

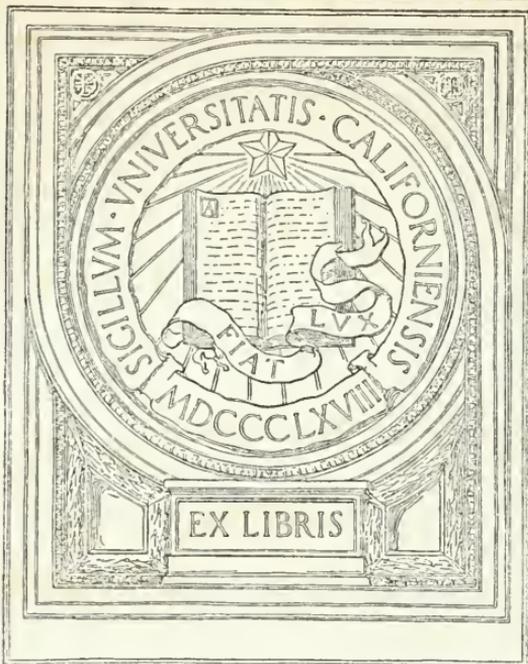
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THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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A

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

TO THE RESTORATION:

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TRACING THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY AND OF THE
CONSTITUTION FROM THE FEUDAL TIMES TO THE OPENING OF THE
HISTORY, AND INCLUDING A PARTICULAR EXAMINATION
OF MR. HUME'S STATEMENTS RELATIVE TO THE
CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH
GOVERNMENT.

BY GEORGE BRODIE, ESQ.

HISTORIOGRAPHER-ROYAL OF SCOTLAND.

NEW EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE.



CHAPTER I.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR—STATE OF PARTIES—BATTLE OF EDGEHILL—KING'S ATTEMPT ON BRENTFORD—NEGOTIATION AT OXFORD—LANDING OF THE QUEEN—POLICY OF CHARLES IN REGARD TO IRELAND AND SCOTLAND—ACTIONS IN VARIOUS QUARTERS—FALL OF READING—DEATH OF HAMPDEN—BATTLE OF STRATTON—OF LANSDOWN—OF ROUNDWAY-DOWN—BRISTOL TAKEN—SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER—BATTLE OF NEWBURY—STATE OF AFFAIRS—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, AND ARMING OF THE SCOTS—CESSATION WITH IRELAND—DEATH OF PYM.

It may not be improper, at the commencement of hostilities, to take a concise view of the state of parties. Of the nobility, too many had been originally attached to the court, as the fountain of their own power, and still wished to promote its schemes; others, lately struck with apprehensions that the spirit which animated the Commons and the great mass of the people was hostile to their exclusive privileges, and expecting preferment from, while they dreaded the vengeance of, the court, which they imagined would be ultimately successful, and would doubtless mark out those in highest place for the first sacrifices, had, after temporising for a time, joined the king. Many in the Lower House, actuated by similar motives, had also deserted their duty in parliament, and

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parties.

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fled to the royal standard; but we have already shown the vanity of that idea which presupposes that they wished complete success to the monarch, or were actuated by generous motives of loyalty. They still hoped for accommodation as the only resource against tyranny in the king and encroachment in the people; and the scrambling for office, honours, and emoluments—the heart-burnings and jealousies, together with the desertion of their royal master in his utmost need, all detailed by Clarendon*—strip their characters of that air of romance with which certain historians have so sedulously clothed them. There were even some prudent members of the peerage who, wisely calculating chances, arrayed one part of their sons on one side and another on the other—the plan so generally pursued afterwards in Scotland—that the titles and estates might be preserved in the family. But the great aristocracy, on whom the king so much relied, though they could bring their immediate dependents into the field, were in other respects rather calculated to grace the court, and, by their influence in society, support it in an hour of peace, than prevail in the present conflict. The rank and title on which their claim to public respect was founded in ordinary times, naturally disposed them to confide in these advantages, instead of cultivating the habits of mental energy and activity requisite for such a crisis; and accordingly, the sloth which sprang from their situation was remarked even by their friends. As officers, they proved rather jolly companions than good soldiers; and each removal by death or otherwise was hurtful to the cause, since the influence over their dependents was lost; and, merit never having been rewarded with place, the king wanted others to supply their room. Even the common soldiery were composed of materials far inferior to those

* See particularly vol. iii. pp. 177, 269 *et seq.*, 320, n. 7, 452, 259 *et seq.*, and Append. D, 471 *et seq.*, with n. pp. 478, 549 *et seq.*; vol. viii. p. 1 *et seq.*, 135 *et seq.* to 179, 189 *et seq.*

of the parliament; for the aristocracy, though they might call their dependents into the field, could never inspire that zeal which actuates men deeply interested in the public government, and ardent for the preservation of freedom. The foot, therefore, was even at the beginning inferior to that of the parliament; but many of a good station having entered into the ranks of the cavalry,* a far higher spirit prevailed in that department of the military. It is true that some individuals of eminent talent did resort to the king; but as these were politicians calculated for the closet, not the field, and who were destitute of the vigour or influence of a popular meeting, while Charles only followed their counsel when it corresponded with his secret designs, which he never thoroughly revealed even to them, their abilities and accomplishments were of comparatively small advantage. The old clergy and high-church party strictly adhered to the royal side; and Charles depended greatly on the whole Catholic body, who zealously supported him, from the hope of promoting both their religion and their influence in the state.

In talent, zeal, and energy, the opposite party were infinitely superior. No age or country ever could boast of a greater number of admirable statesmen than at this period dignified the English parliament. Their capacity for affairs was equalled only by their unremitting assiduity. A committee of the most eminent was appointed to manage the war, as well as foreign business, and, being ever responsible to the general body when it required information, exerted their whole powers to merit its approbation. Hence the parliament, though a public body, could act with the requisite secrecy, while they

* Clarendon pretends that one troop of cavalry possessed more property than all the Commons who voted the war at Westminster; but he prudently restrains from all particulars by which his statement

could have been contradicted; yet Mr. Hume adopts it, though he had also maintained that the Commons' House in the beginning of this reign possessed three times the wealth of the House of Peers.

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lost no opportunity of diving into the most secret consultations and projects of their adversaries. So successful were they in the last, that no measure at any time devised by the royal party, whether in regard to foreign connections, supplies of arms, or internal action, escaped their vigilance. The most confidential servants of Charles, indeed, were always ready to betray him ; but they who betrayed the laws and rights of their country could not, without a foolish presumption, be expected to stand true to the prince, whose services imported treachery to the state : the cold, formal, and forbidding manner of Charles was incompatible with affection to his person.

Towns are the region of liberal spirit, and of the talent calculated to vindicate one's rights ; and the metropolis and the other independent towns were all equally zealous for the parliament. The haughty carriage of the nobility, which bespoke contempt for the sober citizen, was returned with no friendly feeling by men whose independent fortunes did not raise them to proportional respect.* The numerous monopolies and obstructions to trade had inflamed the mass of the inhabitants on pure grounds of pecuniary interest, as had the arbitrary measures of the

* What Clarendon says of Somersetshire in particular (vol. iii. p. 198 *et seq.*) is of general application ; and the gentlemen of ancient families and estates in that county, he tells us, ' were for the most part well affected to the king.' ' Yet there were a people of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, clothing, and other thriving arts, had gotten very great fortunes, and, by degrees, getting themselves into the gentlemen's estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose estates they had ; and, therefore, with more industry than the other, studied always to make themselves considerable.' These from the beginning were fast friends to the parliament.' What is meant by the

new men having gotten themselves into the gentlemen's estates ? Had they not done so fairly ? Were those gentlemen entitled to enjoy their still alleged estates after having most willingly sold them either to furnish the future means of extravagance or defray the past ? Had those gentlemen sprung from the soil into the enjoyment of the estates as the very ancient Athenians pretended they had from the ground of Attica ? And was it not fair that they should lose the property by qualities so contrary to those by which they had been acquired by their ancestors ? This very writer had, ere he admitted this to be the complete production of his pen, acquired other men's estates by means as revolting as those he here describes as honourable.

court, both in regard to civil and political liberty, struck them with dismay. So anxious had the prince been to suppress the spirit of the capital, that he had interfered with the appointment of their magistrates; and even in the hour of his greatest necessity, during the Scottish invasion, he had meditated greater changes. On the same principle, he eagerly, against law, interdicted the resort thither of the nobility and gentry. It is unnecessary to remark that the support of the towns was a sure fund of money, if not of men.

In the country, the greater portion of the principal gentry, and almost all the inferior, together with the freeholders and yeomen, were heartily inclined to the popular side; and as these inferior ranks were prepared to arm in defence of the cause, it is easy to conceive that, when embodied, they would be actuated with a spirit and intelligence to which ordinary troops must be ever strangers. But the parliamentary party enjoyed another vast advantage in the very constitution of a popular assembly. Enterprise and talent looked thither for distinction, well assured that, as they could not long be hid from the public eye, so they could not long be confined to an inferior station. The voice of the people and the army itself recommended abilities, and the necessity of employing these could not be, for any considerable period, overlooked or disregarded. Nothing of the kind could be expected from the opposite side. As, after his disappointment in his design of seizing Portsmouth and Hull, and arming a body of mercenaries—Papists or desperadoes—to crush the legislative assembly before it could be in a condition to make a struggle, Charles was obliged to throw himself in a manner upon a portion of the great aristocracy, so was he constrained to nominate them to the chief commands without regard to their qualifications; and, though some experienced soldiers were allowed to hold a certain rank in the army, it followed, from the nature of things, that,

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had he displaced men of a high sphere, for abilities in an inferior walk of life, he would have offended the whole and been deserted. Besides, he could not be guided by the popular voice when he had not its support; and it seldom happens that an individual who has been born to the rank of sovereignty, has either the quick discernment or the manliness of a popular assembly in the selection of his servants. Accustomed to flattery, he is too often misled by the minions of his court, and bestows upon those who re-echo his preconceived purposes, the places to which talent and virtue should be alone assigned.* Hence it happened that the royalist officers were remarked for gross habits of dissipation and inattention to the duties of their calling, while the parliamentary officers were contradistinguished by the strictest decency of deportment and indefatigable industry in their stations.

From this view, it must appear strange that the king should have been able for such a length of time to maintain the contest; but, in truth, he was no longer successful than while the operation of these causes in regard to his adversaries was suspended. So many of the peerage had left the parliament, that Charles had obtained an advantage in denying it the character of a free assembly. Had, therefore, the remainder deserted to him, the imputation would have been confirmed, and the character of the parliament, as comprehending both Houses, would have sustained a serious injury. It was, on this account, deemed necessary to gratify the remainder, by conferring offices upon them; and as few of them were either imbued with the resolution demanded by the exigency—having always a regard to their exclusive privileges, which might be endangered by the conflict, whatever side prevailed—or were endowed with the qualities requisite for the occasion, they counteracted for a time the vigour of other principles, and brought a

* See even Clar. vol. iii. pp. 269 *et seq.*, 320 *u.*, 452.

great portion of those disadvantages upon the parliament that the monarch laboured under.

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The absurd notions prevalent upon the art of war, as if military tactics involved some mystery which could only be acquired by long practice, had also an unfavourable effect. Inured to peace, the people for a season confided only in officers who had returned from the Continent, with that knowledge of the military art which it was erroneously supposed could only be attained there;* and the old soldiers, who carried with them to the field all the timid notions of warfare practised abroad in mercenary armies, were exceedingly prized and generally consulted. But it is extraordinary that, with the exception of Skippon, not one of these on either side distinguished himself. In this art, as in most if not all others, great ability will soon acquire all the knowledge and dexterity which are requisite for command; and instead of servilely following the dull rules which have been handed down unquestioned from one generation to another, it will scrupulously examine the principles on which they are founded, and either strike out a new path for itself, or improve the art in so far as it is established; while the ardour of men whose souls are thrown into the cause disdains the cautious timid policy displayed by soldiers of fortune, who, when opposed to each other, appear to esteem it their highest praise to preserve their troops unhurt. The listless inactivity of ordinary troops, too, whose officers are promoted from connection, cannot stand the shock of that fervour which possesses a popular army, where the whole mass, stimulated with the hope of rapid, if merited, advancement, rouses every faculty into exertion. Accordingly we shall find that, immediately after the new model of the parliamentary army, the decisive measures of its generals were everywhere successful.

