commercial and political interests of these last years were the good relations with the Protestant states and friendship with those Catholic powers tending to weaken what he believed to be

¹ Carlyle, Speech II.

² Hoening, Cromwell (Berlin 1888), III. 283. Hist. Zeits. (Sybel), XL. 65—75.

³ Hallam, Constitutional Hist. (London 1827), II. 119. Burnet, I. 125.

⁴ Comp. Thurloe, II. 442.

the still great power of Spain. During this period Cromwell carried his broad Puritan tolerance over into foreign relations.

With the conclusion of these treaties Cromwell's passive policy came to an end. The Dutch-English amalgamation was a failure; the Dutch war had not been of his making, — and with it came the voluntary mediation of Switzerland and the alliance with Sweden. The fleets of Blake and Monk had secured the peace with the Netherlands and the treaties with Denmark and the smaller Protestant states. Blake and the recent independence of Portugal had brought the Portuguese treaty. Spain and France had both sought an English alliance. The treaties with the Netherlands and Denmark broke the plans of France for a French-Dutch-Danish coalition, and left Mazarin bidding for the Protector's friendship against Spain with her endeavors to establish a Spanish-English-Swedish alliance. The fate of war and circumstances had gathered around Cromwell the allies of both France and Spain, — leaving these two powers to continue alone their conflict carried over from the Thirty Years War. Cromwell thus held in his hands the diplomacy of Western Europe and could at any moment block the negotiations — as he did later in the Piedmontese affair. Up to this time Cromwell can hardly be said to have had a fixed Protestant policy, nor that in his diplomacy the Protestant Cause played a most important part. The exclusion articles with the two Netherland provinces point to the Stuart question in the Dutch treaty; the English trade in the Baltic and the northern naval supplies were especially emphasized by Cromwell and Thurloe; yet mingled with the negotiations — as those with France and Spain — was the spirit of Puritan England.

The Protestant Interest was there in its broadest terms — the shadow of the long war cast on the negotiations with the Protestant states. This general Interest gradually became a special Interest in the Spanish-French negotiations, but not until after the treaties of this year and after Spain had given an answer to Cromwell's demands for trade and religion did this special interest become a fixed policy. Cromwell was too practical a man to chase a Protestant-Interest chimera before freeing his government from Stuart dangers and securing English trade from Dutch supremacy. The political and commercial questions and the demands for the Huguenots rested on a Protestant background. The Protestant Interest, as yet vague and indefinite, came forward as the Commonwealth secured its international position in the treaties of 1654.

II. 1655.

1. From the First Protectorate Parliament to the Piedmontese Affair.

The secret articles with Holland and Friesland excluding the Prince of Orange from the Stadtholderate caused much dissatisfaction among the other provinces. In June 1654, Cromwell sent an agent to Zeeland with a letter urging a reconciliation to the treaty as concluded and especially to the exclusion articles. He entreated them not to renew the bloody war to the «prejudice of the two Republics, and to the christian republic, and lastly — which the merciful God forbid — to the destruction and ruin of the true reformed religion in both nations and in the whole world.»¹ The

¹ Aitzema, III. 935—936. Tractaten, Betreffende, etc. (British Museum), VI. Comp. Thurloe, II. 421.

letter was not effective and Cromwell replied to Zeeland's answer in a very similar strain.¹

While Cromwell was addressing his first Parliament in September, the trouble between Bremen and Sweden, which had been held in check by Christina on the eve of her abdication, was taking a very serious and warlike turn under the new Swedish king, Charles X. Gustavus. Bremen retreated before the Swedes and appealed for assistance to various northern powers. Cromwell complied with the request made to him and wrote to Charles X., and also to Bremen informing the city of his letter to the king.² In the letter to Charles X. he wrote, «de me equidem sic existimo, eo me in loco Respub. jam esse constitutum, ut communi Protestantium, paci imprimis, et quantum in me est, consulere debeam»; and further stated his grief at hearing of the war between the two Protestant states at the time of such activity among the catholic powers.³ A treaty was finally concluded between Sweden and Bremen, and then followed a few months of peace before the outbreak of the northern war.

Early in 1655 Cromwell received a letter from the Prince of Tarente asking for the Protector's influence in behalf of the Protestants — especially the Huguenots. Cromwell in reply to the Prince's letter stated among other things that whatever hopes the foreign Protestants may have {built on England he considered it his greatest duty and honor to care for the churches abroad and to fulfill all that was expected of him.⁴

In Switzerland Pell was busy working for a Protestant union among the churches, and coming to a good understanding

¹ Tractaten, Betreffende, etc., VI.

² Lünig, Literae etc., I. 531—532, Oct. 26 1654.

³ Milton, Literae (Leipzig u. Frankfurt 1690), 102.

⁴ Milton, Literae, 106.

with the Cantons.¹ The news of the inclusion of the Protestant cantons in the Dutch-English alliance was well received in Switzerland; and Pell wrote to Thurloe that there was a tendency there «for a treaty of much greater importance.»² Cromwell expressed to Stocker a similar view from the English side, — that Switzerland surrounded by Austria, Spain and France, would find in England an ally prepared for any emergency; and he expressed his hope for a good understanding between Switzerland, the Netherlands and England.³ This good spirit continued and increased, and Dury on leaving for Germany received letters of introduction from the principal councils and personages of the Cantons.⁴

The relations with Spain and France continued as before. Early in 1655 the Marquis of Leyda came over from Flanders to aid Cardenas, but his audience with Cromwell was fruitless and he soon returned.⁵ Cromwell told Bordeaux, the French ambassador, — when he was thinking of leaving London — that he could not «for any outward advantage do that which is prejudicial to the Protestants, nor forsake their interests.»⁶ The English fleet had been sent to the West Indies but no alliance had yet been made with France, nor was Cromwell anxious for one.⁷ In France the Huguenots received special favors and countences «not for any affection to them, but to please the Protector.»⁸

¹ v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 200, II.

² Vaughan, I. 39. Comp. Weekly Intelligencer, Juli 25—Aug. 1 1654.

³ Helvetia, I. 585.

⁴ Hist. Zeits. (Sybel), XL. 77—78.

⁵ Thurloe, III. 154, 613. Guizot, II. 167. v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 201, II.

⁶ Vaughan, I. 86, 96, 117. v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 198, II.

⁷ Thurloe, I. 761.

⁸ Thurloe, II. 704.

In the negotiations demands were still made in behalf of the French Protestants,¹ but on this point Louis XIV. was reluctant to give in, and the treaty seemingly agreed upon was successively postponed, causing much anxiety at the French court.

2. The Piedmontese Affair.

The Waldenses or Vaudois — the descendants of the Poor Men of Lyons — had for centuries lived in the Piedmontese Alps and secured in the course of time the free exercise of their religion within the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa and San Martino. Persecution was a part of their whole history; but of late years sterner action had been taken against them, and especially when complaint had been made that certain communities were beyond the limits.² Missionaries were sent among them, and conflicts soon arose resulting in the death of a missionary-priest. On January 25, 1655, a royal decree was published commanding the communities beyond the limits to return within three days or to make known that within twenty days they would become Catholics. The communities failed to comply with the edict, and the persecutions began. In April troops entered the valleys and a general massacre followed continuing for eight days — the fourth day being especially severe. The Savoy troops had been aided in their work by a few French regiments then passing through the land.

¹ Thurloe, III. 6.

² These later persecutions seem to have been started by the jubilee of the *de propaganda exterpandis haereticis* held at Turin in 1650. The Duke's mother formerly regent during his minority may also have had an influence. Leger (*Hist. generale de l'église évangélique des Vallées de Piemont*, II. 82) gives as one reason for the massacre the retaliation for Cromwell's massacre at Drogheda.

The news of this persecution by the Duke of Savoy quickly spread to all parts of Europe. Late in March accounts of the decree were printed in a London paper,¹ and sympathy was at once aroused in all parts of England;² but the feeling became intense when the news of the massacre itself reached London early in May.³ None received the

¹ Mercurius Politicus, March 22—29.

² Vaughan, I. 141, 158, 165.

³ Accounts were published in the Mercurius Politicus for May 8, and on this day Thurloe wrote to Pell, in Switzerland, for an exact statement of the part the French soldiers had taken in the massacre (Vaughan, I. 174—176). Three days later, May 11/21, Thurloe again wrote to Pell asking the same question (Vaughan, I. 176—177). The regular post — judging from the dates in the Thurloe-Pell correspondence in Vaughan — could have brought news of this importance to London between May 1 and 7.

Carlyle says (Part IX. Chronology) that «this day (June 3) came sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumors that had been The saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done arrives at Whitehall this day 3^d June 1655.» That is, May 24/June 3. On May 25/June 4 the five «May letters» had been written and despatched — the draft letter having been written by Milton on May 19/29. Carlyle emphasizes the «confirmation» of the rumours already received. But this emphasis is hardly borne out by the letters Thurloe wrote to Pell on May 8/18 and 11/21 (Vaughan, I. 174—176, 176—177) concerning the part played by the French soldiers. Besides these letters A Brief Chronicle mentions letters having been received on May 14 from Languedoc with news of the massacre. On May 15 Thurloe (III. 440) in a letter to Hy. Cromwell, mentions the condition of the Vaudois as given in a letter received the preceding week, that is, on or before May 12. On May 17 The Scout printed a short account of the persecution; and on the same day the Perfect Account wrote concerning the part taken by the Irish regiment in the massacre, and also mentioned the petition of the London clergy to Cromwell in behalf of the Piedmontese. This petition was considered in the Council of State on May 17 and referred to a special committee for investigation, and also «to advise what should be done about writing letters, collections etc. for their relief (State Papers, Dom. May 17). The same day the

news more sadly than the Protector himself, who was often

Council of State also ordered that «May 30 be observed in London and Westminster as a day of humiliation in reference to the late sufferings, present condition and future relief of the said Protestants.» (Ib.) On May 17/27 Brienne, the French agent, wrote «ils me dirent que Son Altesse et le Conseil avaient appris avec beaucoup de ressentiment la persécution des protestants de Savoies,» and that a committee from Cromwell urged him in the name of the Protector to write the king in behalf of the persecuted (Guizot, II. Doc. Hist. XIX. 1). On May 18 Nieuport wrote to the secretary of the States General that «this day I am told by a good hand . . . that his Highness the Lord Protector is resolved to contribute what he can in behalf of the said oppressed Protestants inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, not doubting but that their High Mightinesses will take this affair likewise to heart.» (Thurloe, III. 449.) On May 19 Milton had written for Cromwell the letter to the Evangelical Swiss Cantons (Masson, V. 188 note 2) but it was dated officially May 25 (Morland, Hist. of the Evangelical churches in Piedmont, 561—562) with the other letters of this date. On May 21/31 the Genoese agent in London wrote home that it was reported Blake had been ordered to gather his ships for the protection of the Protestants in Savoy (Prayer, CXII.). On May 17/27 the States General had written to the Duke of Savoy in behalf of the Vaudois (Thurloe, III. 443—444)—the reports on which this action was based were surely known in London before May 24/June 3. In London great weight was laid upon the action of the French soldiers in the affair. On May 11/21 Thurloe had yet no exact report of this (on that date he wrote to Pell for such a report); on May 17 the Council of State appointed a committee on letters etc., and on May 19 the first letter was written. So between May 11/21 and 17 or 19 the «confirmation» must have been received, or if the action of the Council of State be regarded as indefinite, between May 11 and 19. On May 25 Coyot wrote Charles X. — also Eric Oxenstierna — «Man hatt diesen Ursachen wegen gegen den 14 hujus (to Oxenstierna «auf den 14 hujus») eine allgemeinen Fast- undt Bett-tag durch diese gantze Republick ausgeschrieben.» But this hardly decides that the definite news that Thurloe wanted was received between May 11 and 14.

See also Church, Cromwell, 432; Hoenig, Cromwell, III. 284; D'Aubigne, Le Protecteur, 349:—who quote Carlyle in reference to this date.

Comp. Thurloe, III. 458, 472, 468, 470, 447, 475. Whitelocke, 625, 626. De Witt Brieven, I. 212, III, 69.

heard to say «that it lay as near or rather nearer his heart than if it had concerned his nearest and dearest relative in the world.»¹ Already on April 30 no doubt before he had heard of the massacre and with the January degree in his mind he had offered through Stoupe, «To give some lands in Ireland to our poor exiled.»² All other business was laid aside; the signing of the French treaty, dragging along for months, was again postponed.³ During those troubled days at home many things no doubt added to Cromwell's resolution to take prompt action in behalf of foreign Protestants, — the rumor that the Duke of York had been appointed the Protector of the Vaudois,⁴ the participation of the Irish regiment⁵ in the massacres and

¹ Morland, 552, 570. Vaughan, I. 185, 292. Coyot to Charles X. 25 May 1655: «Dic Sache der wegen der Religion in Piemont undt Savoyen unschuldig verfolgten, wirdt von dem Herrn Protector allhier sehr mitleydent ressentirt. Es hatt dessen Hoheit diesen Dürftigen aus seinen eygenen Mitteln 2000 Pfd. Sterrl. übermacht, Undt sich ferners entschlossen, mit dem ersten eine allgemeine steuer durch diese gantze Republick für Sie heben zu lassen; auch dem Hertzogen von Savoye in deren faveur zu zuschriben, in entstehung aber gelinderen Verfahrens, welches durch was mittel das sein mögte, nicht unvergoltten zulassen, Undt den bedrangten deselbst irgendswo in diesen Lande eine sichere Retraite zugeben.» Also Coyot to Eric Oxenstierna, the same day with almost the same words.