On the 25th of August, Charles erected his standard at

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 46.

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I.

Charles
erects his
standard
at Notting-
ham, Aug.
25, 1642.

Nottingham; but though that county, through the influence of the Earl of Newcastle, was much devoted to the royal cause, the king was greatly disappointed in the number that flocked to him. His artillery had been left at York, and his chief strength consisted in the cavalry, which is said not to have exceeded 800. The Earl of Lindsay, as having served with reputation in the Low Countries, was appointed general; Prince Rupert, the king's nephew, commanded the horse. He, with his brother Maurice, sons of the late Elector Palatine, came to England, and proffered their services to Charles, which were accepted; while their brother, the ex-electoral, as if they had been actuated by the policy which distinguished some noble families, and afterwards the Scots, sedulously applied himself to the popular party in parliament to interest them in the recovery of the palatinate.* Many ill omens occurred to terrify the king and his adherents: in particular, the standard was blown down by a tempestuous wind, and could not be re-erected for a day or two—a circumstance which is related with religious awe by Clarendon. Had the parliamentary army, which at this time far exceeded the king's, been brought into action, the royal forces must have been instantly dissipated. Even Sir Jacob Ashley, the king's standard-bearer, declared that he could not give any assurance against his majesty's being taken out of his bed, if a brisk attempt were made; but decisive measures were not yet consentaneous either to the feelings of the general or the parliament.† From the same motives, another opportunity was lost: indeed, matters were in so unprecedented a situation, that it is not wonderful the parliament should have acted with indecision. Though the royal forces had been routed, a fresh army might have been collected by

* Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 150; Whitelocke, p. 85; May, lib. iii. p. 12 *et seq.* This very elector had been obliged to leave England, from having so warmly espoused the royal

cause, as to accompany Charles in his violent entrance into the Lower House.

† Clar. vol. iii. pp. 171 *et seq.*, 188 *et seq.*, 193 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 61.

Charles, and the termination of one war have been shortly followed by another, unless he were taken prisoner, and the whole frame of the government altered. But this was not suited to the temper of the times, and, therefore, it was probably imagined that the king, after perceiving the strength of his adversaries, and his own inability to continue the contest (for it was not supposed that his forces would be immediately augmented), would, without sustaining the dishonour of a defeat, submit to the propositions which he had previously rejected. Having once engaged in hostilities, the passions of both sides naturally became more heated; but Charles's engagement to the queen, joined to his own headstrong temper, precluded all accommodation. Many of his followers dreaded proceedings against them in parliament; and the apparent indecision of the two Houses and their general inspired them with the vain hope that the king would ultimately triumph over all opposition. As for himself, there was one principle—a fatal one to him, and pernicious to the adverse party—on which he confidently relied, that unless, through the medium of his own offspring, his person, liberty, and regal dignity would in any event be secure; and that, while success would render him absolute, discomfiture would merely reduce him to the necessity of submitting to the terms that had been already proposed to him as the only basis of accommodation. Had he believed that he was himself obnoxious to justice for overturning that constitution of which he was appointed the sworn guardian, and carrying misery and bloodshed throughout the kingdom—in short, had he expected to be deposed and exiled in the event of discomfiture, he most probably would never have resorted to force against his people and the law, or would have quickly laid down his arms; his office, as well as his life, might have been preserved, and the privileges of the people vindicated. But when we consider that he imagined he had everything to gain and nothing to lose, we need be the less surprised

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at his pertinacious adherence to principles destructive of the civil rights of the community.

Though the parliament did not yet choose to act directly against the king himself, it ordered operations against his servants. Goring, who, as we have seen, had long agreed to betray his trust, and had, as governor of Portsmouth, declared for the king, was obliged to yield the place to the parliament.* The Marquis of Hertford, in whom that assembly had latterly reposed trust, had likewise endeavoured to promote the service of the monarch in the county of Somerset, where his influence was great; but he was forced to fly before the parliamentary army.†

To raise an army, Charles tried the array; but commissioners, or lieutenants and their deputies appointed by the parliament, invariably opposed it; and as the middling and lower classes, who had no immediate dependence on the great aristocracy, were generally inclined towards the parliament, it was in most instances unsuccessful. The king, on his part, denounced Essex, whom the parliament had appointed general, and his followers traitors. The parliament, on its part, retorted the charge upon the advisers and followers of the monarch.‡

Perceiving the smallness of the royal forces, and even dreading the success of Charles in this unnatural struggle, when they saw that the Catholic party would then bear the sway, the nobility who attended him advised accommodation; but nothing could be more remote from the royal designs. Besides that he had promised solemnly to his consort, which ‘shut out all opposite consultations,’

* Mr. Hume, in relating this affair, says, ‘This man (Goring) seemed to have rendered himself an implacable enemy to the king, *by betraying, probably magnifying, the cabals of the army,*’ &c. Now, Goring directly implicated the king and queen; and the historian scoffs at the idea of their guilt, while he denounces the parliament for accusing them; yet now, all that Goring

is charged with by the same author, is betraying, probably magnifying, the cabals of the army! (Rush. vol. iv. p. 683; Whitelocke, p. 60, 62; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 147; *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 176 *et seq.*, 195–224 *et seq.*)

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 196 *et seq.*, 225 *et seq.*

‡ Rush. vol. iv. p. 655 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 61; May, lib. ii. c. 6.

not to enter into such measures, he persisted, both because he thought he had nothing to lose, and because by assistance from abroad, as well as from his two other kingdoms, the sister isle particularly, and by taking arms from the trained bands, to arm soldiers, together with seizing stores provided for Ireland, he might soon be in a situation to cope with and master his adversaries. He therefore suddenly broke up the council, to quash such proceedings. But when the matter was more earnestly renewed, he agreed to send a messenger with propositions, which he was determined should be unproductive of any pacific result. The message was carried by the Earl of Southampton to the Lords, and Sir John Colepepper and Sir William Uvedale to the Commons. The first presumptuously offered to take his seat, but was instantly ordered, as a traitor to the commonwealth, to withdraw, and also to quit the town. The two latter, having acted with more discretion towards the Lower House, were treated with greater civility. The parliament declared, in their answer, that, till the king recalled his proclamation of treason against Essex and others, and took down his standard, they could not treat. Charles replied, that he never intended to declare the parliament traitors, nor to set up his standard against it; and that, if their proclamation of treason were recalled, he would likewise recall his. The two Houses then desired him to put away his evil councillors, and return to his parliament; voting that the arms of the parliament, for the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, should not be abandoned till delinquents were brought to justice, and their estates rendered liable for the debts of the commonwealth—debts which their wickedness had been the cause of incurring. A petition of similar import was presented at the same time.*

* Whitelocke, p. 62 *et seq.*; *Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 667; *Clar. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 203 *et seq.* and Appendix F;

Rush, vol. iv. p. 786 *et seq.*; vol. v. p. 16 *et seq.*; Husband's *Col.* p. 581 *et seq.*

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After this fruitless attempt at accommodation, the two Houses justified their own conduct, and exposed that of their adversary, by declaration to the kingdom. They state that the justness of those fears and jealousies which had been so often expressed by them, relative to the king's intention to make war upon the parliament and people of England, were now fully and indisputably established, while it was also apparent that the oaths, protestations, and execrations, published in his name, in which that intention had been disavowed, were merely the devices of wicked councillors, to gain time for the accomplishment of their designs; that it was now evident that the war involved the Protestant religion itself as well as the laws, for that enormities were committed by the king's soldiers against the Protestant party, who were denominated Roundheads, as they had formerly been Puritans by the clergy; that arms had been taken from honest gentlemen, yeomen, and tradesmen, which had been called borrowing them, and put into the hands of desperadoes, who could only subsist by rapine; that, in the face of those vows and protestations to govern according to law which had been circulated throughout the kingdom to mislead the people, the most mischievous principles of tyranny ever invented were openly practised—the scheme being nothing else than to disarm the middle classes of society, and maintain a mercenary army by forced contributions, as well as to erect a provincial government in the North.*

Charles briskly carried on his levies; and though he was disappointed in a supply of arms dispatched from Holland by the queen, by the vessel which contained them being intercepted by the Earl of Warwick, he soon obtained arms by taking them from the trained bands, and ransacking the armouries of noblemen. Men of highest quality in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, supplied him

* Husband's *Col.*

with plate and money. He soon, therefore, established a mint, and issued out coin. The waggons and carriage-horses prepared for Ireland were seized by his orders at Chester as they were ready for embarkment. Before he was in a condition vigorously to take the field, he resolved to march to Shrewsbury, where he was assured of a strong party, and which was well situated, being defended by the Severn on one side, and on the other opening a secure passage into Wales, while it promised him Worcester and Chester. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a notable protestation at the head of his troops. After informing his soldiers that, on the other side, 'they should meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, anabaptists, and *atheists*, such who desired to destroy both church and state, and who had already condemned them to ruin for being loyal to him,' he, in the most solemn manner, uttered a protestation in these words:—'I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for His blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion established in the church of England, and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die. I desire to govern by the known laws of the land, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just rights. And, if it please God, by His blessing upon His army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to the utmost of my power; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament. In the meanwhile, if this time of war, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and men to the authors of this war, not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of

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this kingdom. When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from heaven. But, in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing.*

Whoever has seriously attended to the preceding narrative, fortified as it is with the authority of Clarendon, who not only inadvertently develops the king's early determination to resort to arms against the parliament, but informs us that he passed bills, because he conceived he had, from the manner of their passage through the Houses, a pretext for disregarding them as null—will be able to form some idea of the character of a prince that could thus appeal to heaven, and invoke the divine vengeance against himself, if he did not utter the truth, or adhere to what he vowed, when he was conscious, not only of having already belied all such professions, but of entertaining at the instant purposes fraught with the direct destruction of the principles he proclaimed. Many, however, were deluded both with the substance of this protestation and the solemnity with which it was pronounced, and the levies went on with additional briskness. But though people at a distance, and such as from their situation were incapable of penetrating through this specious disguise, were deceived, the nobility around were not to be imposed upon. They well perceived that the Papistical party would reap the benefit of success, and themselves, who had contributed to it, be exposed to the vengeance of the monarch and that body, because they stubbornly refused to second all his pernicious views. Yet Charles solemnly denied that, except in a few particular individuals, he employed or countenanced Catholics, and absurdly retorted the charge upon his adversaries, as if they either could, or durst, attempt such a project.†

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 220 *et seq.*
This writer declares the sin of a minister, or clergyman, turning rebel

against his prince, the sin against the Holy Ghost.

† See his insincere and pertina-

In a short time, Charles found himself at the head of 10,000 foot, 1500 dragoons, and 2000 ordinary horse. His army was likewise on the increase; and a trifling advantage gained near Worcester by Prince Rupert elated the army, as well as the king, with the idea that they should be able to march to London without opposition. Rupert had surprised some of the parliamentary troops in a defile, and killed about thirty of them; and this trifling skirmish being magnified into a vast adventure, as auguring future success, overcame the fear inspired by the ominous fall of the standard at Nottingham, and uplifted them with the notion that the name of Rupert was from that moment terrible to their adversaries.*

To raise money, the parliament issued orders for loans, by contributing plate, money, &c. Nor did the citizens of London alone testify their zeal in the success. The females exemplified theirs by bringing their very trinkets into the common stock. The supreme council also by

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cious denials on this head in his declarations, &c. In his instructions for the commission of array, issued on August 29, 1642, he commands the disarming of all Popish recusants, &c. (Husb. *Col.* 1643, p. 582). In his declaration of October 23, 1643, he accuses the parliament of being so inclined to favour the Papists, that they proposed to repeal all the penal laws, would the Romanists join them. 'Yet,' says he, 'neither the weakness of our condition, nor the other arts used against us, could prevail with us to invite those of that religion to come to our succour, or recall our proclamation which forbade them to do so.' He admits that he had employed a few whose eminent abilities, command, and conduct, and moderate dispositions hath moved us in this great necessity to employ them in this service; but charges the parliament with indifferently employing men of all religions, and having a greater number of Papists in their service than he (*Ibid.*

pp. 647-48). Yet, so early as September 23, 1642, he thus writes to the Earl of Newcastle:—'Newcastle!—This is to tell you that this rebellion is growin' to that height that I must not looke what opinion men ar who at this tyme ar willing and able to serve me. Therefore I doe not only permit, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their contienses (more than their loyalty to me) as you shall fynde most to conduce to the upholding of my just regal power. So I rest,' &c. (Ellis's *Col.* vol. iii. p. 291). I had in my first edition, long anterior to Mr. Ellis's publication, given this document from *Ayssc. MSS.* 4161, No. of vol. 69, Brit. Mus. I have of course particularly seen the original since.

* *Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 667; Husband's *Col.*; Clar. vol. iii. pp. 188 *et seq.*, n. 233 *et seq.*, 251 *et seq.*, n. 253 *et seq.*, 25 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. v. pp. 23, 24.

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ordinance appropriated the duties of tonnage and poundage,* in spite of the royal endeavours to obtain them. Another step has been differently viewed. We have seen how Charles afforded an invincible proof of his feelings in regard to Ireland, and of the wisdom of parliament in not trusting him, by seizing for his own use, against the people of England, the military stores, &c., provided for that devoted country. The Houses, by having taken in loan 100,000*l.* out of 400,000*l.* which had been voted for the relief of that country,† provoked the bitterest invectives from the royalist party, as, in the prosecution of their own ambitious schemes, having acted not only with indifference, but with the grossest injustice, towards that unhappy island; nor have certain historians hesitated to condemn the act as at least equally indefensible with the conduct of the king in seizing upon the horses, waggons, and other things which had been provided for that service. But the idea proceeds upon the erroneous assumption, that this was merely a struggle for power between Charles Stuart and a set of men called the parliament; whereas both could not justly be regarded in any other light than as trustees for the public. If the parliament betrayed its trust, the king was certainly called upon as a joint trustee to interpose for the public good; and if this could be established to have been the part he performed, his seizure of the horses, &c. provided for Ireland must be pronounced laudable, since surely the people of England could never intend to serve the sister isle at the expense of their own ruin. But if, on the other hand, the parliament in this struggle discharged its duty to its constituents in defeating the designs of the sovereign to overturn their laws and liberties, then it cannot be considered as distinct from the community which it represented; and as the nation's first object must have been the preservation of the general rights and safety, against a prince who availed

* Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 1479; Husband's *Col.*

† Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 1443 *et seq.*

himself of the limited authority entrusted to him, to subvert all that he was appointed to defend, parliament was imperiously called upon, as trustee for the public, to employ the people's own money in the people's own defence.*

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The Earl of Essex, who had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and was deemed fitted by experience for the office of general, as well as calculated to grace the cause by his character and rank in the peerage, was appointed to the command of the parliamentary army. Having obtained his instructions, he set himself at the head of the military, which amounted to about 15,000. Hampden, Hollis, and other leading men, entered into the service as colonels. The general's instructions were, that he should, before proceeding to fight, present a petition to the king, praying him to dissolve his army, and return to his parliament; and assuring him that, if he complied with the requisition, all the forces but those which might be necessary to secure his return should be disbanded: but that if his majesty refused accommodation, then the general should fight his army, and rescue him and his sons from his malignant advisers, and that he should proclaim a pardon to all who should withdraw from the king—with the exception of Richmond, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, Caernarvon, Newark, Falkland, Nichols, Porter, and Hyde.†

When Essex sent a message to Charles about the delivery of the petition, he was apprised that, if it were delivered by any who stood accused by his majesty of high treason, it should be instantly rejected; and the answer put an end to all negotiation. The king marched towards London, intending to reduce some places in his

* Rush. vol. iv. p. 743; vol. v. pp. 13, 14; Whitelocke, p. 61; May, lib. ii. pp. 65, 66; *Parliamentary Histories*. Oliver Cromwell performed a notable service by preventing the University of Oxford from

sending their plate to the king (Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 1453; May, lib. iii. p. 74).

† Whitelocke, p. 62 *et seq.*; May, lib. ii. ch. 5, lib. iii. p. 5 *et seq.*

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way, and Essex followed him : but, so imperfect was the military art, that both parties continued their march for ten days within twenty miles of each other, without intelligence of each other's motions.

It was at midnight, on the 22nd of October, that Charles, while he intended to besiege Banbury Castle, was surprised by notice that Essex was in the neighbourhood. Upon this intelligence, he changed his motions, and resolved upon an immediate battle. His troops had been harassed by long marches, and some advised him to defer the engagement for another day, that the army might be refreshed ; but as the royal party, particularly the foot, had lived at free quarters wherever they went, and the country was on this account, as well as from principle, hostile to them, it was unsafe to spend time there.* There was still a stronger reason for hazarding an engagement instantly,—that a great portion of the parliamentary army, with the baggage, was about a day's march behind the main body, and the latter might be vanquished before the rest arrived. Besides, it was expected that many of the parliamentary officers would desert to the king.† It is not easy to ascertain the exact amount of the royal army : according to some accounts it was 18,000 strong, and it undoubtedly was about 12,000. But though the Royalists prudently declined to specify their number, yet, to magnify the victory which they as well as the other party pretended to have gained, they declared themselves inferior to their adversaries. The army under Essex scarcely exceeded 10,000. The battle was fought on Edgehill, on the borders of Warwickshire, and the neighbourhood of Keinton ; and the royal army occupied the height. The greater part of the king's horse, under the command of Rupert, was placed on the right wing, and it had the advantage of

Battle of
Edgehill.

* *Sidney Papers*, p. 668, about the foot living at free quarters. Clarendon is, as usual, disingenuous (see

Hist. vol. iii. p. 272 *et seq.* and Appendix I ; May, lib. ii. p. 3).

† *Clar. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 269.

the wind as well as the eminence. The chief of the parliament's horse was also stationed on the right, under the command of Sir William Balfour, Sir Philip Stapleton, Lord Fielding, and Colonel Hurry. The left wing was commanded by a Scotsman, Commissary-General Ramsay. The wing opposed to Rupert was thus inferior, and in consequence of the wind it was too much extended. This, with a very adverse circumstance, had nearly proved fatal to the whole army. Sir Faithful Fortescue, an Irishman, who had lately been engaged to serve against the insurgents of his native country, had entered into the parliament's army, and having determined to desert to the king on the first opportunity, now availed himself of his station in front of the left wing to perpetrate his treacherous purpose. At the very outset he ordered his men, whom he had previously corrupted, to fire their pistols on the ground, and join the opposite side. The whole troop went over on the first brush, though seventeen of them suffered the just reward of their treachery, in being afterwards, from their uniform, killed through mistake by the Royalists. So unexpected a desertion not only weakened the left wing, which was not sufficiently strong at the first, but threw a weight into the opposite scale, while it spread all around distrust of each other's intentions. Rupert, in the meantime, drove furiously on, and put the horse to flight: the foot opening to receive their own body, were thrown into confusion, and the rout of that wing became universal. Had Rupert known how to use his success, the circumstance might have proved fatal; but his rashness, together with a bad arrangement in the command, saved his enemies. As so nearly allied to the king, he had insisted on receiving no orders but from his majesty himself, though the command of the army had been devolved upon the Earl of Lindsay; and thus the commander-in-chief had no control over the best part of the troops, while jealousies and heart-burnings were immediately engendered. In this way Rupert

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was left to his own rashness; and instead of wheeling about upon another part of the enemy's line, while he sent a small body to prevent the horse from rallying, he needlessly pursued them with his whole body for nearly three miles, and allowed the men to plunder, thus leaving the king's main force destitute of such a considerable portion of cavalry, and affording even the parliament's foot of that wing time to rally, which, under Hollis, they soon accomplished. In the meantime, the conflict on the king's right wing had been attended with a very different result. His horse was routed; and as Essex had thrown his greatest strength of foot into the centre, he seized the critical moment of a general attack in front, while Balfour with the cavalry opposed the royal forces in rear. Thus beset, the king's army gave way in spite of all the exertions of Lindsay, who performed the part of a good general; and Charles soon found himself in extremities. Rupert, on his return from an unnecessary pursuit, beheld every prospect of a defeat instead of a victory, and he could not again bring up his exhausted troops to the engagement. Lindsay, covered with wounds, fell into the enemy's hands, and died that evening; while many others of distinction were either slain or taken, and had not night interposed, the whole royal army must have been routed. The battle began at two in the afternoon, and the shortness of the day at that season proved the safety of the king's army. Even his standard had been taken, and his standard-bearer slain; but by an odd adventure it was recovered. Essex, to whom it had been brought, committed it to the custody of his secretary, and two Royalists, having assumed the uniform of their enemies, went to the secretary, and pretending that it was unfit for a gownman to carry a standard, obtained the custody of it, with which they galloped off to their own body. One of them was knighted for his gallantry.*

* Rush. vol. v. p. 33 *et seq.*; Clar. *IIIst.* vol. iii. p. 273 *et seq.* and Appen- dix I. Clarendon tells us a mighty fine story about Sir Wm. Le Neve, Cla-

On the following morning, Hampden, with three or four thousand fresh troops, joined Essex, and strenuously advised to follow up the present advantage. Had his advice been taken, success, in all probability, would have been inevitable; but Essex, if he really desired to see such a termination to hostilities, was no less cautious as a general, than unquestionably brave in his own person; and reposing confidence only in men accustomed to war, consulted with Colonel Dalbier and other old soldiers, who, as their routine discipline did not admit of such ardent motions, confirmed the opinion of the general to decline any further engagement.* Nay, he was satisfied to retreat towards Coventry, leaving the king in a measure master of the field; and Charles now uninterruptedly pursued his original intention of investing Banbury Castle, which surrendered without resistance, though garrisoned with 1000 men.† Both parties claimed the victory in the battle of Edgehill, and publicly gave thanks for it to God. There fell on both sides from 5000 to 6000 men; and it was remarked as singular, that, on the same day of the month in the preceding year, the Irish insurrection broke out.‡ Some runaways on the parliament's side, who had seen everything through the medium of their own cowardly fears, reported a complete rout, and the intelligence spread consternation through the metropolis, while it emboldened the king's secret friends, and even effected a change upon the language of many who had been previously inclined towards the liberal side. But the truth soon relieved the fears of the well-disposed, and quieted their secret enemies, while it confirmed the wavering.

Essex marched to Coventry, leaving the king to pursue

rencieux king-at-arms, having been, contrary to the law of nations, prevented from entering the parliamentary army with his eyes open, and reading to the soldiers a proclamation from the king, requiring them in

duty to desist from the war (*Ibid.*; Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 9 *et seq.*; May, lib. iii. p. 15 *et seq.*).

* Whitelocke, p. 64.

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 296 *et seq.*

‡ May, lib. iii. p. 24.

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his own course towards Oxford; and as Prince Rupert began to make incursions with his horse upon the neighbourhood of London, the parliament called up their own forces as a guard. The general was honourably received at Westminster. The parliament voted him 5000*l.*, and complimented him upon his acceptable service in the bloody battle of Edgehill. But it was necessary to recruit his army; and, to procure men the more readily, the parliament immediately ordained that all apprentices who entered the service should not forfeit their privileges in regard to their indentures, but that their sureties should be relieved, and the time of the young men spent in that army be counted as if they still continued in the employment of their masters. Many enlisted; and thus the army was recruited with active, intelligent young men, full of the adventurous spirit becoming soldiers.