² Thurloe, III. 459. Extracts of a letter from Leger to Stoupe. Also Thurloe, III. 458. See above page 36, note 1.

³ Guizot, II. Doc. Hist. XIX. 2. On May 8/18 Thurloe wrote Pell (Vaughan, I. 174—176) that the French treaty was not signed «nor do I believe that this action of Savoy will very much conduce to the promoting of it.»

⁴ Perfect Account, May 9—16. The Scout April [May] 11—18.

⁵ The number of Irish participating is uncertain. Carlyle (Part IX. Chronology) says there were three regiments. Ranke (Engl. Gesch.) IV. 154) speaks of «irlandische Regimenter.» Also Guizot, II. Doc. Hist. XIX. The Perfect Account, May 16—23, mentions one regiment; and this one regiment was said to have been Bristol's regiment com-

the memories of the Protestant massacre in Ireland, together with the intense feeling among all classes.¹ Days for fasting and humiliation were appointed; and collections for the relief of the persecuted arranged — Cromwell himself paying £ 2000 to be sent for their immediate use. On May 19 Milton wrote the draught-letter to the Protestant Cantons, but it was despatched with the letters to the other Protestant states on May 25.² On May 23 Morland was ordered to Turin as special envoy, and a few days later departed with a letter to Louis XIV.³

This letter to Louis XIV. especially questioned the king as to whether his troops had taken part in the massacre by his order, and at the same time urged him to exert his influence with the Duke in behalf of the persecuted.⁴ Morland also carried a letter to Cardinal Mazarin in behalf of the French Protestants and their interest in the contemplated treaty between England and France.⁵ Louis XIV. answered the Protector's letter immediately; but Cromwell, impatient at the king's coolness, wrote him again on July 31 once

posed mostly of English soldiers, — Thurloe, III. 502. Leger says (Thurloe, III. 460) there were five French regiments and one Irish regiment; and the *Geschichte der Waldenser* (Leipzig 1798) says (II. 267) there were one German regiment, four French regiments and 1200 Irish; — also Maston, *l'Israel des Alpen*, II. 344. But facts concerning these matters were difficult to determine — even Morland complained of the uncertainty of matters of fact, — Thurloe, III. 417.

¹ Vaughan, I. 185. Bonde to Charles X. 23 Aug. 1655 wrote that «thet gemene folcket talar uppenbarligen på Börsen och på Gaturne, att alla lärde män hafwa wijst utaf Daniels Prophetia och andre skiäl, all een konung i Swerige, och Engeland skola omkull kasta Påfwenz säte, och gifwa den sanna Gudzåkallan åter sin rätta floor och brunk igen.»

² Morland, 261—562.

³ Morland, 563.

⁴ Morland, 564—565.

⁵ Masson, V. 189.

more urging intercession.¹ A note to Mazarin also accompanied this letter introducing the second English envoy to Savoy.²

In the letter to the Duke of Savoy, Cromwell urged the commonality of the English and the Vaudois faith, and entreated the revocation of the edict, — an act which would be greatly appreciated by the Protestant states of Europe, and would be especially appreciated by the Protector in knowing that any clemency shown might be the fruits of his mediation.³

In the letters to the five Protestant states four points were especially emphasized. First, the deep interest England felt in the affair. «We would rather,» Cromwell wrote to the United Provinces, «be outdone in any thing than in our care for our brethren who suffer for the cause of religion, — even preferring the safety and peace of the churches to our own safety.»⁴ Second, the commonality of the Protestants. «The name and interest of the Protestants — however they may differ among themselves in minor affairs — is common and in a way the same.»⁵ Third, the critical position of Protestantism in this instance. «Should this example be as dangerous as its authors believe, it is unnecessary to call to your minds the straits, to which Religion will be reduced.»⁶ Fourth, the desire of an understanding among the Protestants as to a course of action in case the Duke of Savoy refused to accept mediation. «But if he prefers to continue in his action we declare ourselves ready, — together with your

¹ Morland, 609—611. Leger, Pt. II. 229. Milton, *Literae*, 123 ff.

² Masson, V. 191. Milton, *Literae*, 126.

³ Morland, 572—574.

⁴ Morland, 558—560.

⁵ Morland, 554—555. — Cromwell to Charles X.

⁶ Morland, 558—560 — Cromwell to the United Provinces. Comp. Vaughan, I. 261.

majesty and the other allies of the Reformed religion — to take such a course as shall bring immediate aid to the miserable people; and, as far as we on our part are able, to provide for this safety and liberty.»¹ The letter to the Evangelical Cantons was in the same tone. The letter to Rakoczy, Prince of Transylvania, was an answer to a letter received through an envoy from the Prince in the preceding November, wherein Cromwell was asked to cooperate in defence of the Protestants on the continent. The Vaudois affair affording an appropriate opportunity to answer the Prince Cromwell wrote acknowledging the Prince's piety and urging upon him the necessity of consulting for the common safety.² These letters received the most respectful attention at the hands of the princes addressed, most of whom wrote personal letters to the Duce of Savoy.³

In July Cromwell sent a second envoy, George Downing, to Turin to aid Morland; and Pell was ordered from Switzerland to aid these two. Dury also took an active part in the affair.⁴ The envoys from Cromwell were to

¹ Morland, 556—557. — Cromwell to Frederick III. Cromwell was in no position to exercise a forced intervention; Savoy feared the Swiss only. — Thurloe, III. 560—561.

² Milton, *Literae*, 111 ff.

³ Whitelocke, 603. — It «may easily be discerned how much his Highness' intercessions had quickened and warmed the spirits of the King of Sweden and the other two states (States General and Switzerland); if it were not a work overtedious, the like effects of this intercession might be instanced in the king of Denmark, the Prince Elector Palatinate, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Vittenberg, and all the other princes and states of those parts of the world, all which did either by their letters to the Duke of Savoy, or otherwise sufficiently declare their deep resentment of the bloody massacre, especially the Landgrave of Hessen.»

⁴ De Witt Brieven, III. 75.

cooperate with the special envoys from the Netherlands in securing a treaty from the Duke to the advantage of the Vaudois. The active interest of the English; the days of fasting and humiliation, the collections for the Piedmontese,¹ and the letters to the Protestant states, led the court at Turin to think a great Protestant alliance was forming with Cromwell at its head.² Morland wrote that «certain it is, that from the first beginning of the Reformation, there was never known such a near active unity in the cause of religion, nor that so many Princes and States were ever interested together in one affair of the like nature. The glory and renown of all which, next under God, is most certainly due, and ought in all equity to be ascribed to his most serene Highness, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.»³

On August 8/18 the treaty in behalf of the Piedmontese was concluded at Pignerol between the Duke of Savoy and Servien, the French envoy, and the commissioners from the Evangelical Cantons.⁴ The English and Dutch envoys

¹ Some £ 40,000 — about £ 140,000 now — was sent to the valleys from England. The exact sum not known:

Masson, VI. 41. — £ 38,097 — 7 — 3;

Guizot, II. 171. — £ 38,241;

Lingard, Hist. of Engl. (London 1819 +); VIII. 473. —

£ 38,228 — 4 — 2; excluding Cromwell's £ 2000;

Baxter, Diary (London 1696), II. 354 note. — £ 38,000
excluding Cromwell's £ 2000;

Comp. Thurloe, III. 561;

Micholas Papers (Camd. Soc., London 1886 +), 332, 344.

Carte, Letters (London 1739), etc., II. 58.

² Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau, (Leiden 1835—1861), II. 5, 164.

³ Morland, 540. Comp. Hoenig, III. 283. Thurloe, III. 752. Morland dedicated his history to the Protector.

⁴ Dumont, VI, (II) 114.

did not arrive until afterwards and were disappointed at not being parties to the treaty. Cromwell was especially disappointed — the news of the treaty he received with a marked coldness and indifference,¹ and the envoys in Savoy were instructed to protest against its validity on the grounds that England and the Netherlands were not represented.² Cromwell was not disappointed that the Savoy Protestants had secured a treaty through French mediation — which he himself had requested — but that a French was transplanting an English influence in the Alps. The Protestant Interest was foremost in these negotiations yet the interest of England and the transfer of thoughts from the Stuarts formed an imposing background.

The Protestant Interest had here played a more particular part than in the Spanish-French negotiations. The Protector's Protestant policy had now assumed a definite shape — the tolerance of personal religion, the substituting personal religious freedom for state religious freedom. In defence of this policy he was ready, in case of further persecutions in Savoy, to enter into some sort of a common action with the other Protestant states. But of this common action England, the Netherlands and Switzerland were to form the basis.³ Between these three Republican governments he had long ago urged a more intimate understanding;

¹ Bonde till Rådet, 31 Aug. 1655: «Öffwer den Tractat sãm dhe förföldghe Protestanter uthi Savoyen haffaa genom fransyske Ambassadeurens Mr. de Servients mediation most angrijpa, ähr denne Staten myke perplex, så att befruchtandhe ähr att den långhsamme fransyske Tractaten medh Protecteuren sãm nästan sin richtigheet hadhe, skall där igenom lijda ännu någon mehn och prolongeras.» Thurloe, III. 745. Guizot, II. Doc. Hist., XIX. 14.

² Vaughan, I. 260, 263, 265, 268—271, 274, 295.

³ Comp. Helvetia, I. 586, 589, 592—595.

they took the leading and active parts in the Vaudois affair, and it was his hope that all three should be signers of the Pignerol treaty. But disappointing as the results may have been in this personal matter, he had raised England to the point where Elizabeth had left it. He was ready to fulfil the fears his name had aroused, — that his ships should visit Civita Vecchia and the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome.¹

3. The French Alliance.

During these months the demands on Spain and France remained the same — concessions regarding the Inquisition, trade in the West-Indies and security for the Huguenots.² Even in the French treaty Cromwell proposed to insert an article for the protection of the Vaudois.³

At the French court the news of the massacre had caused much anxiety as it in a way endangered the good understanding with England.⁴ Spain took advantage of the embarrassment of France and began negotiations with renewed energy. Mazarin feared a rising among the Protestants of Languedoc, and feared Cromwell's participation in the same.⁵ The Cardinal was not pleased with Cromwell's demands respecting the Piedmontese, and urged upon the Protector that the Duke of Savoy was an independent prince and sovereign in his own domains.⁶ But the good-

¹ Echard, *Hist. of Engl.*, (London: 1707), II. 779.

² Guizot, II. *Doc. Hist.* XX. 4. Perfect Account, May 10—17.

³ Thurloe, III. 673. He demanded of Louis XIV. «that he nor none of his people, give no assistance, counsel, or aid, unto the Duke of Savoy against the Protestants of the valleys.» — Vaughan, I. 206, 219.

⁴ Thurloe, III. 503.

⁵ Thurloe, III. 558, 560, 585. *Nicholas Papers*, II. 64.

⁶ Thurloe, III. 536, 617.

will of England was worth the striving for, and Mazarin assured the English agent, Downing, «that as to the Protestants in France, as he had been their friend to keep them from wrong since he managed affairs here, so if there was anything that his Highness would have done on their behalf, which might stand with the honour of France, he would do it, though for his part he had not interposed on behalf of the catholics in England.»¹

The treaty was to have been signed on May 24/June 3,² but Cromwell postponed it until Louis XIV. had given an account of the part his troops had taken in the Piedmontese massacre. In August the treaty was fully agreed upon excepting the article in behalf of the French Protestants, and the signing only awaited the king's consent to this demand.³ The king withheld his consent but made satisfactory concession in the form of a secret article. The public treaty therefore bore a commercial character and was signed on October 24;⁴ a few days later Bordeaux signed the separate articles including the Netherlands in this alliance.⁵ In the secret articles privilege was given the English to build churches in the French ports and harbors and worship according to the forms of their own church.⁶ By another article the Huguenots were assured the Edict of Nantes and the Confirmation of 1613, and England was made the security for the execution of the same.⁷

¹ Thurloe, III. 734. — Downing to Thurloe, August 20.

² Thurloe, III. 469, 470.

³ Perfect Proceeding, Aug. 16—23; Certain Passages, Aug. 17—24.

⁴ Dumont, VI. (II.) 121.

⁵ Dumont, VI. (II.) 123.

⁶ St. Priest, Hist. des Traités de Paix, I. 273. Burton, I. CXXXIX.

Art. VI.

⁷ Burton, I. CXXXIX. Art. VII. — «Que les édits de Janvier

Early in September Philip IV. had indirectly declared war against England in ordering the seizure of the goods of all the English in Spain. One day before the signing of the French treaty Cardenas left London for Madrid; and on October 25 Cromwell issued his declaration of war against Spain. Should the king of Spain be permitted to refill his coffers from the West-Indies, he argued, and place himself in a position to reconsider the deliberations of 1588, of subjugating England and the Netherlands; «then we should have good grounds for expecting that on us first, but eventually on all Protestants, wheresoever, there would be wreaked the residue of that most brutal massacre suffered lately by our brothers in the Alpine valleys.»¹ In this formal declaration of war ended the rivalry of Spain und France for the alliance of the Protector.

With the French alliance began the Spanish war and the period of the anti-Habsburg diplomacy. Cromwell's choice of a friendship between France and Spain has been variously considered. Trade, colonies and Stuarts seemed to play the first parts in this choice, yet the Protestant Interest — in its secondary role — was undoubtedly on the side of the French alliance. Cromwell hated Spain, and the whole Commonwealth, except Ireland, stood opposed to a Spanish alliance; a war in behalf of the Inquisition would have been almost impossible.² The weakness of the Habsburg dynasty was not yet recognized: the Swiss Protestants placed in between France and the Habsburgs still looked to the former for protection against the power of the latter³. France and

et de Nantes seront executes, selon leurs formes et teneurs, et toute la nation Anglaise demeurera caution pour l'exécution des dits édits.»

¹ Masson, V. 242.

² Comp. Thurloe, I. 761.

³ Vaughan, I. 297.

England had common friends and allies in the Protestant Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, besides catholic Portugal. By the French alliance he won greater favors for the Huguenots than he could have secured in a war in common with Spain. Louis XIV. had taken part in recovering the interests of the Vaudois, — a possible precedent for the future security of the Protestants in the Alps and in Flanders.¹ The war still carried on between France and Spain bore none of the religious character of the long strife in Germany. In his war with Spain Cromwell began a colonial and commercial war in Spanish America. Catholic lands brought under Protestant influence, the strengthening of England at the cost of Spanish trade and at the destruction of a Stuart restoration — all contributed to the furtherance of the Protestant Cause. Cromwell and Thurloe with all their insight could not foresee the war of devolution nor the signing of the treaty of Dover.

Although the Thirty Years War was over and religion declared to be no longer a cause for war Protestantism on the continent still had something to fear. In the northern countries the Faith depended largely upon the influence and the good will of the princes; in France the Catholics numbered the Protestants 12 to 1; in Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland the ratio was more even; while beyond

¹ Thurloe, I. 761. Somers' Tracts, VI. 330. v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 198, II. Bonde to Charles X. 1 Aug. 1656. — Cromwell told Bonde «han wille migh och säija i största förtroligheet, och under tillbörligh secretesse, att han icke såge hwarföre icke Frankrijke och Engelland måtte stuåå tillsamman såsom een man, att ehuru the wore Catholiske, wore the icke så bigotte som huuss Österrijke, och ther wore thess föruthan iblandh them många Protestanteske, för hwilcken orsaak skull han nu står medh them i tractat, och hoppas innan kort att blifwa theruthi richtigh, att han mente förthensskull Coniunctionen emelan Spanien och Frankrijke på thet sättet wist kunna hindras.»

the Alps and Pyrenees Catholicism ruled in every instance. Almost daily the Protector heard the news of the persecution and sad straits of the Protestants in various provinces of France, in Bohemia, in Poland and along the Rhine.¹ In the Vaudois affair he placed England at the head of the Protestant party, and in the French alliance he took a stand against the Habsburg power. The policy of this year brought him the title he cherished — the Protector of the Protestants.²

III. The Northern War.

1. From the Beginning of the Northern War to the Despatching of the Northern Embassies.

A. Relations with the Northern States.

The war which broke out in the summer of 1655 between Sweden and Poland interested to a great degree all the Protestant states and Hanse towns in the North. Sweden was arrayed first against Catholic Poland, then against Denmark with her Dutch ally; and Brandenburg fought first with and then against the Swede. All these powers were Protestant friends of England, and all but Brandenburg were in treaty relations with the Protector. This enmity between Sweden and Denmark — and the Netherlands — naturally brought both sides to seek Cromwell's goodwill in this question.

¹ Thurloe, II. and III. varii.

² Somers' Tracts, VI. 330. v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 198, II. Guizot II. Doc. Hist. VI. XIX. 11. Vaughan, I. 33. Relazioni degli stati europei lette al senato dagli ambasciatori Veneziani, XVII. — Inghilterra, 374, 395. Erdmannsdörffer, Urk. u. Act. VII. 808.

The friendly relations between England and Sweden were continued by Charles X., Christina's successor. The treaty that Whitelocke negotiated had received the consent of Charles X., before it was concluded; and early in 1655 two agents were sent to London. The good-will of England was desirable for the success of the Swedes in their campaigns on the mainland. Besides the conquest of Poland, the Danish control of the Sound and the Dutch monopoly of the Baltic trade were to be broken; and therein Charles X. was especially desirous of English friendship and countenance. But the Protector was bound to the nations concerned in the war by treaties he held it just and honourable to uphold.¹ The news of the outbreak of the war caused him much anxiety; and the feelings he had expressed to the king in October 1654, during the Bremen war, he now felt even more keenly. He did not object to a war against Poland but even favored;² but a general conflict in the North was against his policy,³ and the rising difficulty between Sweden and the Netherlands he was decided to check, if possible, by mediation.⁴

This tendency to peace on the part of Cromwell was not

¹ Whitelocke, 637, De Witt Brieven, V. 145. Bonde to Charles X. 23. Aug. 1655, — «Hwadh Holländarna anlangade, wore thet sant att the medh honom och Engelandh ett hårdt krich för'dt hadhe, men att thet wore nu igenom Guds Nadhe afgjordt, och the sin emellan hadhe een god fredh, han kunde them lijkwäll intet haata, emädan the woro hans Religions förwanter, och hadhe medh stoor möda, försichtigheet och resolution skuddat uthaf sigh thet Catholiske ooket.» Comp. Bonde to Charles X. 4 July 1656; also see below note 5 page 48.

² Thurloe, IV. 389.

³ Thurloe, III. 551, 729; IV. 459. Burton, III. 378.

⁴ Bonde to Charles X., 9 Nov. 55. Cromwell's reply to Bonde's speech.

what Charles X. desired, consequently an extraordinary embassy was sent to England to effect an alliance. Christer Bonde, the ambassador, arrived in London in July, and was at once received by the Protector. To the ambassador's speech Cromwell replied that «I am very willing to enter a nearer and more strict alliance and Friendship with the king of Swedeland, as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant Interest.»¹ Bonde's instructions were not especially in agreement with this peaceful spirit, and effective negotiation was accordingly long delayed. The proposals for English protection to Sweden against the Danes and the Dutch in the Sound were but coldly received, and the negotiations were then referred to a committee with White-locke as chairman.

During these months since the arrival of the Swedish ambassador Cromwell had shown himself in every way opposed to any disturbance of the relations existing among Protestant states.² The war already existing between Sweden and Poland began to be looked upon as a religious war,³ — it was not objectionable so long as directed against a catholic state or towards Austria. He hoped that through the alliance with the Netherlands,⁴ or an alliance among all the Protestant states,⁵ the Protestant Cause might

¹ Carlyle, Compliment, Sw. Embassy.

² Thurloe, I., III. 752; IV. 2. Vaughan, I. 341, 351.

³ Urk. u. Act, VII. 720, 741.

⁴ Urk. u. Act, VII. 719.

⁵ Urk. u. Act, II. 69. Bonde to Charles X. 31 Aug. 1655 — Thurloe also urged the inclusion of France. Bonde to Charles X. 11. Jan. 1656. — Cromwell declared his readiness to enter into an alliance with Sweden but «Sedan sadhe han att emoth hwem then alliance skulle wara ansedd, woro thet uthan twifwell att then först i

be justly considered and properly directed; he had even

gemeen emoth the Catholiske, men förnämbliqst emooth hus Österrik borde wara intenteradt huru then i wärket ställas skulle, woro efter hans meeningh een defensive alliance inthet nogh, uthan att han och offensive formeras skulle, Uthi thet öfrige kunde han inthet mehr seija uthan att han woro wederredda att göra allt thet E. K. M:t aff honom begära wille, och han förmåtte tillwäga bringa, hwar medh man wederparten realement och medh macht attacquera kunde. Ett woro allénast som gofwe honom häruthinnan een stoor scrupel, att såsom the Catholiskes macht ähr stoor och hälst ther hoon blefwe conjungerat så stodo oss bägge thess störrer fahra före, at wij allena motte draga heela swärmen uppå oss, så framt wij något tractera skulle, uthan att sökia till att draga andra protestantiske konungar furstar stater tillijka thertill, uthan hwilckas unierade macht wärket måtte blifwa oss för swårt. Ther till kommer och att the andre motte förtryta att man hadhe them här uthinnan förbijgådt och lätteligen therföre falla till någon widrigh resolution emooth oss och som man wiste huru the Catholiske medh corruptioner och practiker mycket göra, så woro att befructa thet the, them andre till sin sijda draga motte. Ther näst talte han om Franckrijke som man borde see uppå, hwilcket föruthan sitt interesse emooth hus Österrike och hafwer uthi sikh många zeleuse protesterande och godha soldater, hwilcket alt motte i acht taghas etc.» Also further «meente eliest att i thet Tyska wässendet Churfurstarnas höghfärdh thertill myckit hulpet hafwa, talte sedan om the Protestantiske herrar in particulari, först om Danmarck Churfursten af Sachsen medh någre of the öfrige, och meente ligwål them nu bara ther till att bringa att the samme causam communem amplectera skulle, Om hollandh talte han nu icke ett ordh, och ähr iagh gladh, thet iagh medh mine åthskillige remonstrationer så emoot honom sielf som My Lord Depute Fleetwood något hafwer bracht honom ifrån the tanckar att taga sikh Hollandh så mycket ahn.» The same to same, 18 Apl. 1656, — «Hwar på han widhlyfftigt swaradhe, declarerandes sikh fullkommeligen till att åstunda och wara reserverat att tråda medh E. K. M:t uthi een mutuel defensie alliance contra quoscunque, alenast wore in medijs något som wij differeradhe, såsom 1. att han ej wål sågo huru han uthi Ossnabrugkische friedens manutention kunne sikh obligera och att han ej wore försäkrat om E. K. M:t sikh engagera wille eller icke, 2. gick haus taal förnämbliqast uth uppå att wijssa een Esgalitet uthi E. K. M:ts och hanss interesser i thet wäsendet förringadhe keijsarens Adsisistence

announced to the Swedish ambassador «that he was of opinion, that all the Protestant high powers ought to cultivate among themselves amity and friendship, and to be upon the watch against the conduct and intentions of the present pope and his adherents.»¹ Cromwell was already decided in his relations to France and Spain, and his anti-Habsburg policy is here seen forming. Aid to Sweden meant enmity to the Netherlands and Denmark; a disturbance of the Northern peace would undoubtedly involve England in a conflict which had little or no relation to his war with Spain. If there was to be a Northern conflict let it be against Austria and Poland and therein England could heartily join in an anti-Habsburg war.²

till Spanien, Och thenne punct som then störste hwarpå alt wäsendet hänger uthförde han widhlyftigt. 3. Talte han om modo att draga the andre protestantische och Frankrijke ther till.» Same to same, 25 Apl. 1656 — Lord Fiennes declared in a «considerable Conferentier» that he «wille sluta en defensive Alliance emooth huus Öster Rijke, Konungen i Pohlandh och Carl Stuardt och thet förembligast therföre att huus Österrijke woro then förnämste stödh af thet Chatolische partiet, for hwilcket the Protestantiske mäst hadhe att fruchta.»

¹ Bonde to Charles X. 23 Aug. 1655. — «På dicoursen om Religionen, upreppade [Cromwell] hwadh fahra som wår Religion hafwer sigh af the Påweske att wänta, att iagh wäll om denne Påwens protest hade påmint, thet wara een saak utaf öfwermåten stoor importance, och kunde han migh thet seija, sigh wetta therom godh beskedh, at thenne Påwen medh all macht arbetar uppå att göra fredh emellan the Catholiske konungar, och sedhan wända all theres macht emoot oss. Hanz och the Chatoliskez actioner emoot the fattige reformerade i Savoyen som öfwer 100 åhr thet sin Religion oturberade exerceerat hafwe, så wäll som i Tyskland, uthyder nogsamtb thet intention.» Thurloe, IV. 214. Comp. Vaughan. I. 341, 351. Burton, III. 377. Droysen, Preussische Politik (Berlin-Leipzig 1868—72), III. (II.) 251—252. Jones, 27.