The king also recruited his army; but he brought no credit to his cause by enlisting the Papists of Lancashire.*

Rupert ranged over the country with his horse, which committed unheard-of insolencies. Whitelocke informs us that his house was taken possession of by about 1000 horse, under Sir John Byron and his brother, and that these gentlemen were kind enough to order the soldiers to abstain from insolence and plunder; but that such was the state of discipline, that the loose soldiery committed every outrage. 'They consumed whatever they could find of meat or liquor; lighted their pipes with the choicest manuscripts, and even the title-deeds of his estates; littered their horses with sheaves of wheat; broke down his fences; cut his beds, and let out the feathers, that they might carry off the ticking; and left no sort of linen or household stuff. They took his horses, and, in a word, committed all the mischief and spoil that malice could provoke barbarous enemies to

* Whitelocke, p. 64; Rush. vol. v. pp. 49, 59.

commit.”* The imprudence of tolerating such licentiousness was only equalled by the wickedness. It corrupted the army, and farther alienated the people.

It was the purpose of Charles to march to London; and as he approached he proclaimed a pardon upon submission. The parliament, anxious still to rescue the country from the horrors incident to civil war, voted an address for peace, and desired a safe-conduct for the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, Lord Wenman, Mr. Pierpoint (son of the Earl of Kingston), Sir John Evelyn, and Sir John Hippesley. But the king refused to grant a safe pass to Evelyn, on the ground of his having been already proclaimed a traitor; and the two Houses were so inflamed, that they voted this to be a refusal of the treaty; yet the more moderate ultimately succeeded in having the vote rescinded, and a commission granted exclusive of that gentleman. They petitioned the monarch to take up his residence in London till the terms were adjusted; and he appointed Windsor: but as all thoughts of a treaty were precluded by the promise to the queen, and his own headstrong preconceived resolutions, he only listened to accommodation that he might destroy his parliament in the moment of false security. The two Houses no sooner proposed a treaty, than they issued out orders to their troops for a cessation of hostilities, and now dispatched a messenger to determine upon a regular truce. But Charles, who, though the messenger for the treaty had not arrived, was aware of the pacific disposition of his adversaries, and had learned that their artillery was at Brentford without a sufficient guard, while the troops, confident of a mutual cessation, were quite unprepared, conceived that he had now a grand chance of making himself master of their artillery, and marching directly to the city. A thick fog favoured the enterprise. The royal army marched unseen, and

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Attack on
Brentford,
Nov. 12,
1642.

* Whitelocke, p. 65.

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reached Brentford before their approach was suspected. To deceive the parliament, he sent a messenger, a very little before him, to Westminster, to inform both Houses, that having understood Essex had drawn out his troops, he had deemed it necessary to advance to Brentford. Luckily for the parliament, there were stationed there two regiments of foot, the one commanded by Hampden, the other (which was first attacked) by Hollis, and a small one of horse. The foot, though so few in number, effectually opposed the march of the king's forces during the greater part of the afternoon, and saved the artillery. The noise of the firing spread the alarm, and other troops, which, most fortunately, were at the very time mustered in Chelsea fields, were brought to their assistance. Before their arrival, however, the small party were quite encompassed by the enemy; and when they understood that their services were no longer required to save the artillery, the city, and indeed the cause, they threw themselves into the river in hopes of reaching the opposite bank; but this proved fatal to many, and a considerable number were rescued from the water as the captives of their adversaries. In the meantime the king's soldiers committed the greatest rapine and violence upon the town.

Next morning the trained bands were called out of the city, and by the activity of Pennington, the lord mayor, and the officers of the militia, were brought into the field in spite of opposition. These troops marched with alacrity under Skippon,—the only old soldier who maintained his character during the war. His rhetoric on the occasion, though homely, is said to have been persuasive with the men:—‘Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you: remember the cause is for God and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children:—Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us.’

About 3000 of the parliament's army were quartered at Kingston, and Essex was advised by the new adventurous officers to order them to Hounslow, that they might take the king in rear, while he advanced with the main body in front; and had the plan been adopted, it would most likely have been crowned with success. But Dalbier, Sir John Merick, and other old soldiers, recommended an opposite course—that of marching them round by London Bridge to join the main body; and as their advice was followed, the troops were exhausted with fatigue when they should have been ready for action.

The whole parliamentary army were drawn out on Turnham Green, about a mile from Brentford, and consisted of 24,000 men, as stout, gallant, well-habited, and armed, says Whitelocke, as ever were to be seen in any army, and apparently in the highest spirits for battle. It was now resolved on to divide the army, and send one detachment by Acton Hill to attack the king's forces in rear, while Essex with the main body assailed them in front; and Hampden, ever ready for a hazardous enterprise, was one of those appointed to march by Acton Hill; but the detachment, after it had proceeded about a mile, and the scheme was ripe for execution, received a countermand. A consultation was then held, whether the army should advance; and most of the parliament men and gentlemen, who were officers, were decidedly for immediate action: but the old soldiers of fortune opposed it, and Essex embraced their opinion, by which Charles was allowed to draw off even his baggage and ordnance. When the troops had been regaled with good cheer from the city, another consultation was held as to the propriety of pursuing the enemy; and again the advice of the old soldiers prevailed against the general opinion, which was strenuously urged. The reasons assigned by the old soldiers were such as might have been expected from their habits: that it was hazardous

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to pursue the enemy, and that the army had already reaped honour enough in having frustrated the royal project, and obliged the king to retreat. It was afterwards confessed by some of the royalist party, that as their bullets were nearly exhausted—the real cause of their retreat—they could not have maintained the contest for a quarter of an hour. Charles returned to Oxford, where he was assured of the support of the university, though the townsmen were less friendly inclined.*

The proceeding at Brentford excited the utmost abhorrence in the metropolis. It was declaimed against as full of perfidy during a treaty; and the inhabitants trembled at the recollection of the danger they had escaped, as they understood that the city would have been given up to plunder—an idea confirmed by what occurred at Brentford, and which is faintly denied by Clarendon, who admits that it would have been impossible to restrain the troops. Charles made a twofold defence of himself: 1st, that there was no actual cessation of hostilities; 2ndly, that he did not mean to enter the city. As these grounds are irreconcilable, he ought to have confined himself to the first, though it would have proceeded with a better grace from a general engaged in hostilities between contending nations, than from a king who had drawn the sword against his own people, to whom, as a father, he professed a desire of reconciliation; and it should not be forgotten that he had virtually acknowledged the understanding as to a cessation by the perfidious message which he sent to the parliament, apologising for his advance. But the second ground, which destroys the first, though accompanied with appeals to heaven for his sincerity, was calculated to sink his own character, not to gain belief. His grand object

* Husb. *Col.* p. 733 *et seq.*; White-
locke, pp. 65, 66; Rush. vol. v. p. 56
et seq.; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 327 *et seq.*;

MSS. Brit. Mus., Ayscough, 4162;
Letter to Lord Fairfax from the Com-
mittee of Safety, November 15.

had always been (if we can excuse his recourse to arms at all, we must allow that it was a wise one) to obtain possession of the capital; and if there were no understanding of a cessation, it is impossible to conceive a motive for his stopping short almost at the gates.*

The hope of accommodation now was more remote than ever. Twice, even after Essex had been furnished with full instructions, had the royal army been in the power of the parliament's; but the opportunities had been lost; and, as the contributions which had been calculated as sufficient to bring the war to a conclusion were expended, it became necessary to raise money by general assessments. These were accordingly imposed by ordinance, and, as was to have been anticipated, the proceeding, which threatened the ruin of the opposite party, was denounced with every odious epithet as downright plunder. The Royalist—or, as it was denominated by the parliament, the Malignant—party, too, hoped to have been liberated from contribution. New taxes upon a people that had already borne so much, were not expected to be popular, and the king supposed that they would alienate the public affections from his adversaries; but, to his disappointment, the city, the grand source of wealth, continued staunch to the parliament, and declared against a treaty, while the people in general deeply resented the irregularities and rapines of his troops. Another ordinance was passed for fitting out ships to intercept foreign supplies to the king.† In the Upper House, subscriptions were entered into for supporting the army, and the example was recommended to the Commons.‡

At every step the two Houses proposed accommoda-

* See Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 320 *n.*, 330 *et seq.*; and Husb. *Col.* The paper was the production of Falkland. This declaration and the answer to the nineteen propositions were the only two drawn by Hyde; Clar. iii.

p. 320 *n.*

† Rush. vol. v. pp. 84, 85.

‡ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 14 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. v. p. 71 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 59 *et seq.*, 334–369 *et seq.*

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tion; and another petition was now presented to the king, praying him to desert his army and to return to them: but the proposal was rejected with disdain. Charles had indeed cause to be more elated than ever. He expected officers, ammunition, and money from Holland, and the assistance of troops and money from Denmark. Letters to this effect were intercepted, and, in the face of those numerous appeals to heaven with which the truth was denied, confirmed the parliament's information on that subject.* In the North the Earl of Newcastle had raised considerable forces for the king, having for their support levied contributions at pleasure, and had likewise associated the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham for the royal cause. Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, whose estate lay in Yorkshire, and who, as we have seen, had great influence in the North, was appointed by Essex general of that district, but he with difficulty kept his ground against the earl. Goring having landed with the queen's standard, and a great number of officers, together with a large stock of ammunition, had joined the Earl of Newcastle, who carried the town of which he bore the title, while the king looked for the most overwhelming aid from both Ireland and Scotland.†

In the meantime, the opposite party was not idle. Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, and Ely, were associated for the parliament, by Lord Grey of Wark, Derby and other counties by Lord Say; and the plan, once fairly begun on both sides, went on rapidly. Wherever the property of the counties chiefly belonged to a few of the great aristocracy who joined the king, the Royalists were successful. In most, where the land was more divided, the parliament interest prevailed; and in the towns it experienced small opposition. It is remarkable that it was chiefly in the North and in Wales

* Rush. vol. v. p. 65-69.

† Whitelocke, p. 66; Clar. *Hist.*

vol. iii. pp. 102-119 *et seq.*, 186 *et seq.*, 442 *et seq.*

that the royalist associations were formed, and that in these quarters the Catholic religion was prevalent. In military operations, too, the parliament had considerable success: Winchester and Chichester were carried by its army; and 600 of the king's troops were routed at Malton in the North. Sir Thomas Fairfax too, the son of Lord Fairfax, began to show his talents for war, and commenced his brilliant career. Leeds was carried by him, when 500 prisoners fell into his hands; Wakefield and Doncaster also surrendered to him.*

Still there was an ardent desire for peace. The city petitioned his majesty on the subject, professing their loyalty, and their grief for his mistrust of them. But peace was far from his thoughts. Independently of other resources, he calculated on great aid from the Irish insurgents, with whom he never ceased to intrigue. The answer had a very opposite effect from what was anticipated. He told them that he entertained a good opinion of many of them, and attributed their misconduct to a few desperate characters who, though without title to respect either from wealth or virtue, yet to the disgrace of the city, governed against the will of the majority; and that he could willingly grant a pardon to all except Pennington, the pretended lord mayor, Venn, Foulke, and Manwaring. He concluded with a threat against all who continued to assist his adversaries, either by paying taxes or otherwise. When this answer was returned, a committee of parliament attended the common council, and Pym harangued that body on the monstrous sacrifice—of their chief magistrate and other respectable citizens—which was demanded of them; declaring in the name of the parliament a readiness to live and die with the city. The address was received with unmingled acclamations of applause.†

* Whitelocke, p. 66; Rush. vol. v. p. 66 *et seq.*; May, lib. ii. c. 6.