² It was during these months that the anti-Habsburg policy began to form. The Northern peace and the hatred towards the Pope began here to turn against the Habsburgs. Bonde foresaw this policy

Cromwell thought of transferring the negotiations from London to Stockholm, and had chosen Whitelocke as ambassador extraordinary. Whitelocke was again reluctant to accept an embassy but Cromwell urged that the business was «of the highest concernment to the Protestant Interest.»¹ Whitelocke's objections were considered by the Protector and the Council of State, and it was decided to continue the negotiations in London.

In January 1656 Whitelocke had a conversation with the Swedish ambassador «concerning the uniting of the Protestant Interest,» in which he urged the necessity of bringing all the Protestant states together. The ambassador did not object to the idea but again remonstrated that this union could not be accomplished at once; that the most feasible step was the initiative alliance of England and Sweden as a basis.² This opinion was sustained by the advice just received from Charles X. — the King, however, further urged that an initiative union between England and Sweden would be of great advantage to the Protector in his war with Spain.³ The tenor of the Protector's demands is seen from the *Heads of a treaty between the Protector and* in Sept. (Bonde to Charles X. 21 Sept. 1655) when Spain confiscated the goods of the English merchants in Spain.

¹ Whitelocke, 632. Comp. Bonde to Charles X., 21 Dec. 1655. Thurloe stated to Bonde on several occasions that the Protector was working for God's honor and in opposition to the Catholic action against the Reformed. Thurloe stated a like sentiment to Barkmann. — Barkmann to Charles X. 17 Oct. 1656.

² Whitelocke, 633. Bonde to Charles X., 25 Jan. 1656. Dury writing from Cassel, Apl. 15, likewise urged this union between Sweden and England, as the Lutheran princes would not concur «without this ground of natural confidence,» — Add. MSS. 32,093, fol. 341. Comp. Bonde to Charles X. 14, 21 Dec. 1655.

³ Whitelocke, 633.

*the King of Sweden:*¹ 2. «That there shall be a confederation offensive and defensive between his said Highness and the King of Sweden their kingdoms and domains, and against the King of Spain and [the] whole house of Austria — whereof Poland is a chief branch, — and those who shall assist them. 3. That the States General of the United Provinces and such other Princes and states as shall be thought fit, shall be invited into this confederacy, and by such means as shall be thought convenient.» To such a sudden formation of a Protestant union the ambassador objected as before, yet said — after reading the articles of the Dutch-English alliance of 1654 — «That there was no intention of excluding the Dutch or the King of Denmark or any other Protestants out of this intended union, but that they should be admitted and invited into it.»² In the several conferences following between the commissioners and the ambassador, trade and commercial relations were the questions of discussion, but an agreement upon these subjects seemed impossible. Sweden was seeking aid, and Cromwell, in seeking to avoid giving it, demanded a Protestant union. In objecting to the inclusion of the Dutch — on account of trade competition — the ambassador said that «his master did not look upon the King of Portugal, but upon the salt that came from thence; nor upon the King, or Parliament or Protector of England, but upon the cloth and nation.»³ Cromwell on the other hand told the ambassador in an audience «That he was willing⁴ in case of a nearer alliance, or of an union concerning the Protestant Interest, to have

¹ Thurloe, IV. 486. — «In the handwriting of Thurloe.»

² Whitelocke, 638. Bonde to Charles X., 1 Feb. 1656.

³ Whitelocke, 633.

⁴ «i. e. insisting.»

our neighbors and allies the Low Countries included therein.»¹ Cromwell's idea is further expressed in his audience with Nieupoort on New Years Day, 1656, wherein he recounted the northern affairs from the beginning. Should the King wish to pursue his conquests on to Constantinople, Cromwell said, «he should have wished him from his heart good success, or if he had struck in towards those parts where there are [a] store of Protestants, where they have suffered for some years great persecution, that for his part he could very well have endured it; but that at present he did confess, that it was not so pleasing to him that those parts should be assaulted, which do belong to Protestant princes, — that he doth find himself highly obliged in his conscience to endeavour in this constitution of time not only to prevent a rupture between the Protestant princes and states, but also to unite the same more closely in a common league of mutual defence against the inhuman cruelties of popery.»² Rumours of a league among the catholic states with the pope at its head came to England during these months; also rumours of the pope's energetic mediation of a peace between Spain and France³ — all this causing some anxiety in London and especially in connection with the news of Charles II.'s negotiations with Spain, Sweden, Rome, Brandenburg and the Emperor.

On February 7 Cromwell answered the letter received from Charles X. in which the King had announced the birth of a son and heir. Cromwell expressed satisfaction that Sweden was directed against Poland, and that peace had

¹ Whitelocke, 635. Comp. Ib. 638; Somers' Tracts, VI. 332.

² Thurloe, IV. 389, also Urk. u. Act., VII. 733.

³ See above note 1 page 50.

been made with Brandenburg;¹ that his all tends to the welfare of the Protestant Cause.²

In April the commercial treaty that had been under consideration in connection with the alliance, was in a way agreed upon, yet was not fully concluded until July.³ This treaty was of a commercial character — the alliance proving a failure. The ambassador tried in vain to induce Cromwell to transfer the English trade with Russia from Archangel to the Baltic — and thus to bring him into closer commercial relations with the Dutch and the Danes. To avoid such a conflict of interests the Protector persisted in his peace policy.⁴ He wished Charles X. «a constant course of victories against all enemies of the church,»⁵ and assured the Dutch ambassador that he would always be found sincere «as a faithful friend to the common good, — likewise in such a manner that the Swedish ambassador should have no cause to complain. . . . That he would not desire

¹ Treaty of Königsberg. A treaty «which is of great advantage to the Protestant Interest,» wrote Thurloe to Pell a few days afterwards. — Vaughan, I. 341.

² Milton, *Literae*, 140 f.

³ Jones, 45. Dumont, VI. (II) 125.

⁴ Urk. u. Act., VII. 747. De Witt Brieven, III. 203. Bonde to Charles X. 9 Nov. 1655. — Cromwell in an audience «contesterade sin åstunden att hålla medh them [Sweden and the Netherlands] all enigheet och tiäna them i all giörligh måtto, hans endeste åstundan woro, att erhålla enigheet emillan oss bådhe, för protestanternes och ther uthi verserande Gudz ähras interesse hwilcket han mycket protesterade . . .» Comp. same to same 23 Nov. 1655.

⁵ Milton, *Literae*, 149. Bonde to Charles X. 28 Sept. 1655. — Cromwell told Bonde «han alltjdh hafwer önskat, och wille önska att Gudh E:s K:ge M:tt såsom een of thet Protestantiske wäsendes störsda styrckia alltjdh wille wälssigna, och skulle han heller see ähn förtryta att E. K:ge M:ttz wapn på then sijdan så högt lyctades att thes grantzer motte blifwa then Caspiske Siön.»

any one thing here on earth so much, as that all Protestant powers were united together by a good alliance.»¹

Bonde could accept the Protector's ideas of a Protestant Interest and a league against the Habsburgs but in the Swedish demands for action against all disturbers of the peace Cromwell saw a blow aimed at the Dutch.² In these negotiations the anti-Habsburg policy had its birth, — the union of the general Protestant Interest and the trade and colonial war against Spain. But this general Protestant Interest is not alone the broadened tolerance policy of the Savoy affair, but is more the inherited Protestant Cause of the preceding decades — a fear and not a reality.

The relations with the Netherlands during these months were of a most cordial character and the great number of audiences that Cromwell gave Nieupoort were very confidential as one of the conflicting parties in the North, the Dutch were naturally desirous of Cromwell's friendship, and as early as January 10, 1655, the States General had declared for a defensive alliance between England, the Netherlands and Denmark.³ The alliance of 1654 held Cromwell to respect the rights of the Dutch, and he repeatedly assured the Dutch ambassador that he would

¹ Thurloe, IV. 684. Bonde to Charles X. 11 July 1656. — Thurloe in an audience with Bonde «medh stoor förtrooligheet, contesterade att H. Högheets störste dessein medh sine Comportementer varit hade att förebyggia all owillia emellan the Protestanresche.» Comp. Bonde to Charles X., 12 Sept. 1655.

² Bonde to Charles X. 25 Apl. 1656. Lord Fiennes declared to Bonde in an audience that he «hölle the orådligit att wij skulle sluta contra quoscunque emädan thet kunde gifwa Danmarck och Holland Oumbrage som woro Alliancen mehr emot them ähn the Catholiske ansedd, och att thet skulle göra them incapable att interponera sikh om någon twist emelan oss och någon of the Protestantiske etc.»

³ De Witt Brieven, III. Vorreden.

take no course with Sweden detrimental to the interests of the Netherlands.¹ In April 1656 a commercial treaty had been concluded with the Netherlands, yet the negotiations of the Dutch then beginning with Spain were especially «discouraging» to the protector, not only in respect to his war with Spain but also as throwing «a considerable reflection upon the whole interest of the Evangelical Religion.»²

The relations with Denmark were friendly but not intimate. With the Elector of Brandenburg the relations were at first not friendly. The Great Elector was in correspondence with Charles II. and had received many agents from him; besides he had also opposed the exclusion articles in the Dutch-English treaty of 1654. In the Dutch-Brandenburg treaty, however, the Great Elector yielded to the persistent demands of the States General to include the Protector. In the autumn of this year an ambassador from Brandenburg arrived in London and had several audiences with Cromwell in regard to the peace among the Protestant states etc. One of the articles of the ambassador's instructions was to urge the Protector to aid in restoring peace in the North.³

The embassy of the United Provinces sent to Denmark and Sweden early in 1656 seemed to herald a general peace; but the victories of Charles X. in Poland and his success

¹ Thurloe, IV. 18, 214; V. 309. Whitelocke, 635. Bonde to Charles X. 28 Sept. 1655. — Cromwell told Bonde «Holländaren anlangande, wille han så frampt thet E:s K:ge M:tt behägeligit wore interponera sigh här hoos Embassadeuren Neuport, att hindra dheras dessein, och att the differentier som kunde wara upkomme motte medh godha bijlaggas.»

² Thurloe, IV. 656. Comp. Bonde to Charles X. 1 Aug. 1656.

³ Urk. u. Act. VII. 721, Art. 2.

against Russia gave the Dutch further fear for their commerce in the Baltic, and a fleet under Opdam was accordingly despatched to the Sound. The Danes, encouraged by this step began preparing for war — while the Dutch fleet passed on to the relief of Danzig then menaced by the Swedish King. The Protector complained of this new turn of affairs brought about by the Dutch,¹ and on August 21 wrote letters to the States General and to Charles X. stating his complaints. These letters give Cromwell's forcible pleading for peace* and a Protestant union: that in all his foreign relations he has had the Protestant Interest in view, and is now greatly pained at the enmity arisen between Protestant allies, — a strife of great value to the Catholic powers, and especially to Spain who now seeks her interests in the Netherlands; that the affairs of Europe call for a Protestant peace and union in order to meet the progress of the papists in Switzerland, Savoy and Austria; that Sweden should not be hindered in her course against Austria nor England in her war against Spain; that a conflict between the Netherlands and Sweden would great imperil the treaty of Westphalia, and to avoid this, if possible, and all danger to the Protestant Interest embassies are to be sent to the North on a mission of peace.²

The victory of Charles X. and Elector of Brandenburg over the Poles at Warsaw and his treaty with the Dutch at Elbing put an end, for the moment, to the Danish preparations for war. Cromwell took advantage of this state of affairs to write to Frederick III., in answer to a letter received early in the year. This letter formed the third of the trio of letters — to the States General, Charles X. and

¹ Aitzema, III. 1297.

² Milton, *Literae*, 164f. — Cromwell to Charles X.

Frederick III. — pleading for a Protestant peace and union. Milton used the same thoughts and pleas that he had used in the former letters: the welfare and safety of the Reformed religion and the plea for peace in face of the threatening war.¹ These letters were in vain — shortly afterwards the war began.

In the spring of 1657 Cromwell was negotiating with Charles X. for the possession of Bremen, — as security for English aid against Poland. Bremen as an English possession, would no doubt have had a peace-influence upon Denmark. Whether Cromwell looked upon Bremen in respect to the German Protestants, as he later looked upon Dunkirk in reference to the Protestants of Flanders, is hard to say.²

During this war Dantzic had sided with Poland and was thus brought into conflict with Charles X. In April 1657, Cromwell wrote to the Senators of the Republic of Dantzic in behalf of a Swedish captain then a prisoner in their hands; and also took advantage of the occasion to urge them to break from their Catholic ally; and, for the sake of their religion and their ancient trade with the English, to have some care for the Protestant Cause.³

In March Richard Bradshaw, long the English resident

¹ Milton, *Literae*, 194f.

² Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 11 Sept. 1657. — *Protectoris Responsum*. 7. Cromwell was opposed to European conquests as such; trade was to be increased and secured. «Für seine Person begehrte er zwar kein frembde Conquesten, wündschte nur, dass er seinen Estat innerhalb Reiches conservieren könnte, zunächst er befunden, dass der Englischen Nation dieselbe nicht einstehen wollten, wie man solches in dehnen Frantzösischen Conquesten, und letztlich mit Irrlandt gesehen, welches ein unsägliches geldt und Volck wegs genommen.»

³ Milton, *Literae*, 204f.

at Hamburg, was ordered as special ambassador to Russia in the interest of English trade and commerce. This was the first direct negotiation with Russia since the death of Charles I. In his instructions Bradshaw was directed to warn the Czar against the innovations of the Jesuits and their coercion of conscience.¹ Beside the trade relations Bradshaw was also ordered to offer his services as mediator between the Czar and Charles X.² If the aid of Russia could not be won for Protestantism the neutrality of the Czar would at least contribute to a general peace and leave Charles X. free to direct his arms against Austria.

B. France and Switzerland.

In April 1656, Wm. Lockhart arrived in Paris as English ambassador and negotiations began at once for a defensive and offensive alliance. During the twelve month's negotiations little or nothing was said in regard to the Protestant Cause. Cromwell still persisted in his demands for the safety of the Huguenots, and Louis XIV. was equally resolved in refusing all foreign intervention in France — not that his subjects were Protestant but that the protection of a foreign state was openly asked.³ Lockhart was directed in his instructions to demand the freedom of conscience for all the cities taken from the Spanish in Flanders.⁴ These cities had suffered much in this regard and the secret visits of the Protestant deputies and ministers to Lockhart seems to show that the Protector — who was «privately prayed for in all their churches» — had assumed

¹ Thurloe, VI. 278, Art. 8.

² Urk. u. Act. VII. 778.

³ Guizot, II. Doc. Hist. XXIV. 2.

⁴ Thurloe, V. 41. This was later embodied in Art. XI. of the treaty concluded by Lockhart. — Guizot, II. Doc. Hist. XXIII.

something like a protectorship over them.¹ The treaty concluded on March 23 1657, provided for a joint war against Spain and the capture, and placing in Cromwell's hands, of certain towns in Flanders.²

This treaty was the outgrowth of the alliance of 1655, and marks a new phase in the anti-Habsburg policy. But such a treaty was not alone for the Protestant Interest. Provision for an English basis on the continent would no doubt tend to the security of the Protestants in France, Flanders and elsewhere, and also tend to hold France to the treaties then made with the Protector and his allies; yet beyond this such a basis, as English influence in Switzerland, was a backdoor to France itself and also would compel the Dutch trade to pass between two English ports. Flanders, too, was the only country near England where the Stuarts or their allies could gather forces for a restoration. During these months the Swiss Cantons were engaged in a civil war, Protestant against Catholic; and the Vaudois were complaining of the treaty of Pignerol. This state of affairs in the Alps was not pleasing to the Protector,³ but he was too busily engaged in the northern affairs and with France to begin the warlike negotiations that Dury advised.⁴ He directed Pell to do all in his power to effect a reconciliation;⁵ and also wrote a letter to the Protestant Cantons expressing his interest in the war: a conflict that concerned all Protestants.⁶

¹ Thurloe, V. 302. The report of these visits Lockhart wrote in cypher as «being a very tender business.»

² Thurloe, I. 762.

³ Thurloe, IV. 588. Vaughan, I. 320f. Bonde to Charles X. 11 Jan. 1656.

⁴ Hist. Zeitschrift (Sybel). XL. 93.

⁵ Vaughan, I. 341, 350, 355.

⁶ Milton, *Literae*, 136f. Comp. Vaughan, I. 261, 295, 303.

A few days later further instructions were sent to Pell advising conferences with the Dutch envoys «particulary for the more effectual managing of this business of so much concernment to the whole Protestant Cause.»¹ Lockhart presented the matter to Mazarin not wholly without effect.² This religious war formed one of Milton's strongest arguments for a Protestant union in the letters he wrote for Cromwell to the United Provinces, Charles X. and Frederick III. a few months later.³ Peace was concluded between the Cantons in February 1656 at the time the Northern war was becoming the absorbing question in England.

In March 1657, Cromwell wrote another letter in the interest of the Protestant Cause. The compliments which the Landgrave of Hessen had paid Cromwell in ascribing to him a great zeal in promoting the peace of christendom, was acknowledged by the Protector. The letter further contains the hope that the religious peace of England might be secured for Germany «where dissensions have been too bitter and of too long duration; and the same peace for which our Dury for many years has labored in vain, we cordially offer. We still continue in the same determination, and wish the same fraternal love to those churches. . . . It is much to be wished that those who differ would let themselves be persuaded to disagree more civilly and more moderately — to disagree not as enemies but as brothers differing only in minor points, in the principal matters to be the closest allies.»⁴

With Portugal another treaty was concluded in June 1656,

¹ Thurloe, IV. 551.

² Thurloe, V. 241, 585.

³ See above pages 57—58.

⁴ Milton, *Literae*, 201.

insuring, as the former one with John IV., the freedom of conscience and worship to the English sailors and traders in Portugal «as long as no scandal was given.»¹ To this concession the King at first refused to give his consent, but the English ambassador at Lisbon was firm and persistent in this demand.²

C. De Propaganda Fide.

Years of negotiations with the Catholic powers had broadened Cromwell's Puritanism. He hated the papist not that he was a papist but that he was an enemy of the government.³ At one time he is said to have contemplated a general tolerance of the Catholic church in England, but a disagreement concerning rents brought the matter to an end.⁴ To Mazarin's plea for a toleration of the Catholics Cromwell replied that «although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not — shall I tell you, I cannot? — at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for toleration.»⁵ Even the toleration accorded the Catholics was pleasing to the Catholics abroad;⁶ and their respect for him because of his zeal for

¹ St. Priest, I. 62.

² Thurloe, IV. 758; V. 14. Bonde to Charles X., 4 Jan. 1656. — In an audience with Bonde Cromwell said that his treaty with Portugal would keep that state from joining the Habsburgs. [« . . . att han wäll judicerade huru nödigt thet waro, såsom iagh [Bonde] sagat hade att holla honom [Portugal] ifrån thet han sigh medt Huset Österrijke eij conjungera matte.»

³ Neal, Hist. of the Puritans (Bath: 1793—7), IV. 125. Burton, II. 479.

⁴ Bate, Rise and Progress of the late Troubles in England (London: 1685), 194. Echard, II. 786.

⁵ Carlyle, Letter CCXV. Dec. 26 1656, at the time of the Sindercomb plot.

⁶ Thurloe, III. 400.

his own religion was especially noticeable among the catholics of Paris.¹ Protestantism he regarded as part of the Universal Church, and his ministers and chaplains were of all denominations. Speaker Widdington's speech before the House of Commons on the occasion of thanksgiving for the discovery of the Sindercomb plot, shows to some degree how the Protector's relations to foreign Protestants were regarded at home: «This deliverance was (a) matter of great rejoicing not only to these nations, but to the whole body of Protestants throughout the world; for, though the design was particularly against his Highness, yet, in his person, against them all.»²

On September 17, 1656, the second Protectorate parliament met at Westminster, and Cromwell made a lengthy speech for the continuation of the war against Spain.³ This plea naturally involved the Protestant Cause — the design of the pope and Spain against the Reformed. The pleas may be considered as follows: First, Spain's war against England is but the primary step for a further war against the Protestants. «The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, that his design was Empire of the whole Christian world, if not more; and upon that ground he looks, 'and hath looked', at this nation as his greatest obstacle.» James I. attempted peace with Spain, the Long Parliament sought satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador, and he himself had demanded trade in the West Indies and free conscience for English traders and sailors in Spain — but all in vain; make any peace with

¹ Thurloe, III. 520.

² Burton, II. 489—490. Burton, Cromwell, 153. Heath, Cromwell, 710.

³ Carlyle, Speech V.

any State that is Papist and subjugated to the determination of Rome and 'of' the Pope himself, — you are bound and they are loose.» «This Pope¹ is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his religion, — wherein perhaps he may shame us, — and a man of contrivance, and wisdom and policy; and his designs are known to be, all over, nothing but an endeavour to unite all Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against this nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world.»² Second, this war is waged against the common enemy of Protestantism. All honest interests; yea all interests of the Protestants in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed well and act well and be convinced what is God's Interest and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interests, the head of the Antichristian Interests.» Third, his plea for the Protestant Cause. «Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly inspired as the holy men of God have been, I would rejoice, for your sakes and for the sake of God, and of his cause which we all have been engaged in, if I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this nation! If not, — you plunge it, to all human appearance, 'it' and all interests, yea all Protestants in the

¹ Alexander VIII. Comp. Vaughan, I. 98, 158—159, 176, 206, 215. Helvetia, I. 585. Prayer CCXI. M. Brosch, Cromwell (Frankfurt: 1886), 496. v. Bischofshausen, Anh. XXI.

² Comp. Thurloe, IV. 681, 743, 755; V. 11; VI. 381, 567. Cromwell's letters to Charles X., to the United Provinces, in Aug., and to Frederick III., in Dec. 1656.

world, into irrecoverable ruin!»¹ At the time this speech was delivered the Protector's treasury was not in a flourishing condition; and to continue the Spanish war he was compelled to appeal to the favour of Parliament.

Late in this period falls what may be termed the culmination of Cromwell's idea of a Protestant union. «Stoupe (Stoupe) told me,» writes Burnet,² «of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his kingship with, if he had assumed it: he resolved to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven counselors, and four secretaries for different provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland and the Valleys: The Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second: Germany, the North and Turkey³ were the third: and the East and West Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have £ 500 salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence everywhere, to know the state of religion all over the world, that all good designs might be by this means protected and assisted. Stoupe was to have the first province. They were to have a fund of £ 10,000 a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be further supplied as occasion should require it. Chelsea college was to be made up for them which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy. I thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost: it was certainly a noble one.»

Bishop Burnet seems to be the only authority on this

¹ Comp. Vaughan, I. 733. Brosch, Cromwell, 495—496.

² Hist. of his own Times, I. 132.

³ Transylvania.

subject, and the history of Stoupe is rather indefinite.¹ The scheme is very similar to the more reasonable part of the Vermuyden propositions, and is in harmony with Cromwell's Protestant policy of 1654—5. His relations and correspondence with Protestants all over the world, and his striving for the welfare of the Vaudois and for peace in the North; would no doubt have suggested to his practical mind a scheme of this sort.²

During the months of May and June a leaflet in the interest of foreign Protestantism appeared in London and made some stir in religious and other circles;³ and is said to have influenced Parliament to pass a resolution in that interest. This resolution «Ordered, that it be recommended to his Highness the Lord Protector, as the desire of the Parliament, that his Highness will be pleased to encourage christian endeavours for uniting the Protestant Churches abroad; and that Lord Deputy, Lord Lambert, Col. Jones, be desired to present this vote to his Highness, the Lord Protector.»⁴ Dury had just returned from the continent and been knighted by Cromwell; perhaps the report of his labors among the churches, had some influence on the passing of this resolution. Nevertheless it expressed the sentiment of Parliament, even though the mediators to the northern states had already been appointed.

¹ van der Aa, Biog. Woordenbock der Nederlanden (Haarlem: 1876). Burnet, I. 111.

² Comp Helvetia, I. 586.

³ The leaflet was an extended quotation from Sir Edwin Sand's «Europae Speculum, 183.» The page is 173 — a mistake in the second (London) edition of 1632.

⁴ Journals of the House of Commerce, VII. 576. June 26 1657.

2. The Northern Embassies and the Treaty of Roskilde.

The last year of the Protector's foreign relations was for the most part a period of active negotiation. The war that Frederick III. declared against Sweden in June 1656, changed the whole character of northern affairs. Through leagues and alliances Sweden was opposed by Denmark — with strong Dutch sympathy, — Brandenburg, Poland, Russia and Austria; and in this strait Charles X. turned to the old Swedish allies, France and England. The Swedish envoy to Cromwell, Friesendorff, made extraordinary offers for assistance and an alliance, besides proposing a grand league among the Protestant states against the House of Habsburg.¹ The ships and men which the envoy desired sent to the Sound Cromwell was not in a position to give. Besides the situation of internal affairs, England's attention, it was urged,² was called to operations in Flanders; further, that to send a fleet to the Baltic would be a rupture of peace with Denmark; that although England's relations with the Netherlands were not the best an English envoy had been sent there to work for an adjustment of affairs relating to the North.³ England, now as at the time of the negotiations with Bonde, would not willingly become involved in a northern conflict and at the same time carry on an independent war with Spain. In the spring of 1658 the

¹ De Witt Brieven, III. 426. Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 11 Sept. 1657. — In First Conference, Art. 2 — «gegen der Catholische Liga, insonderheit aber gegen die Spanische Österreichische Partei.» Comp. also Art. 5, 7; and «Pro Memoria» in Friesendorff to Charles X. 13 Nov. 1657.

² Friesendorff to Charles X. 11 Oct. 1657.

³ Comp. Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 28 Nov. 1657.

Protector set forth his inability to aid Sweden — the Flanders expedition and the uncertainty of Parliament — but declared his desire to mediate peace in the North¹ and turn all powers against the Habsburgs.² But what especially hindered him from giving the aid he so often expressed his desire and willingness to give, was the Stuarts and the lack of money.³

The embassies to Sweden and Denmark were despatched after the arrival of the news of the new war. Cromwell was determined to continue the course adopted in the beginning of the northern troubles, «To govern himself by the Protestant Cause,» thinking «a piece between the two northern crowns is best for that, if it may be had.»⁴

¹ Cromwell told Friesendorff in his first audience that he should work for peace between Sweden and Denmark, «damit solche zwei mächtige Häupter von der Evangelischer Religion sich nicht untereinander aufreiben möchten.» — Friesendorff to Charles X. 11 Sept. 1657.

² Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 19 March 1658. Comp. Prayer. CCVIII., CCIX.

³ Fleetwood to Charles X. 30 Apl. 1658. — In an audience with Cromwell and Thurloe, Thurloe explained the impossibility of the Protector to realize his resolutions at the present condition of affairs at home; to which Cromwell added «dass es in dieser Welt keines Prinzen Interesse lieber und höher sich wollte lassen angelegen seyn, als Eur. K. M. Ihres, wollte auf desselbsten herzlich gern allen bejstand leisten, sofern nur Sein Estat [wie ich bereits gleichemal zuvor erwehnet] etwas besser eingerichtet were, Die bis daher fūrgewesene invasion des Schottischen Königs, und die fūrgewesene innerliche conspiracy hätte Ihn zur stunde an aller guten intention gehindert. Jedoch als Er diesen morgen zur berufung eines neuen Parlaments einen gewissen Schluss gemacht hätte, und wann Selbiges aller apparence nach wol succedieren würde, Hoffte Er capabel zu werden, Eur. Ko. ig Maj. nach wunsch assistieren zu können.» Also Fleetwood to Charles X. 7, 14 May, 25 June 1658. Comp. Schröder, Öm Riksrådet Frih. Christer Bondes Ambassad till England 1655, 35—36.

⁴ Thurloe, VI. 547, — Letter from Thurloe, «The best advice

In August General Jephson set out for Sweden on his mission of mediation and reconciliation.¹ His credentials were to inform the King «with what trouble and grief we have received the news of the unhappy war, which is arisen between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark; and the passion we have to do all offices which God shall put in our power for the healing of this breach, and thereby prevent the evils and inconveniences, which must arise upon the common cause from this war, at a time when our enemies are uniting and engaging themselves in most dangerous counsels and parties against the professors of the true religion.»² A few days later Philip Meadows left for Denmark on a similar mission. Before his departure he stated to the Danish resident «that he was ordered to recommend most seriously to the king his master to make peace with the king of Sweden, and to offer thereunto the mediation of his Highness.»³

Jephson had also credentials to the Great Elector. The feeling of London was against the Elector because of his joining with Austria and thus drawing upon himself the Swedish arms;⁴ and Bradshaw, on his way to Moscow to mediate between the Czar and Charles X., also bore special

his Highness seems to follow in this case is to use his endeavour to keep them from falling out, upon grounds of common good to the Protestant Interest, and in order thereunto to remain a common friend to them all.» Also *Ib.* 818. *Engl. Hist. Review.* VII. 726—727.

¹ *Urk. u. Act.* VII. 113. — «Herr Jephson erklärt von Cromwell beauftragt zu sein, zwischen allen protestantischen Mächten einen festen Frieden herzustellen.»

² *Thurloe*, VI. 471.

³ *Thurloe*, VI. 478. — Letter from Nieupoort. Also *Hist. Jahrbuch* (Görres Gesellsch.), XIV. 612, 613.

⁴ *Urk. u. Act.* VII. 779. *Baillie, Letters and Journals* (Edinb. 1775), III. 371.

greetings to the Elector and the offer of the Protector's friendly services.¹ In September Cromwell wrote to the Great Elector urging the critical state of affairs among the Protestants, and offered his respects and devotion to the Prince who was tempted by intrigues to forsake his friendship with Sweden at the time when the illfortune of the Swede demanded the consideration of the Protestant Cause rather than personal interests.²

In May Bradshaw started from Hamburg for Moscov. He went, he wrote to the Protector in accepting the commission, «not doubting, but that if the Lord have such a blessing in store for those great Princes and the Protestant Cause, he will dispose them to peace by your Highness' mediation.»³ The relations with the Netherlands were at this time somewhat strained. Their negotiations with Spain and their relations to the northern affairs were not congenial to Cromwell's policy. Nevertheless when the commercial war broke out between Portugal and the United Provinces, he was ready and desirous to mediate peace between them,⁴ and for that purpose sent George Downing, as ambassador, to the States General.

In November new propositions for a treaty were again handed to the Swedish envoy.⁵ The offensive and defensive alliance was to be directed against Austria, Poland and their allies; France, the Netherlands and other Protestant states

¹ Urk. u. Act. VII. 778.

² Milton, *Literae*, 222 f.

³ Thurloe, VI. 279. Comp. Urk. u. Act. VII. 778. Thurloe, VII. 393. Baillie, III. 371.

⁴ Thurloe, VI. 818—819; VII. 253. Hist. de Cornille et Jean de Witt (Utrecht 1709), I. 153, 163.

⁵ Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 13 Nov. 1657. Comp. same to same 9 Oct. 1657; 26 Feb. 1658.

and Princes were not only to be admitted but invited into the alliance; Sweden was to direct her war against Austria while Cromwell continued the war with Spain; Cromwell, if there should be need, was to send a fleet to the Baltic against disturbers of the peace; all the confederates were to contribute towards the general war. These articles were decidedly anti-Habsburg yet an opening was left for aid to Sweden in case the Dutch attempted a supremacy in the Baltic; at the same time the idea of a Protestant union was retained in the inviting of all friendly states into the alliance. The articles further provided for English aid to Sweden in the war against Austria. This was the basis of negotiation throughout the remaining years of the Protectorate.¹

For five months Cromwell's mediators negotiated with the two northern kings; both had kindly accepted the Protector's mediation, but Denmark being bound by treaties demanded that Brandenburg and Poland be admitted into the peace. Charles X. approved the Protector's ideas, yet further hoped for an alliance with France and England against Austria. But successful mediation was hindered by the demands of the two kings and by the position of the Dutch. With affairs in this condition Jephson wrote Cromwell that «I know nothing in my poor opinion were more worthy his Highness than at this time when he hath ministers with all the most considerable Protestant Princes and States — to propose a general meeting for the advancement of the common interest of religion, and the civil and reconciling of differences.»² The successful campaign of Charles X. at last compelled Frederick III. to consider more seriously the

¹ Comp. Thurloe, VII. 23—24. — These articles and those in Thurloe (VII.) — dated «March 25, 1658» — are almost identical.

² Thurloe, VI. 604, — Nov. 10 1657.

proposed peace. Articles were arranged and finally signed at Roskilde. This peace the Protector could consider to some extent the result of his mediation, although in the articles the names of his ambassadors appeared with those of France.

A few weeks later Meadows signed and sealed, as he had done at Roskilde, a treaty between Frederick III. and the Duke of Holstein,¹ — another step towards a general peace in the North.

In his speech to Parliament on January 25, 1658, Cromwell emphasized the danger threatening the Protestants of Europe;² «that grand design now on foot, . . . whether the Christian world shall be all Popery»; the Piedmontese massacre and the persecution of the Protestants in Austria;³ the Pope's influence in Europe, and the isolation of Charles X. in fighting all these cooperating forces; and «what addeth to the grief of all . . . is that men of our Religion forget this, and seek his ruin.» Should France make peace with Spain, England would remain the sole object of the wrath and fury of the «enemies of God.» The Dutch seemed to forget the kindness of Queen Elizabeth and «sell arms to their enemies and lend their ships to their enemies.» The danger then threatening the Protestant world also threatened England, as the head of the Protestant Interest. But beyond this presentation of the condition of affairs Cromwell did not

¹ Engl. Hist. Review, VII. 731.

² Carlyle, Speech XVII.

³ On Nov. 24 1657 a petition for aid for those Protestants in Upper Poland, Bohemia and Silicia was read in the Council of State. On March 25 1658 Cromwell issued a declaration for their relief; orders and requests were also made on Dec. 24 1657, Jan. 5 and 7 1658. — S. P. Dom. Also Thurloe, VII. 62, 734.

go, — «my business was to prove the verity of the Designs from abroad.»¹

On March 23 Cromwell wrote Charles X. a congratulatory letter on the conclusion of the treaty of Roskilde: a treaty of great interest to the Protestant Cause, — how gratifying was England's part in bringing it about; that the course of victories against the king of Denmark may now be directed against the enemies of the Protestant Interest.² — On April 9 the instructions for Meadows were arranged.³ He was to offer to the Swedish king the Protector's mediation for a treaty between Sweden and Poland; and also to let the king know «that as well his affairs as those which relate to the common interest of the Protestants moved us thereunto.» Besides these offers of mediation to Sweden and Poland, Meadows was to use his influence with the Elector of Brandenburg in reuniting him to Sweden. The instructions further direct the ambassador to be on good terms and understanding with the ministers from Transylvania, Russia, France and Dantzic, and «to take care that nothing be negotiated between the said two kings [Charles X. and John Casimer] to the prejudice and disadvantage of this state, either in honour, trade or commerce, but that on the contrary they be provided for;» but above all else «one thing you are both with the king of Sweden, if it were needful, and with the king of Poland, to insist especially upon, that is, the exclusion of the House of Austria wholly out of this treaty;

¹ Cromwell further hoped that the Emperor to be elected this year would be a Protestant. — Urk. u. Act. VII. 766.

² Milton, *Literae*, 237.

³ Thurloe, VII. 63—64. — April 9. The same day Cromwell wrote to Charles X. urging peace with Poland. — letter in the Archives, Stockholm.

and joining yourself with those, which are of the same sense in that particular, to make your party as strong as may be, using therein such mediums as are most proper and least observable, unless you find a public owning thereof to be necessary and most effectual.»

The menacing movements of Charles X. during the summer brought letters of remonstrance from most of the principal northern powers.¹ For this same purpose Cromwell wrote in June and July — to Charles X., urging upon him the necessity of peace among the Protestants, and setting forth his hopes for a close alliance among the Protestant states, — especially between Sweden and England.²

Downing was still at the Hague working for a peace between the United Provinces and Portugal, and to restore what goodwill had been lost towards England during the northern war. In a memorial to the States General³ he urged that «as he hath already declared, so doth again that his most serene Highness in his great concernment of the Protestant Cause, hath no design of particular advantage to his subjects in point of trade and commerce; but as his concernment is there in the same with that of the United

¹ Carlson, *Ges. von Schweden* (deutsch v. Peterson), IV. 302.

² Milton, *Literae*, 262f. The letter of July 16 1658 is in the Archives, Stockholm. Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 2 July 1658. — A special committee — Fiennes, Fleetwood and Thurloe — complained among other things, at the Protector's order, that affairs had changed greatly since the Swedish envoys began treating for an alliance, that Charles X., instead of directing his arms against Austria and the Catholic League, was directed principally against Brandenburg, Dantzic and Lübeck, — that such an action was not in harmony with the «*algemeinen Scopum dieser Alliance, nämlich defensionem religionis Evangelicæ et Libertatis publicæ.*» Also Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 9 July 1658.

³ Thurloe, VI. 818—819. Also Aitzema IV. 295.

Provinces, so it is his desire, that things of that nature should be managed by joint-counsels.» He further urged in the Protector's name¹ the mediation of England and France between Portugal and the United Provinces; and also that no new troubles might be raised in the North to the advantage of Austria. Likewise Thurløe directed Downing to urge upon the States General in Cromwell's name «how necessary his Highness thinks it, as well in respect of their own state as of their neighbors and allies, that a piece be made betwixt his^e majesty, the king of Portugal and them.»² Downing's efforts for a reconciliation of the Netherlands with Sweden were in vain. The treaty of Roskilde and the new question of Sound rates were not to the advantage of the Dutch, and early in the autumn they were leading the opposition against Sweden.

After the conclusion of peace between Denmark and Sweden, Cromwell's next care was to reconcile Charles X. and the Great Elector. Jephson was sent to Brandenburg on that mission, and Meadows, at this time with Charles X., was also to use his influence at Berlin. In March Thurløe wrote that the difference between these princes should be corrected, that «The true interest of the Protestants is to reconcile him [the Elector] and bring him back again out of Popish hands.»³ In May Jephson wrote to the Great Elector concerning Cromwell's mediation: a closer union between Brandenburg and Sweden and less friendly relations with Austria.⁴ The negotiations made slow progress and in

¹ Thurloe, VII. 253.