Whitelocke, p. 66; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 386 *et seq.*

† Rush. vol. v. p. 110 *et seq.*

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About this time Charles tried to reduce the kingdom by another device. He ordered the courts of justice to be adjourned from Westminster to Oxford, by which he hoped to place the general property at his discretion, as his judges could there, by the influence of himself and his army, have arraigned and condemned, or outlawed whom he pleased: but the attempt was resolutely opposed.*

Negotiation at Oxford.

In spite of former miscarriages, the two Houses made another and a great effort for reconciliation; and a safe-conduct was, on the 28th of January, granted by the king for the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, and Lords Winman and Dungarvon, Sir John Holland, Sir William Litton, Pierpoint, Whitelocke, Edmund Waller the poet, and Winwood. On their arrival at Oxford, Waller was treated with extraordinary respect, Charles having told him that, though last, he was not least in his favour. But the cause of this was soon afterwards discovered: Waller was at the time engaged in a conspiracy to betray the city.† The propositions from the two Houses were that the king should disband his army, return to his parliament, leave delinquents to trial, and allow Papists to be disarmed; pass a bill for the abolition of episcopacy, with other bills for the reformation of religion, &c.; remove malignant councillors; settle the militia according to the former desire of the parliament, and fill up the offices with the individuals whom they had recommended; pass a bill to clear Lord Kimbolton and the five members of the Commons; enter into an alliance with the palatinate; grant a general pardon, with the exception of the Earl of Newcastle, Lord Digby, and some others; and restore to their offices members of parliament who had been displaced, as well as indemnify their losses. The king, on the other hand, proposed that his revenue,

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 141 *et seq.*; *Cob. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 65-6;

Clar. Hist. vol. iii. p. 535 *et seq.*

† Whitelocke, p. 67.

magazine, towns, ships, and forts, should be restored; whatever had been done contrary to his right recalled, and the illegal powers arrogated by the parliament disclaimed; that, though he would readily execute all laws concerning Popery, a bill should be passed for preserving the Book of Common Prayer against sectaries; that all persons excepted out of the general pardon should be tried by their peers; and that, in the meantime, as was prayed for by the parliament, there should be a cessation of hostilities. Such were the propositions on both sides.*

As the respective terms proposed were so discordant, it is not wonderful that for a time nothing further should have been done towards a treaty. In the interval, hostilities continued, and the king's affairs began to wear a promising aspect; for though a cessation was asked by the parliament, and seemingly wished by him, he slyly encouraged an address against it, lest he should be forced into what he was resolved against—peace, that imported anything short of unconditional submission in his people.† Prince Rupert, with 4000 horse and foot, had marched by Cirencester, where the magazine of the county lay, put the Earl of Stamford's regiment and other troops to the sword, taking 1100 prisoners and 3000 stand of arms. The honour that would have redounded to him by this victory was lost by the cruelty with which he stained it. The prisoners were stripped almost naked in that inclement season, tied together with cords, beaten, and driven along like dogs. 'When they arrived at Oxford,' says Whitelocke, who was present, 'the king and Lords looked on them, and too many smiled at their misery.' One individual instance is dwelt on by that author: A genteel, handsome young man, the whiteness of whose skin is remarked by so grave a writer as

* Whitelocke, p. 67; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 147 *et seq.*; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 68 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 402 *et seq.*

† Clarendon reveals all this in his life, which is in this instance at direct variance with his history (*Life*, vol. i. p. 175 *et seq.*).

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Whitelocke, covered with wounds, was placed almost naked upon the bare back of a horse; but, though the blood streamed in every direction down his body, he sat erect with an undaunted mien. As he approached the king, a female exclaimed, 'Ah, you traitorous rogue, you are well enough served.' The young man having exerted himself to bestow the opprobrious epithet which she probably merited, instantly expired. 'The beginning of such cruelty by Englishmen to their countrymen was afterwards too much followed.* In addition to this good fortune on the royal side, the queen on the 10th of March, landed at Burlington Bay with many officers, as well as a great quantity of military stores, &c., and soon collected troops. To the Prince of Orange Charles had been greatly indebted for men and money; and the parliament had dispatched an ambassador to the States, to remind them of their obligations to England in their grand struggle for independence, and to protest against assistance to their monarch against his people; but it was some time (and the interval was well employed on the other side) before the ambassador obtained an audience; and though he then received an assurance from the States, who proffered their mediation between the contending parties, that no further aid should be given, the promise was, through the influence of the Prince of Orange, very ill regarded.†

* Whitelocke, p. 67.

† Warwick, p. 237; Rush. vol. v. p. 157 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 354 *et seq.*, 444 *et seq.*, 483 *et seq.*; see Appendix A. to vol. xviii. p. 601; Clar. *Life*, vol. i. p. 185 *et seq.*, to Batten, p. 187 *n.* This noble author here tells us of the dexterous service performed by the queen, in providing 'great quantities of arms and ammunition, with some considerable sums of money, and good store of officers;' yet abuses Vice-Admiral Batten, who had been stationed to intercept foreign supplies, for having treasonably fired upon the house on the quay where she lodged, immediately after she had landed, as if he could

know where she lodged. He with equal rancour assails the parliament for not having disavowed the act; and he pretends that about a hundred shot were fired at the house. His statement does no credit to his candour. Batten discharged his duty in firing upon the four small vessels which contained the stores, in order to destroy them; and as some of the balls fell about the house she lodged at, she was obliged to move. Had he levelled the fifth part of a hundred at the house, he must have battered it down. But could this be called treason? Was she not avowedly in arms against the people and laws of England?

We learn from Clarendon, the very apologist of Charles, that, though the monarch entered into the negotiation with all the semblance of a fervent desire to put a period to the public calamities, he was firmly resolved against peace. But he promised himself many advantages from the treaty, which he flattered himself that he should find a pretext for breaking off at pleasure: it satisfied the ceaseless importunities of his followers for accommodation, and convinced the people of his fatherly wish to restore harmony, while it afforded him an opportunity to endeavour to corrupt the parliamentary commissioners, as well as others from the metropolis, and thus inspired the hope of attaining by treason what he might never accomplish by the sword. Alarmed, as we have said, lest any suspension of hostilities should so far tend to reconciliation, that his real designs might no longer elude the vigilance of his supporters, he secretly encouraged an address from the gentlemen of several counties against the truce which was proposed by the other side—that, by military operations, the passions of his party should be more inflamed.* The two Houses, with that cautious prudence which became a great legislative assembly, had strictly limited the powers of their commissioners by written articles, and the king, who expected to gain more upon the individuals than upon the body by which they were deputed, remarked, ‘that he was sorry that they had no more trust reposed to them; and that the parliament might as well have sent their demands to him by the common carrier, as by commissioners so restrained.’† Yet he and his advisers, with that narrow, crooked policy, which always characterised them, imagined that, by debauching the chief commissioners, they might obtain the command of the parliament; and, if we may credit Clarendon, whose

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Policy of
Charles.

* *Clar. Life*, vol. i. pp. 163 *et seq.* n., 186 *et seq.* The noble author's statement here is contradicted by what precedes it, see p. 177. Take also what

he says in his *History*. The whole affords an apt illustration of his veracity as an historian.

† *Ibid.* p. 175 *et seq.*

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veracity, however, is not to be relied on, Northumberland, if not others, could have been gained at no great expense. But Charles conceived himself to be in a fair way to secure the full height of his ambition—the absolute command of the persons and property of his subjects. His army had of late obtained some success, and the queen had not only brought with her farther supplies from Holland, but had augmented Newcastle's army. Many officers from the Continent accompanied her, and, as fresh Catholics were daily enlisted, a great military force, independent of that general body of the aristocracy by which he was attended, promised to be at his devotion, and enable him to shake off the control of a class that, while it supported him, crippled all his most unconstitutional motions. Edmund Waller and others had engaged in a wide-spread and artful conspiracy for betraying the city to the royal army; Montrose flattered the monarch's hopes, by mighty assurances of aid from Scotland; and, while Ormond prepared to conclude a cessation with the Irish rebels, that the army employed against them might be transferred into the king's service in England, deputies from the insurgents appeared at Oxford, and proffered great assistance from the body they represented. In addition to all this he expected aid from foreign states.* When, with this, we reflect that Charles was perfectly persuaded that in war he had everything to gain and nothing to lose, since in the worst event he might always procure terms equal to what were now proposed, we shall not be surprised at the aversion to peace entertained by a prince so thoroughly possessed with a love of arbitrary power. But even this is not all. For he was bound by the strictest promise to the queen not only not to conclude a peace, but not even to gratify any individual with office

* Rush. vol. v. p. 350. Take this reference along with all other circumstances. With regard to the cessation, I shall give an account of it

by and bye, and support it, as I conceive, by irrefragable evidence of a very different description from Mr. Hume's.

or honours, without having first obtained her consent.* Had this promise afterwards appeared to him, as it ought to have done, rash, unreasonable, and wicked, it is very unlikely that he, who never hesitated at breaking the most solemn engagements to his people, should have allowed such a circumstance to frustrate an opportunity to promote his own interest, and restore public tranquillity. But as it corresponded with his own passions and sentiments, it was eagerly cherished as a cause for disregarding the advice of his attendants, and the admonitions of his own conscience. Clarendon alleges that if the king's request to prolong the treaty, which the parliament had limited to twenty days, had been granted, so that he could have consulted with the queen, he would have been relieved from his engagement to her, and might have consented to measures which would have probably effected an accommodation. But the queen was so far from being disposed towards peace, that she was at the moment projecting the most atrocious schemes against the British dominions. Clarendon himself informs us, that her majesty having 'landed about the time the treaty began, resolved, with a good quantity of ammunition and arms, to make what haste she could to the king; having at her first landing expressed, by a letter to his majesty, her apprehension of an ill peace by that treaty; and declared that she would never live in England if she might not have a guard for the security of her own person.' When, too, the noble historian proceeds to state the nature of the concessions which he asserts she would have allowed, and the monarch have made, we at once perceive that they never could have accomplished the object. The grand concession was to reappoint the Earl of Northumberland to his office of high-admiral, by a commission revocable at pleasure; † and for such a favour, though he had only lost his place by adhering to the popular side, we are to

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* *Clar. Life*, vol. i. p. 186 *et seq.* † *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 187 *et seq.*, 179 *et seq.*

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presume that this nobleman must have pledged himself to bring the parliament to the royal terms—not only to renounce the militia, but to remove itself from Westminster to Oxford, where it would have been completely within the royal power. But who can doubt that if the earl had been profligate enough to betray his principles for such a consideration, the result would just have been, that from that moment his influence in parliament would have ceased, and that affairs would have taken a still more decided turn, by the estrangement of an individual whose habits and station naturally induced him to desire a reconciliation between the king and his people? * What occurred when the plot to betray the city was detected, fully confirms this: others of the commissioners besides Waller were suspected, and their conduct was very eagerly inquired into. † But even the majority of the king's adherents would have abhorred such a sacrifice in the parliament; for though they now followed him and wished him limited success, they revolted from the idea which this involved, of surrendering the whole constitutional franchises.—The hope was that both parties, tired of war, would feel it to be their interest to compromise their differences in some manner not altogether incompatible with the rights of the people as well as of the crown.