² Thurloe, VII. 253.

³ Thurloe, VII. 32. — Thurloe to Downing, March 26.

⁴ Urk. u. Act. VII. 793—794; XIV. (I.) 86—87. Also Pufendorf de reb. C. G., V. 83.

July it seemed that the Elector would be the first object of Sweden's wrath, even though «his Highness used his best endeavours to reconcile them, and compose their differences.»¹ The mediation was unsuccessful, and a new northern war began.

Bradshaw in Russia, was in a way more successful in establishing a friendly relation between the Czar and Sweden, thus leaving the whole North in peace for a few months before the war began.

3. France and Switzerland.

The French alliance of 1657 was made but for one year, and at the end of the first year Dunkirk had not yet been taken or delivered into English hands. In the spring of 1658 the alliance was renewed and additional English forces sent over to Flanders. The French and English troops at once besieged Dunkirk and on June 17 the city was delivered over to Lockhart as the representative of the Protector.

Early in 1657 Dury had returned to London from the Cantons and Germany; Pell, however, still remained in Switzerland as the Protector's representative. The Vaudois were increasing their complaints in regard to the objectionable articles of the Pignerol treaty. Rumours of illusage and outrage in the valleys reached Cromwell, but Lockhart wrote from Paris that these were but exaggerations.² Money was still forwarded from London to the Piedmontese; and Lockhart sought to win favour for them at the French court. Early in December he more urgently pleaded their cause and presented to Mazarin a statement of their grievances that

¹ Thurloe, VII. 269—270. — Thurloe to Hy. Cromwell, July 13.

² Thurloe, VI. 487—488.

had been prepared by the Council of State.¹ Whitelocke advised the Protector to send an agent to the Duke of Savoy, but that was at this time impossible. Troubles between the Protestants and Catholics at Nismes took place about this time, and the appeal of the former to Cromwell for protection was not in vain. The Protection «sent back to Paris in one hour's time² with a very effectual letter to his ambassador, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be passed over or to come away immediately.»³ Mazarin objected to this demand but finally yielded to the Protector's wish.⁴ But the results of this intercession were not entirely satisfactory. On May 26 Cromwell wrote to Lockhart, summarizing in seven paragraphs the sufferings and grievances of the Vaudois, — matters «of so much grief to us and lie so near our heart» — and directed him in delivering letters to the king and Mazarin to present the affair in the most feasible manner and to secure the king's influence with the Duke of Savoy. The solution Cromwell suggested was the exchange of some part of the French kingdom for the valleys, thus making the Vaudois direct subjects of the Most Christian King.⁵

Early in May Milton wrote three letters in behalf of the Vaudois — to Louis XIV., Mazarin and to the Protestant Cantons.⁶ The letter to Louis XIV. recounted the outrages and violences of the unjust treaty of Pignerol,

¹ S. P. Dom., Dec. 1 1657. Thurloe, VI. 681, 695.

² i. e. after hearing the plea.

³ Burnet, I. 131. Also Clarendon, XV. 153.

⁴ Burnet, I. 131. Comp. Clarendon, State Papers (London 1767), III. 386.

⁵ Carlyle, Letter CCXXV. — Letter and translation.

⁶ Benoit, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes (Delft 1693—5), III. 250 mentions a fourth — to the Duke of Savoy.

«which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obest thee by thy right hand which pledged a League and Friendship with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of Most Christian, — permit not to be done: nor let such lisenice of savagry, I do not say to any Prince, — for indeed no cruelty like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less into the tender years of that governing Prince, or into the woman's heart of his Mother — but to these accursed Assassins, be given. . . . Snatch thou who art able, and who in such an elevation art worthy to be able, these poor Suppliants of thine from the hands of Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again athirst for it, and think convenient to turn the discredit of their own cruelty upon their Prince's score.»¹ With this letter was also one addressed to Mazarin asking his aid and influence with the king in the affair.² On the same day³ a letter was also sent to the Protestant Cantons, expressing sympathy for the persecuted. He also encouraged aid and protection — England doing all that distance permitted — and asked assistance in putting an end to these outrages: things which threaten the Vaudois and even the safety of our religion itself.⁴ These letters had the desired effect and the affair was at last satisfactorily settled.

With the Mediterranean States the Protector stood in friendly relations. He congratulated the Venetians on their victories over the Turks and their setting free the christian captives and slaves.⁵ Yet Cromwell demanded justice on

¹ Carlyle, Letter CCXXV. — Letter and Translation.

² Milton, *Literae*, 247f.

³ Morland, 703—705.

⁴ Milton, *Literae*, 245.

⁵ Masson, V. 243, 377. *Relazioni*, XVII. — *Inghilterra*, 360,

the part of the English in dealing with Turkey.¹ Sir Thos. Bendish, English agent at Constantinople, received orders, dated 16 Apl. 1657, «to insinuate in the Court where you are, that this [action of Austria against Transylvania and Austrian influence at the Porte] is no other than a design and Artifice of ye Austrian Familie to beget differences between him [the Grand Signieur] and ye king of Sweden, and Prince of Transylvania, the better to promote their own interest, and advantages against such Princes as agree not with them in the profession of ye Popish Religion.»²

All of Cromwell's negotiations since the French alliance, were closely related and directed in one, anti-Habsburg direction. In these negotiations appeared all the Protector's interests of the previous years: the policies against the Stuarts and the Dutch, for the English trade and colonies, for the interests in the Sound and for peace among his Protestant allies. The western and northern phases of his policies, but slightly related in the Dutch war, appeared now united. In 1652—4 a Swedish alliance was to protect the English interests in the North During the Dutch war and the French and Spanish rivalry for an English alliance; since 1655 the northern policy was to protect the English interests in the Sound against the Dutch and direct all forces in the North against Austria during England's war with Spain in the West. In the Dutch war the Spanish question was passive, but since 1655 the Protector's policy in both North and West was active, gathering around the Northern mediation and the French alliance.

The Northern embassies were to mediate between the

¹ Milton, *Literae*, 254f. Masson, V. 372.

² In letter of Fleetwood to Charles X. 17 Apl. 1657.

allies of England, but this was not their sole duty.¹ The Stuart activity of 1656—7 was broken by these negotiations and the peace policy left King Charles the Protector's only enemy, Spain. English trade was to be cared for.² Commerce and the northern naval supplies demanded that the Sound be kept open and not fall into the hands of any one commanding power.³ The Sound question brought the English and Dutch interests into conflict; the increasing power of the Netherlands and a possible Dutch predominancy in the Sound were especially menacing to England.⁴ But the mediators' special duty was to exclude Austria and Poland from a northern peace,⁵ and to draw off Dantzic and Brandenburg from an Austrian alliance. The Habsburgs that he had hated because of their political intrigues he now hated because of his war with Spain. With the western branch England and France were at war; peace among the northern powers would leave Charles X. free to satisfy his ambition at the expense of Austria. Denmark, Dantzic and Brandenburg were to be brought to the Protestant side; Portugal

¹ See above pp. 73—74. Roger Manly, *Hist. of the late Wars in Denmark* (London 1670), 3.

² See above pp. 73—74. Carlyle, *Speeches VIII., XVII.* *Engl. Hist. Review.*, VII. 728.

³ See above pp. 73—74. v. Bischofshausen, *Anh.* 217. II. — Thurloe said that «the Protector in this whole business laid this for a foundation, that it was not for the interest of this nation, that either the Swede or the Dane should be ruined.»

⁴ Jones *App. A.* — Thurloe declared a few months later «There were no greater consideration in England in reference to foreign interests, than how to obviate the growing greatness of the Dutch.» Also v. Bischofshausen, *Anh.*, 215 II., 216 II., 217 II. *Somers' Tracts*, VI. 333—334.

⁵ See above pp. 73—74. *Helvetia*, I. 585. *Comp. Vaughan I.* 45.

was in league with England, Russia's neutrality was secured in a treaty with Sweden; Poland — the old friend of France and English traders — was to make peace with Charles X., the war between the Dutch and the Portuguese was to be ended; Switzerland was England's ally and Dunkirk was now an English possession, — all Protestant Europe and all Catholic enemies of Austria and Spain were to be turned against the Houses of Habsburg.¹ Up to the French alliance Cromwell had desired peace among the Protestant states as a counter-action against the advances of the pope. With the Spanish war came the union of interests against the Habsburgs, — the policy Bonde had already foreseen in September 1655.²

The general Protestant Interest had been merged into this anti-Habsburg policy. The mediation was among Protestant states, and peace in the North checked the course of Austria and Catholicism in these parts. The war of France and England against Spain held in check the Spanish arms and Catholicism in the West. A closer friendship was cultivated with the Cantons, and the Protestants in Savoy and Languedoc were protected. But Cromwell's efforts for peace and the union of powers against Habsburg were in vain, yet the pain of failure was spared him — the news of the new northern war came after his death.

¹ De Witt Brieven, III. 286. — Thurloe declared to Nieuport in confidence «dat de Herr Protector geen ander motyf ofte insight haddè om buyten dit England iet te doen, anders als tegens Spanjen ende Huys van Oostenryck, om derselver vervolgingen tegens de Protestanke Religie met Godts hulpe te doen cesserem. . . .» Also Ib. 133, 172, 392, 431; V. 113. Pufendorf, III. 82; IV. 80, 84. Brosch, Cromwell, 495—496. Prayer, CLXIV., CCVIII., CCIX. See above p. 48 note 5.

² Bonde to Charles X., 21 Sept. 1655.

IV. Richard.

Richard continued the policies of his father. The Stuart and Spanish questions remained the same; the peace in the North and the anti-Habsburg policy were declared to be for the Protestant interest. But when the Dutch advanced into the Sound the policy that lay nearest the English interest since the rise of the Dutch Republic came to the foreground. Cromwell had been drawn to the Netherlands by the common form of government, the similar faith and the common interest against the related princely houses. He had desired an alliance for political security; in all his alliances he had demanded the admission of the Dutch, yet the danger from the Netherlands, which he hoped to avert by friendship, developed to that point where he was able to consent to the alliance with Sweden «*contra quoscunque.*» But the foreseen though unexpected action of the Dutch, which endangered English interests, did not come until Richard had assumed the Protectorate. Richard continued the policy of holding the Sound international,¹ and desired peace in the North and action against the Habsburgs.² The Dutch Fleet in the Baltic, however, changed the course of events.³

¹ v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 217 II. Burton, III. 380. Old Parl. Hist. XXI. 422.

² Richard's speech to Parliament. Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X. 1 Apl. 1659, «Extract etc.», — In a public declaration of March 31, 1659, Richard declared his action to be «*mödh den Romersche Keyseran, Konungen aff Spanien och andra implacable och offugde fiender, så woll emoot den Protestantische Religionen, som desse Nationers fredh och voligfart.*»

³ Fleetwood to Charles X., 22 Oct. 1658. — In an audience Fleetwood found Richard and others much altered in regard to Northern

In the three days debate in Parliament on the question of sending an English fleet to the Sound, religion was declared to be in no wise interested in this affair and Protestantism in no way endangered. The fleet was despatched to defend English interests, yet was purported to be sent against Austria and in behalf of the Protestant Interest.¹ The Dutch were drawn into the English-French alliance for the preservation

affairs — it was not fully believed that the Dutch could have sent a fleet to the Baltic.

¹ Burton, III. 380ff. Jones, App. A. Friesendorff and Fleetwood to Charles X., 17 Nov. 1658. — Thurloe declared the English course to be for a general peace in Europe, that the Interest of the Protestant religion demanded an armed mediation; that mediation was to be extended to Sweden and Denmark, that especially the arms between these two powers should be checked, that Brandenburg should be drawn from the papal league, but in particular peace should be restored between Sweden and Denmark. R. Manley, 43. — Instructions to Vice-admiral Goodson, 12 Nov. 1658. — «I. Whereas, for composing the present wars, which are lately fallen out, betwixt the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, we have found it necessary to offer our friendly mediation betwixt the said crowns, as well for the good of peace between them, and for the good of the Protestant Cause in general, as also for preservation of our interest, so far as it is concerned therein. . . .» The instructions to Meadows of same date contains no such preamble. Ib. 63—69. — The instructions to Genl. Montague, March 18 1659, set forth the joint action of France and England — and the co-operation of the Netherlands — for mediation between Sweden and Denmark, «with a mind also to accomodate the differences betwixt the King of Sweden on the one side, and the King of Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburg on the other; and the better effecting of the mutual intentions of these two states,» — i. e. Sweden and Denmark. Also Arts. 5, 14. Yet in case of an unfavourable action on the part of Sweden Art. 15 provided for the proper care of English interests against the Dutch.

Ib. 74, Art. 9 of the proposed alliance between England and Sweden provided «to withdraw the Elector of Brandenburg, and all other princes and states from any conjunction with the House of Austria, and to unite them against the said house.»

of peace in the North and the upholding of the treaty of Roskilde also of directing Charles X. against Austria and of drawing Brandenburg from an Austrian alliance.¹

The Protestant Interest and the anti-Habsburg policy were gradually overshadowed by the commercial interests. The breaking with the Netherlands was slow and reluctant. The Hague alliance compelled the Dutch to aid in the mediation of their own conflict; the English fleet was in the first place to mediate between Sweden and Denmark, then to join Sweden; but in the failure of both these proposals England was to care for her own interests. Cromwell combined his interests in the North with the Spanish war, but Richard directed his policy primarily against a Dutch control of the Sound.

In February 1659 Richard wrote to Louis XIV. in behalf of the Grenoble Protestants whose preaching services had been hindered.² This was in keeping with his father's policy in the Piedmontese affair — the policy of tolerance. Beyond this Richard seems to have taken no direct action in respect to the Protestant Interest.

V. Conclusion.

A general view of the Protestant Interest in Cromwell's foreign relations may be taken from two different stand-points: in respect to its workings and relations, and in respect to its various forms and phases.

I. Its workings and relations may be considered in three different aspects: 1. in relation to Protestants in Catholic

¹ Carte, Letters, II. 158. Somers' Tracts, VI. 335.

² Milton, Literae, 282.

states; 2. the union of Protestants; 3. the Protestant Interest in relation to the other questions of the Protector's diplomacy.

1. The Protestant policy in relation to Protestants in Catholic states.

Condé's appeals for his own cause and for the Huguenots first brought the foreign Protestants diplomatically to Cromwell's attention. But it was not until after the treaties of 1654 that he was in a position to speak of his ability and readiness to care for the welfare of his foreign co-religionists. Then followed his work for the Piedmontese and the Huguenots of Languedoc, his consideration for the Protestants in Germany, Bohemia and elsewhere, and for the English subjects in Catholic states. His war with Spain and his diplomacy against Austria were against the enemies of Protestantism. With France he sought favor for the Huguenots through the friendly consent of the king.¹

2. The union of Protestants.

The first step in this direction was the proposed amalgamation of England and the Netherlands; through Stocker's attempt at mediation the interests of Switzerland were added to the interests of these two Republics. Before the end of 1654 Mazarin had heard rumours of Cromwell's universal council of Protestants. With the Vaudois affair came the correspondence with all the Protestant states, and the proposal for a common action in case of further persecutions in Savoy. The Northern war brought occasion for mediation between the several Protestant powers therein concerned and for the pleas for peace, and union against Austria and the advances of Catholicism. The anti-Habsburg policy was still more far-reaching

¹ Comp. Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*, 46.

in uniting Protestant and Catholic alike against Austria and Spain. Besides the diplomatic attempts at peace and union were the support of Dury in his labours among the Lutheran and Reformed in Germany, and the universal council for the Protestant religion as reported by Burnet. Cromwell had learned, as Christian IV. and Gustavus Adolphus had learned, that a political alliance of Protestants was impossible.¹ His idea of a Protestant union departed on the one hand more and more from political considerations until it culminated in the council for the Protestant religion; on the other hand it departed from the amalgamation of states and ended in a general anti-Habsburg policy. The former he did not realize, the latter he did not live to see proved a failure. The Protestant Interest broadened with the general lines of his diplomacy. The object of the union of England and the Netherlands had been freedom, the protection against the Houses of Stuart and Orange.² The council of the Protestants and the anti-Habsburg policy were as far-reaching as Protestantism and its enemies.

3. The Protestant Interest in relation to the other questions of the Protector's diplomacy.

In his foreign relations may be seen five points: Stuarts, Trade, Colonies,³ Anti-Habsburg policy and The Protestant In-

¹ Vaughan, I. 265, 433.

² Verbael, 42, 45—46, 197.

³ Comp. above The Swedish Treaty, The Northern Embassies and the Treaty of Roskilde, Richard. Trade and colonies were closely united in the national policy, — the spread of trade in the Spanish colonies lead to the colonial question in those ports. Closely connected with the trade in the Baltic was the question of naval supplies — a point of great importance since the rise of the anti-Habsburg policy. The foreign policies were influenced more or less by the finances of the Protectorate. Up to the end of the Dutch war the money question

terest. The Stuart question was his first care especially in the earlier years of his government.¹ He had by treaties and alliances thrown the Stuarts into the hands of Spain; thus to prevent a restoration was to prevent the ascendancy of Spanish and catholic influence in England.² Trade and colonies were closely related to the anti-Habsburg policy, following the strong national tendency of the time; yet the trade alone had most to fear from the Dutch. The anti-Habsburg policy was the outgrowth of these three and the general Protestant Interest. The Protestant Interest took varied places among these questions. In winning France from the Stuarts Cromwell won an advantage for the Protestant Interest. Besides the security for English trade resulting from the Dutch-English war he made alliances with most all the Protestant states of Europe. Colonies, the anti-Habsburg policy and the Protestant Interest centered in the war against Spain; yet it was Trade — and the Protestant Interest as secondary — that made the war against Spain a war against the

rested under the interest of national defense. Aside from this, also, the traditional slowness of Spain in paying debts, together with the trade and colonial interests, had played a role in the Spanish-French negotiations. In May, 1654, Cromwell's finances were in their most flourishing condition but from this point onward an empty treasury made itself felt. To uphold a standing army and to upbuild a national navy demanded more money than the Protectorate could provide. The results of this financial condition is most plainly seen in the last two years of the Protector's negotiations with Sweden.

¹ v. Bischofshausen, Anh. 194 II. — «One consideration they (Oliver and Council) had (and which indeed was common to all their treaties) to prevent foreign assistance to the king for his restitution, wherein France was held of more consequence than any other.» See above p. 68 note 3.

² See v. Bischofshausen, Anh. for parallel of the three accounts of the foreign affairs under Cromwell. The Stuart question is placed first in all three.

Habsburgs. Before Commonwealth had taken its place among the European states the Protestant Interest had already begun to take a practical form in behalf of the Huguenots besides serving to continue the rivalry of France and Spain for the Protector's aid. But in the year of peace preceding the French alliance the Protestant Interest stood first in Cromwell's diplomacy. In the Spanish war and the Northern affairs the anti-Habsburg policy appeared and the Stuart question became a silent though not an unimportant factor. The peace policy in the North was a war — anti-Habsburg — policy against Austria, besides being a trade policy against a Dutch supremacy in the Sound. The Protestant Interest followed the lines of general diplomacy against Spain; and the colonial policy appeared in the war in Flanders. All four points — trade, colonies, anti-Habsburg policy and the Protestant Interest — found their high-water mark in the treaty of Roskilde and the taking of Dunkirk. Both were victories of the first two points against the Dutch and Spanish; both were the results of the last two points against Catholicism and Spain. When the keys of Dunkirk were delivered to Lockhart Mazarin placed in the hands of the Protestant Protector the «keys of Europe.»

Which of Cromwell's policies was foremost in his diplomacy is not here discussed; — but certain it is that place does not belong to the Protestant Interest. This Interest appeared throughout closely related to the trade, or national welfare. Which of these was paramount is answered in two ways. In speeches and in conversation the former has the first place. During the kingship discussion Cromwell stated that «I must needs bear this testimony to them [Parliament], That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The one is that

of Religion, and of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God; . . . The other thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think it ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God, — yet it is the next best God hath given men in this world.»¹ In a private audience Cromwell declared to Bonde in the strictest confidence, that the basis of all his negotiations was nothing else than the liberty of religion and trade.² But the Protestant Interest loses this foremost position when looked at from the standpoint of his action and diplomacy. A universal Interest gave place to a special English policy; the universal Protestant Cause was transplanted by the demands for the toleration of oppressed Protestants. The Protestant Interest thus becoming special lost its old meaning; — yet lived on in the anti-Habsburg policy. The special Interest played its role with the other interests — yet in the Piedmontese affair, where it was foremost, an English interest appeared closely allied with it. But this saying and doing does not imply an inconsistency either of character or of policy — as will be seen from the following.

II. The Protestant Interest in respect to its various forms and places.³

¹ Carlyle, Speech VIII.

² Bonde to Charles X. 28 Sept. 1655. Same to same 1 Aug. 1656. — Cromwell in complaining of the discouraging action of the Dutch, «försäkrade liqwäl att then Protestantiske Saken och thess säkerheet, wore then grundh hwar på han ginge och hwar wijdh han stadigt blifwa skulle, så länge han något hadhe att säija, han woro och försäkrat att alle ährlige gemuther i Engelandh woro af samme tanckar medh honom.»

³ The following shows the Protestant Interest as political and religious:

In the course of the Protectorate the Protestant Interest changed its form and meaning as circumstances required. A general Protestant Interest and a particular Protestant Interest are thus to be distinguished. The general is that Cause inherited from the preceding century: a Protestant world to defend a Catholic world to fear; a term common to all the Protestant states and even stretching to the Catholic enemies of the Habsburgs. The particular almost loses sight of the general in its demands for tolerance and protection of some one Protestant community, or mingling with the old fear grows into a general interest. The general Interest is the spirit in which the negotiations with the Protestant states were carried on; in this Interest England and the Netherlands were to unite, England and Sweden to ally, England, the Netherlands and Switzerland to grow into closer relationship. This is the spirit that the treaties of 1654 called forth, that formed connection between the Piedmontese massacre and the letters to the Protestant states, that contributed to the religious character of the anti-Habsburg policy — the spirit in which the northern embassies were despatched. The particular Interest began in the Spanish-French negotiations. It demanded the religious freedom of

1. Politikal;

Protection and aid for oppressed foreign Protestants.
Encouragement of peace among Protestant states.
Turning Protestant states against the Habsburgs.

2. Religious;

Hopes for the peace and unity of the Protestant states.
Encouragement of Dury.
The Council for the Protestant religion.
To which may be added

3. Universal;

Hatred of the Turks and their holding Christians as slaves.
Relations with Catholic states.

English subjects in Spain and Portugal, and worked for the protection and tolerance of the Huguenots. It found its highest point in the Piedmontese affair and the letters this called forth. In this interest tolerance was demanded for the Huguenots in the French Alliance. On the rise of the anti-Habsburg policy it fell to the background, but appeared again in behalf of the Waldenses and the Huguenots of Nismes, and in its spirit Richard wrote in behalf of the Protestants of Grenoble. The general Interest was that of the Thirty Years War, and appeared at its best when clothed in the old policy against Austria and Spain. The particular Interest had here its origin, and appeared best when the general Interest was least seen. The particular presupposed the general Interest in that this had in view the tolerance of Protestant states, while it on the other hand had in view the tolerance of Protestant communities or individuals. The treaty of Westphalia assured the tolerance of Protestant states in the Catholic world; the particular Interest then took up the tolerance of Protestant individuals in Catholic states. The general Interest, under Cromwell and before him, was called forth by Catholic wars and diplomacy; the particular rose only on the occasion of Catholic oppression.

The Protestant Interest under Cromwell thus contains the two phases of the long religious strife. The general Interest in connection with the enemies of the Habsburgs, the particular in relationship to the tolerance in France and in the Reformed states of Germany. France was the first Catholic state to tolerate the Protestant faith; Hessen and the Palatinate were the first Protestant states to declare for the tolerance of a rival Protestant belief; the Protector was the first to declare for the tolerance of Christian faiths and sects — and even extended it to the Jews. Church and state,

religion and politics were not yet separated; he therefore tolerated Catholic and High churchman only so far as he was not tolerating a political enemy. Cromwell was a practical man; in following a great principle he followed it from the practical point of view. The Ironsides developed as a matter of fact; not until attacked, was the defence of personal religion brought forth. This idea of personal religion was carried from the council of war to the Council of State, thence into the Spanish-French negotiations in behalf of the Huguenots. The tolerance he demanded from the Catholic states he hoped for from the Protestant princes.¹

Cromwell did not seek the revival of the religious war. As a Protestant and the head of a Protestant state he was interested in the defence of the international tolerance declared in the Westphalian treaty. As a tolerator of religion at home he demanded the tolerance of oppressed Protestants abroad. These two phases of the Protestant Interest appear confused throughout his negotiations: he spoke of the general but acted in the particular. The one was a fear — the shadow of what was once a real danger; the other, an attempt — the forecast of a reality coming long after him.

¹ He has left no record of his opinion on the intolerance in the North; but his thoughts on Sweden's religious policy in Pommerania was such that Bonde in an audience denounced as false all such reports of intolerance. Comp. Urk. u. Act. VII. 808.

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Vita.

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To the Professors whose lectures he has been so fortunate to hear, he is greatly indebted for their example and instruction. In the University of Heidelberg he acknowledges the kindness and assistance of Professors Erdmannsdörffer, Schäfer, Weber, Hoops and Leser. Special thanks are due to Prof. Erdmannsdörffer for the subject of preparation of the dissertation he has to thank; in the for much assistance in regard to the northern quest.

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