Predetermined as Charles was against all accommodation, and meditating the most desperate designs, he yet conducted himself with such profound dissimulation as to deceive even Whitelocke into the belief that he desired peace himself, but unfortunately allowed himself to be overruled by people whose judgment was beneath his own. 'Of this,' says that author, 'we had experience to our great trouble. We were often waiting on the king, and debating some points of the treaty with him, till midnight, before we could come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most material points we pressed his majesty

* *Clar. Life*, p. 179 *et seq.*

* Whitelocke, pp. 70 125.

with our reasons and best arguments we could use to grant what we desired. The king said he was fully satisfied, and promised to give us his answer in writing, according to our desire; but because it was then past midnight, and too late to put it in writing, he would have it drawn up the next morning (when he commanded us to wait on him again), and then he would give us his answer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. We went to our lodgings full of joyful hopes to receive this answer the next morning, and which being given would have much conduced to a happy issue and success of this treaty, and we had the king's word for it, and we waited on him the next morning at the hour appointed; but instead of that answer which we expected and were promised, the king gave us a paper quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tending to the breach of the treaty. We did humbly expostulate this with his majesty, *and pressed him upon his royal word*, and the ill consequence which we feared would follow upon this new paper; but the king told us he had altered his mind, and that this paper which he now gave us was his answer which he was now resolved to make upon our last debate. And we could obtain no other from him, which occasioned much trouble and sadness to us. Some of our friends, of whom we inquired touching this passage, informed us that, after we were gone from the king, and that his council were also gone away, some of his bed-chamber (and they went higher), hearing from him what answer he had promised us, and doubting that it would tend to such an issue of the treaty as they did wish, they being rather for the continuance of the war, never left pressing and persuading of the king, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and to give order for his answer as it was delivered to us.* If we consider what Clarendon himself informs us, that Charles

* Whitelocke, p. 68.

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secretly directed that an address to himself 'by the gentlemen of several counties attending the court' should be got up against the peace, and that 'the promise to the queen shut out all opposite consultations,' we must allow that he had exquisite address in making it appear that he was always misled by pernicious advice when he only listened to men who recommended themselves by re-echoing his own sentiments, and advising what they clearly perceived to be perfectly agreeable to him, if not previously resolved upon.

The time limited for the treaty having expired without any prospect of accommodation, the parliament ordered their commissioners to break off the negotiation, and return with an account of their proceedings.*

Both parties had looked towards Scotland at the beginning of the troubles, each expecting to gain the alliance and assistance, or at least to preserve the neutrality of that kingdom. Charles had ineffectually attempted to gain Argyle and his party; but he had found the Hamiltons prepared to proceed to great extremities, in regard to engaging their country in his service; and in Montrose he met with the disposition which he had formerly experienced — an aptitude for any undertaking, however perfidious and bloody, or fraught with danger. Scottish commissioners from the conservators of the treaty of peace appeared at Oxford during the treaty with the parliament, and prayed, 1st, that the king would consent to a uniformity in religion, which they desired as much from policy as piety; for they knew that, as the late concessions to them were extorted from him, he would embrace the

* See an account of the treaty in Rush. vol. v. p. 164 *et seq.*; White-locke, p. 67-9; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 402 *et seq.*, 484 *et seq.*, 551 *et seq.*; vol. iv. p. 1 *et seq.*; *Life*, vol. i. p. 175 *et seq.*; May, lib. iii. p. 35 *et seq.*

How much Charles was previously resolved against concession appears by a letter to the Marquis Hamilton,

dated December 2, 1642, in which he says, 'I have set up my rest upon the justness of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will be either a glorious king or a patient martyr' (*Mems. of the Hamiltons*, p. 203).

Scottish
commiss-
ioners ap-
pear at
Oxford
during the
treaty.

first opportunity to re-establish episcopacy—a fact which is admitted by his advocates—and that their only chance, therefore, of preserving what they had got, was in interesting England in its preservation; 2nd, that he would authorise them to call a parliament. The first was indignantly rejected as an impertinent interference with the affairs of a foreign kingdom, though Charles had already solicited their assistance in the war; the last was refused on politic grounds, as he well foresaw that the two parliaments would soon come to an understanding against his arbitrary measures. The commissioners were therefore treated with contempt, and, as might have been expected from the mere retainers of a faction, so reviled by most of the Royalists, that they durst scarcely walk the streets, while they received hints from a friendly quarter to beware of assassination.*

In the meantime Hamilton and Montrose attend the queen, who eagerly listens to the most desperately wicked schemes. The first gave hopes of prevailing with his countrymen, in spite of the Argyle party, to declare for the king; the latter proposed a mode better adapted to the dark unprincipled impetuosity of his own character and the ears which he addressed—to raise a party suddenly and unexpectedly in Scotland, and with it massacre the chief Covenanters, when, having borne down all opposition there, they might bring the resources of that kingdom into the service of his majesty against England. Hamilton objected to this scheme for its impracticability, which he exposed on feasible grounds; but Montrose, having secured an ally who promised vast assistance from Ireland, succeeded in carrying his point; and a terrible scheme was devised. The ally alluded to was the Earl of Antrim; and the plot hatched with the queen, and fully approved of by her husband, was, that Antrim, who

* Baillie's *Letters, MS.*, vol. ii. iii. pp. 62 *et seq.*, 84 *et seq.*, 174 *et seq.*; p. 1383; Burnet's *Mems. of the Life*, vol. i. pp. 80, 148 *et seq.*
Hamiltons, p. 188 *et seq.*; Clar. vol.

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measured the integrity of other men by his own, should, by the highest offers, bribe Monro, the Scottish lieutenant-general in Ireland, by whom the troops were really commanded, to declare for the king, and transport his army to England (the army had been by late arrangements augmented to 10,000), while Antrim should raise a large body of the Catholics to invade Scotland; to act in concert with Montrose; that the M'Donalds in the Isles, and the Gordons in the North, who were relied upon, should be suddenly raised, and, under Montrose, sweep down upon the Covenanters before they even suspected danger, and thus having secured that kingdom, march in conjunction with the Irish to the South.

Though this terrible scheme was fully resolved upon, Charles continued to affect a desire to gain the Scots by the most magnificent promises, that each third place in the English council should be filled with a native of that kingdom, and that—an arrangement which he is alleged to have formerly proposed, while their army was in England, to engage it against the parliament—the northern counties should be ceded to Scotland. Ormond was, at the same time, urged to conclude a cessation with the rebels, that the army under him might be transported to the other side of the water, and a fresh army be raised from the insurgents.* When we reflect on this plot, it is impossible to suppress our indignation, and deny that it infinitely exceeded that which, in so far as guilt must be measured by intention, attached to Charles for authorising the original insurrection. He had then the same, if not stronger, motives than now for resorting to extremities, because he knew that the terms now demanded had then been fully determined on by the parliament, while he felt himself less able than he

* Burnet's *Mem. of the Yamiltons*, p. 212 *et seq.*; Wishart's *Life of Montrose*, p. 82 *et seq.*, Append. p. 422 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. i. p. 335 *et seq.*; Append. to Carte's *Ormonde*, p. 1 *et seq.*; Carte's *Let.* vol. i. p. 19; Burnet's *List.* vol. i. p. 74; Milton's *Prose Works*, vol. ii. p. 412.

had since become to contend with the torrent ; no one could have predicted the horrid atrocities that accompanied that rebellion ; and, as it could not be denied that the Catholic party had been much oppressed, we have some sympathy with the prince, who, as father of his people, listened to the prayers of six-sevenths of a nation. But, after such experience of their unexampled cruelty, to conceive the plan of introducing them into Britain, where, if successful, they must have been expected to act over again many of the dismal scenes that had been exhibited in the sister isle, bespeaks a disposition to which it is not easy to do justice. In considering a question of this nature, we are too apt to regard it as a case of war between hostile states, which are not accountable to each other for the instruments they employ ; but it is an unfair view of the matter, though it will be admitted that even in such a case there are certain rules observed. By the unanimous consent of civilised nations, the scalping-knife is abhorred, and quarter is given. Even in this light the king's conduct is indefensible ; but, when we reflect that he ought to have considered himself the father of his people, and have had no interest distinct from theirs ; that he had, in the most solemn manner, invoking God Almighty to witness his veracity, declared his only object to be the vindication of the laws against a faction which governed affairs contrary to the will of the majority even in parliament ; that he had with equal solemnity declared that he would never treat with the rebels, nor grant a toleration, while yet he was negotiating all the time, and that he depended solely upon the affection of his subjects in vindicating the rights of the crown, which involved their own, and never would call in foreign force, which he conceived would be fraught with the ruin of his dominions* — we cease to find an apology. If we only

* As Clarendon drew the papers in which the Almighty is so invoked, the following passage will afford a proof of his character. After men-

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suppose that an army of native Irish had entered London, the rebellious city, as it was called, and picture to ourselves all the rapines, burnings, murders, endless abominations that must have ensued from such a ferocious rabble, we shall then be qualified to form some idea of the proceeding. Nor let us flatter ourselves that such brutal soldiery could have been restrained; for the outrages committed by them in Scotland, which we shall have occasion to detail, are utterly revolting to humanity.

Character
of Mont-
rose.

From the part performed by Montrose in this business, it may not be improper here to give a sketch of his character. Active, cruel, daring, and unprincipled, he seemed formed by nature for civil broils. Chagrined at real or supposed neglect from the court, he joined the Covenanters with a bitterness of spirit which was mistaken for enthusiastic zeal. But vexed, on the one hand, at being eclipsed in the council by the abilities and influence of Argyle, and in the army by Leslie; and allured on the other by the prospect of high court favour, the want of which had first stung him with mortification and

tioning the inclinations of foreign kingdoms, and complaining that they endeavoured, instead of assisting princes against their people, to sow dissension in foreign states, 'as if the religion of princes were nothing but policy, and they consider nothing more than to make all other nations but their own miserable,' he continues thus, 'and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own jurisdiction, and before his own tribunal, that he means to try them too by other laws and rules than he hath published to the world, for his servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their strict observation of them.' This is good; but mark the sequel: 'and that, as their subjects are to be defended and protected by their princes, so they themselves are to be assisted

and supported by one another, the function of kings being an order by itself.' Then they are all alike, and consequently there are no limits upon this order; or at least none of which they themselves are not the exclusive judges. 'And as a contempt and breach of every law is, in the policy of state, an offence against the person of the king, because there is a kind of violation offered to his person in the transgression of that law without which he cannot govern'—excellent logic;—'so the rebellion of subjects against their prince ought to be looked upon by all other kings as an assault of their own sovereignty, and, in some degree, a design against monarchy itself, and consequently to be suppressed and extirpated, in whatsoever other kingdom it is with the like concernment, as if it were in their own bowels.' (Vol. iii. pp. 92-4; see Rush. vol. v. p. 69.)

revenge, he eagerly listened to tempting offers, and not only secretly renounced the principles for which he had contended, but betrayed the cause, and conspired by perjury against the lives and honour of the individuals with whom he had acted in concert ; and, on the failure of this project, offered to cut them off by assassination, nay, proposed to raise a faction suddenly in the hour of unsuspecting security, and perpetrate an indiscriminate slaughter upon all the leading men of the party. Detected in his wickedness, and utterly cast off by the whole body as bloated with iniquity, he allowed the tumultuous fury of wounded pride and disappointed ambition to assume the semblance of principle, and looked towards the ruin of the political franchises and the religion of his country, which he had so sworn to maintain, as to the necessary removal of standing reproaches of his apostasy and barriers to his aggrandisement. Hence there was no scheme so desperate that he hesitated to recommend, none so wicked that he declined to execute. His eulogists, liberally calling in the aid of fiction to their narrative of his exploits, have represented him as a prodigy of military talent ; yet, when we examine his feats through the medium of truth instead of romance, we discover neither the comprehension nor the cool judgment of a great general, who takes in a wide plan of operations. But his abilities were better suited to the measures he projected than higher genius. Misled by his passions, he allowed his presumptuous hopes to direct his understanding, and embarked in undertakings which a calculating head would have rejected ; but yet addressing himself to the wild barbarians of the hills, whose object was plunder, he roused them by intrepidity and decision, and thus seemed, on the sudden, to wield resources of which nobody anticipated his command. As, however, his troops were adapted to him, so was he to them ; and, though both were terrible in desultory warfare, neither could act in a higher sphere. His firm

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adherence to the royal cause after the detection of his conspiracies against the state has already been accounted for without redounding to his credit—an individual of intolerable pride and ambition, whose treachery has reduced him to the humiliating condition of an outcast from one party, has no alternative but to cling to another, which he has perfidiously attempted to serve; and the fortunes, the all, of Montrose, latterly depended upon the success of the royal side. It has been justly remarked, however, as a favourable trait in his character, that though he could not bear an equal, and was always ready to destroy an adversary, whether by heroism in the field or by the cowardly mode of assassination, he was still generous to those who testified their sense of his superiority.

We shall, in their place, return to the events which arose out of the detestable projects devised by him; and, in the meantime, resume our narrative.

The queen having erected her standard (on which and other grounds—as having caused disturbances in Scotland, incited the Irish rebellion, pawned the jewels and other property of the crown, she was impeached by the parliament of high treason),* gave great supplies to the Earl of Newcastle, with whom she acted in concert, though, as she preferred her own favourites, jealousy soon sprang up between them.† The king had solemnly denied that he retained Catholics in his army, and absurdly retorted the charge upon the adverse party; but, as great part of the earl's troops were of the Romish persuasion, it was vain for that nobleman to persist in denying the fact; and while he owned that part of them were Papists, he defended the measure by the practice of princes in general, who are indifferent to the religion of their soldiers, and followed the example of his master in charging the parliament with being equally unscrupulous.

* May, lib. iii. p. 53.

† Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 20.

The junction of the queen and the earl was attended with great effects; but their success was rather apparent than real. Not only were the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, with the town of Newcastle, brought under subjection, but even the northern parts of Yorkshire; and, in spite of the vigorous exertions of Lord Fairfax, and his heroic son Sir Thomas, and of Hull's being in the power of the parliament, the queen and Newcastle still extended their conquests. Fairfax had been too much neglected by the two Houses, and he was at one time obliged to intimate to them that, unless he received supplies, he would be obliged to renounce the contest; but he was no stranger to the internal causes of decay which operated on the other side, and the inherent vigour of his own party. Newcastle had pressed a portion of his soldiers, levied contributions at pleasure, and even allowed his men to pillage the country; whence, as well as on principle, the inhabitants were everywhere hostile to him; so that when, in April, he desired a mutual cessation, not only the troops of Fairfax declared their aversion to it, but the country population in general, unless they were indemnified of the losses they had sustained through the lawless proceedings of his army.* With the country against him, Newcastle could not long maintain his power, since, though the people might for a season be kept down by force, they would naturally avail themselves of any reverse in their oppressor to rise against him. But, in the meantime, he was terrible in that quarter, and afterwards became still more so. What contributed to the temporary misfortunes of Fairfax was, that Newcastle, who had great influence in Nottinghamshire, succeeded, by

* MSS. Brit. Mus., Ayscough, 4162; Extracts from the *Register Book of Letters* of Ferd. Lord Fairfax; May; Rush. vol. v. pp. 131 *et seq.*, 268 *et seq.* See there also an account of the queen's haughty re-

ception of Sir William Fairfax, who was sent to her by Lord Fairfax, with the view of inducing her to interpose her influence towards an accommodation.

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garrisoning Newark, in cutting off his supplies from the parliamentary party in Lincolnshire. A detachment of Newcastle's army, under Mr. Cavendish, had even taken Grantham, with three hundred prisoners, and all their arms and ammunition. Scarborough Castle, too, was delivered up to the queen, and, though it was recovered in the same week, it was again treacherously surrendered. Such, in the early part of the year, was the posture of affairs in the North.*

The West had at first been entirely under the authority of the parliament; but matters had since begun to take a different turn. The Earl of Bedford, at the head of some parliamentary forces, had obliged the Marquis of Hertford, who headed the opposite party, to retreat into Wales, and Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and others, to retire into Cornwall. But the ease with which he effected this, produced a contempt of the enemy, which led to memorable consequences. Instead of following up his success, the earl left the restoration of tranquillity to the commissioners from the parliament, aided by the militia of Devonshire; and as the parliament despised the opposite party in that quarter, as much as the earl did, both the marquis and the rest were thus allowed leisure to recruit their forces and project new measures. The commissioners conceived the plan of proceeding in Cornwall by a legal course against the Royalists, for having come armed into that county, and a presentment against them was prepared; but the best quality of that shire (the same spirit does not appear to have extended to the lower classes) having been devoted to the crown and high church principles, the bill was thrown out by the grand jury: and matters did not end even there; for a commission from the king to the Marquis of Hertford, as general of that district, and another from that nobleman to Sir R. Falkland having been

* Rush. vol. v. pp. 66, 264, 265-268 *et seq.*, 274; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 435 *et seq.*

exhibited, the grand jury expressed their sense of his majesty's care of them, and their determination to support him. Feeling their strength, they followed the example which had been set them of legal measures, and indicted Sir Alexander Carew, Sir Richard Buller, and the other parliamentary commissioners, for a riot and unlawful assembly at Launceston, and also for riots and misdemeanors against many of the king's subjects, and the sheriff being a keen royalist, immediately raised the *posse comitatus*. In this way a militia of 3000 well armed men was drawn out, which drove the few parliamentary forces from the county. Hopton wished to carry this army beyond the shire; but the soldiers refused to follow him, as an act not required of them by the law, unless in the case of foreign invasion. Disappointed thus, Sir Bevil Grenville, whom Clarendon calls the most beloved in that county, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Mr. John Arundel, and Mr. John Trevannion, immediately formed the resolution to raise regiments of volunteers; and, as young gentlemen of the shire flocked to their standard, and gladly accepted of subaltern commands, 1500 men were soon ready for the field. The parliament, now sensible of its error, and of the necessity of suppressing this new army, ordered its forces from Dorset, Somerset, and Devon—which were all under its authority—to march under the Earl of Stamford against the Royalists. But mismanagement defeated the object. Ruthven, a Scotsman, commanded one detachment of Stamford's army, which preceded the main body by three days' march, and desirous of signalling himself by the conquest of the Cornish before the earl's arrival, passed the Tamar, six miles above Saltash, in order to hazard a general battle with his detachment. His army exceeded in number that of the volunteers, but they having been joined by the trained bands, became superior; and Hopton, upon whom the command of the Cornish was devolved, had too much discernment not to perceive the propriety of striking a

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blow before Stamford came up. The two armies met on Bradick Down, and the parliamentary troops were totally routed. Ruthven fled to Saltash, from which he was soon driven, and escaped himself with difficulty to Plymouth, with the loss of his ordnance, colours, &c. A vessel, with stores from the parliament, also fell into the enemy's hands. A cessation was then concluded between the parties in that quarter; but it was broken in the spring, when matters took a still more decided turn for the king.*

Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, were supposed by Charles to be firmly devoted to him; but the parliament party, under Sir William Brereton, whose activity was indefatigable, soon became superior. Chester, indeed, through the interest of the bishop, continued stedfast to the king; but Nantwich was fortified, while Manchester, like all the great manufacturing and trading towns, was devoted to the parliament.† The state of those counties exhibits a striking picture of the feelings of the times. The Earl of Derby, a royalist, was the individual of chief note in the district, and, from the general respect which had been hitherto paid to his rank, he did not anticipate the slightest opposition. But nothing is more fallacious than the usual outward deference shown to rank. In the ordinary current of affairs, rank procures what it seems to desire, but in revolutionary times, though it still has influence, it becomes palsied, unless accompanied with talent as well as principle. Men who never attempted to struggle with the influence of family, but had lived in retirement, and been despised by the aristocracy as beings of no consideration, then start into importance, and

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 415 *et seq.*;
Rush. vol. v. p. 267.

† 'The town of Manchester,' says Clarendon, 'from the beginning (out of that factious humour which possessed most corporations, and the pride of wealth) opposed the king,

and declared magisterially for the parliament!' (vol. iii. p. 449; see pp. 236, 276). 'Manchester,' writes Mr. Trevor, in a fury, to Ormond, 'is the very London of those parts,' &c. (Carte's *Lct.* vol. i. p. 16).

wither all the feeble energies of factitious concomitants, unsupported with virtue and abilities. Such was the case in this instance: new men at once appeared formidable, and Derby's power sank. The Papists too, who, when secretly encouraged by the court, had, by their insurrections, alarmed the kingdom, were suppressed by the popular party; and individuals, whose habits seemed foreign to a military life, almost immediately showed a capacity for war, which the oldest soldiers could not contemn. Their very enemies pay a tribute of justice to their sobriety and industry, virtues which they confess did not belong to their own side. But, in the struggle, the popular party had one great advantage: supplied with money and arms, provided to them by the parliament, they had no occasion to oppress the inhabitants, while their adversaries were armed, fed, and clothed, at the expense of the country, 'which quickly inclined it,' says Clarendon, 'to remember the burthen and forget the quarrel.' The following sentence from that author is admirably characteristic of the times: 'The difference in the temper of the common people of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the parliament left nothing unperformed that might advance the cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross and hinder whatsoever might promote the king's; whereas, they who wished well to him, thought they had performed their duty in doing so; and that they had done enough in that they had done nothing against him.*' The king had still to contend with another disadvantage: as he depended on the leading aristocracy, he durst not displace them, however unequal to the office to which they had been assigned. This was exemplified in the present instance; for Charles, while he was no stranger either to the inactivity, or want of talent, in Derby, was yet obliged to employ him. The influence of some families in Wales

* Clar. vol. iii. p. 452.

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inclined that country towards the king, and North Wales, with the city of Chester, kept the parliament party in considerable play.*

The midland counties, betwixt Oxford and York, were chiefly under the parliament.† The counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Bucks, were associated under Lord Brooke and Lord Grey of Grooby, eldest son of the Earl of Stamford, to both of whom commissions from the general as serjeant-major-generals over the forces raised in these counties were issued, with the approbation of parliament. Lord Brooke, as the peer, would appear to have had the senior command. Banbury, which was in the possession of the royal troops, kept part of Northamptonshire in check; but as they were obliged to subsist by contributions upon the adjacent country, there was no great probability of their extending their influence. In Leicestershire, too, there was a considerable party raised for the king, through the activity of Colonel Hastings, a son of the Earl of Huntingdon; but the greater portion of the inhabitants inclined strongly to the parliament, and its authority was triumphant in the other counties. But the nobleman, whose exertions had been so beneficial to the cause, was destined to fall early in the quarrel. A premature attempt having been made by the royal party against Lichfield, he came to suppress it, and as he surveyed the operations from the window of the cathedral which he had garrisoned,‡ was killed by a musket-shot in the eye. Loud were the indecent rejoicings of the Royalists on the occasion; and the high clergy, calling to mind that he had said,—which was probably an invention of their own, for such pious frauds were frequent,—he hoped to see all the cathedrals in England

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 447 *et seq.*, 251 *n.*, 252, 258; vol. iv. pp. 442, 463; see also, for a character of this earl, vol. vi. p. 516 *et seq.*

† *Journals* for Dec. 24, 1642.

‡ Clarendon (vol. iii. p. 455) says that Lord Brooke lodged in a house within musket shot of the close. *Rush.* vol. v. p. 169.

pulled down, declared his fate a judgment inflicted upon him by St. Chad, who founded the edifice, and whose day they reported it to have been. Nay, he was said to have prayed that morning, that if the cause he was in were not right and just, he might be presently cut off.* We shall not pretend to determine how far these several circumstances concurred to complete the suggestion of a miracle, though there is a strong presumption against the coincidence; but we may well remark, what assuredly few will deny, that a party, so contemptibly superstitious, was not entitled to charge the opposite side with bigotry; and that the religious spirit which rose against this superstition, was necessary to rescue the nation from the most deplorable intellectual bondage. Lord Brooke was remarkably pious; but an enemy to prelacy, though an ardent friend to religious as well as civil liberty. His talents and learning were considerable, and his industry great. With regard to the saint, his power terminated with the execution of vengeance against his particular enemy; for the parliamentary forces, headed by Sir John Gell, completed the victory which Lord Brooke had begun.†

In the eastern counties, as Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, which were all associated for the parliament, the individual who really constituted the life of the association was Oliver Cromwell; and he very early gave signal proofs of those talents which afterwards raised him so high.‡ In some of the southern shires a party mani-

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 452 *et seq.*, 454 *et seq.* The noble historian tells us all this with the utmost gravity, though he reluctantly does justice to the integrity of Lord Brooke. This very author takes great credit to himself for having fabricated and published a most violent speech against peace in that lord's name, with such a similitude of style, that it was taken by the king himself for Brooke's own composition. He at the same time boasts

of having been equally dexterous in fabricating one for peace in Lord Pembroke's name (*Life*, vol. i. p. 161 *et seq.*: see there also what he further discloses about his numerous fabrications; Laud's *Diary, Troubles*, p. 201).

† May, lib. iii. c. 5; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 452 *et seq.*, 454 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. v. p. 147; Whitelocke, p. 69.

‡ Rush. vol. v. p. 67; May, lib. ii. p. 108; iii. pp. 58, 92; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 464 *et seq.*

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fested itself for the king; but the rapid marches of Sir William Waller, who had been appointed to the command of a detachment of the army, soon overpowered it. He surprised Winchester on the 13th of December, where he took 800 prisoners, and Chichester on the 2nd of January, when, rapidly passing through Wiltshire, capturing Malmesbury by the way, he advanced to the relief of Gloucester, which was at that time besieged by the Lord Herbert, afterwards known as Earl of Glamorgan, and still more as the inventor of the steam engine, under the title of Marquis of Worcester. This nobleman and his father, the Marquis of Worcester, were rigid Catholics. The marquis, says Clarendon, was generally reported as the greatest monied person in the kingdom. His son then, according to the noble historian, 'was a man of more than ordinary affection and reverence to the person of the king, and one who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him.'—'His reputation and interest,' continues Clarendon, 'was very great with many gentlemen of those counties, who were not at all friends to his religion.' From these causes they had great influence in South Wales, where the Romish party preponderated; they obtained a joint commission from the king to assume the government of that district, in which their authority appears to have been undisputed except in Pembroke-shire. The son, under a generous and somewhat romantic attachment to Charles, for which, however, he not unreasonably looked to be nobly rewarded in the event of ultimate success, made the royal cause his own. The father, in spite of his religion, regarded with no favourable feelings the late inroads upon the rights of the community, and was with difficulty prevailed on, by the intercessions of his own son, to join the king, without some security for the privileges of the people. But having once embarked in the cause he soon perceived that his all depended on its success; for the activity of his son, with the avowal of principles incompatible with

the constitution, naturally brought the father under the imputation of the same design,—an imputation which his religion confirmed; and the rigour of the parliament being proportionate, he, in a personal view, saw himself bereft of all hope but in carrying matters to extremities, which his understanding and sentiments equally condemned.* The taking of Cirencester by Rupert had considerably extended the territory under the authority of the Royalist party, and had Gloucester also fallen, a communication would have been opened with Wales of vast importance to the king. To prevent this was the object of Waller's march; and as the inhabitants of the vicinity, as well as townsmen, were all heartily inclined towards the parliament, they furnished him with flat-bottomed boats with which to pass the Severn. Having secretly formed his arrangements, therefore, he deceives the enemy by a feint upon Cirencester, then suddenly passing the river, attacks Herbert's forces in rear, while the townsmen sallied upon them in front. The besiegers were in this way completely routed; five hundred Welsh were put to the sword, a thousand taken prisoners, with the arms and ammunition, and the remainder dispersed. Herbert himself with difficulty escaped to Oxford. After this Waller took Tewkesbury, then Chepstow, where he seized upon a ship of great value belonging to the enemy. He next marched to Monmouth, which surrendered upon terms. The terms were, that the arms and ammunition should be delivered up, but that quarter should be given the soldiers, plunder prohibited, and the ladies civilly treated. Hereford also yielded to him. Many gentlemen of distinction were taken prisoners.† Leaving Waller for the present we shall return to Essex, who might, by one blow, have terminated the war.

Immediately after the breach of the treaty at Oxford,

* Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. 461 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. iii. p. 263; pp. 144, 146–47. May, lib. iii. p. 71 *et seq.*

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 415 *et seq.*,

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parliament determined to send Essex into the field with a fine army, which it was expected would speedily end the war. He set out on the 15th of April with 15,000 foot and 3000 horse, fully equipped for any service; and had the advice of the committee of war, and particularly of Hampden, who attended with his own regiment, and had given proof of such vigour and military skill as to be deemed little inferior to the general himself, been followed, the war would by one bold stroke have been brought to a period. The advice was to march directly to Oxford, the seat of the court, and thus by a vigorous attack upon the heart of the cause, effect what could not be accomplished by wasting time and strength upon the distant members. It is confessed by Clarendon himself that the plan must have proved successful. For the town was poorly fortified, and the royal army inferior, while the nobility, as well as the ladies about the court, were so easily alarmed, that every attempt at resistance would have been crippled. What motives induced Essex to pursue a different course it is not easy to determine; but suspicions have been entertained that, afraid of being overtopped by the popular party, he was disinclined towards such decisive measures, hoping that, after the war had been a little longer protracted, an accommodation might be entered into on terms more favourable to the king, and that he should be able to secure to himself the highest marks of the royal favour.* The old soldiers supported him in all his movements. Essex determined to take Reading; but, instead of attempting it by storm, according to the urgent recommendation of the committee of war, that he might then march directly to Oxford, which was, doubtless, the wise plan, he resolved upon a siege.† To raw levies at such a season of the year no-

Siege and
capture of
Reading.

* Clarendon would appear to mean a sort of compliment to Essex as retaining such a small share of loyalty, which prevented him from attacking a place where the king himself was stationed (*Clar. Hist.*

vol. iv. pp. 23 *et seq.*, 36 *et seq.*, and *n.* p. 49 *et seq.*: and mark the contradiction between the last and p. 40; see also *n.* to p. 40).

† *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 25 *et seq.*, 36 *et seq.*

thing could be more destructive; and though all requisite supplies were sent from the metropolis, diseases were engendered which wasted away their numbers, or unfitted a great part for service. The town held out for ten days, and then surrendered upon terms, which were violated by the common soldiery in spite of all efforts to restrain them. The garrison, according to the articles, were to march out without their arms, with their sick and wounded, and the officers were to retain their swords. The soldiers on the opposite side seized the hats and swords of some officers, when Essex, to restrain them, slashed several with his own hand. In their justification, the troops alleged that their conduct was the proper return of an infringement of articles by the besieged, who, under the pretence of carrying off the sick in waggons, had concealed four hundred stand of arms, which the victors seized. But many of the soldiers had enlisted from a hope of plunder, and as they expected that the town would be taken by assault, and left open to their rapacity, they could scarcely be managed after the disappointment.*

Charles had projected the relief of this town; and as the disappointment was great in the surrender, the officer who signed the articles was deeply reproached, and afterwards tried by court-martial, when he made a narrow escape with his life, and forfeited for ever the court favour. But various opinions were entertained regarding his conduct, many conceiving that he had discharged his duty faithfully, which appears to have been the fact; and the incident is chiefly remarkable for the factions which it occasioned in the court and army.†

Had Essex, even after the surrender of Reading, marched to Oxford, though the garrison of the latter was reinforced with 4000 men from the former, that town must have

* Rush. vol. v. p. 265 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 69.

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 23 *et seq.*, 38 *et seq.* This author inclines to

think that he not only discharged his duty faithfully, but even with spirit and judgment.

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surrendered, and the war have been decided before his troops had begun to sink under the diseases contracted in the siege. From the terror inspired by the surrender of Reading, and the high spirits of the victorious army, Charles would not have hazarded the issue. His chief officers, who never doubted that Essex would march directly thither, advised his majesty to retreat northward, to join the Earl of Newcastle and the Queen; and, says Clarendon, ‘if the Earl of Essex had at that time made any show of moving with his whole body that way, I do verily persuade myself Oxford itself, and all the other garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to him.’ A retreat northwards, however, would to all appearance have been impracticable: it would have lain through a hostile country; and, in particular, Charles would have had to cut his way through the counties associated for the parliament, which were so garrisoned that scarcely a messenger could pass between the king and his northern army, and, above all, through the parliamentary forces commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell.* The probability therefore is, that the royal army must have yielded at discretion. But the parliamentary general did nothing; his army mouldered away, while Charles only lost a town of no importance to him, for his troops were preserved.†

The citizens of London triumphed loudly on the fall of Reading, conceiving that the contest hastened to a close; but, though their hopes were justified by reasonable probability, they quickly discovered their error, and the city itself had nearly fallen by treachery. We have already said, that a conspiracy for betraying it had been formed by Edmund Waller the poet (Sir William Davenant, another poet, had been deeply engaged in the army-plots), and several others; but some months elapsed before the plot was ripe for execution, and then it was disclosed by the servant of one of the conspirators to Pym, whose

Conspiracy
to betray
London.

* For an account of Cromwell's actions at this period, see May, lib. iii. p. 79.

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 48.

activity and vigilance defeated the project, and established the guilt of the traitors. They had taken a survey of the town, in order to ascertain the strength of the party which they could expect to support them; and had, for the completion of their schemes, obtained a commission from the king, while they sent him daily information of whatever passed either in the parliament or city. To promote the project, Charles proposed to renew his negotiations, and alluded to the distracted state of Ireland, and the necessity of relieving it, as one motive for his anxiety to reconcile all differences; though his own letters prior to this, to conclude a cessation with the rebels, are extant, and the preconceived intention to introduce that ferocious body into Britain, is established beyond controversy. But the parliament having discovered the design, threatened to execute as a spy the messenger who appeared without a pass, and thus frustrated the royal object, while it devised a covenant to be taken by its own members as well as others, to defend the commonwealth against the army of Papists and Malignants. The plot having failed, therefore, strengthened the party against whom it was levelled. Chaloner and Hopkins, two of the conspirators, were hanged; but the abjectness of Waller saved his life.* Just before the discovery of the plot, Charles published a proclamation, in which the distractions of the times were imputed to a few Brownists and Anabaptists; a general pardon offered on submission, with the exception of certain individuals, including Hampden and Pym; and the parliament declared to be no legislative assembly. Rents were also prohibited, by another proclamation, to be paid to the parliamentary party, as to men in rebellion; and trade was interdicted with London.

* Whitelocke, pp. 67, 70, 105; May, lib. iii. p. 42 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. v. p. 322 *et seq.* Clarendon, according to the uniform practice of a faction whose conspiracies have failed and recoiled upon themselves,

wishes to make it appear that there was no plot (this is the way in which such factions vent their spleen at disappointment); and that it was cruelty in the parliament to inflict the punishment (vol. iv. p. 57 *et seq.*).

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Afterwards the members of both Houses were summoned as to a parliament at Oxford, Charles conceiving that it was the name of a parliament which gave the assembly at Westminster its authority, and that, as he could give the appellation to his own creatures who followed him, he might, by such an engine, raise himself to unlimited power.* But the whole design failed; and so little was Charles calculated for a free government, that he was happy to be relieved of this mock assembly, which himself denominated in his letters to the queen the Mongrel Parliament, because it manifested a feeble spirit against some of the pernicious designs of the court.

Though Essex chose to waste his precious time in inactivity, his opponents were not idle. Small parties made incursions to the metropolis during the night, and carried off the citizens, for whose liberty they exacted high ransom. It was therefore deemed advisable to carry a ditch round both London and Westminster. Essex at last made a feint to proceed to Oxford, and fixed his headquarters at Thame, in Buckinghamshire, in order to protect that county; but so defective was his generalship, that though the enemy was near, he kept no sufficient scouts, while he allowed the men to live dispersed in several quarters. The consequences were deplorable, as they occasioned the death of Hampden. One Colonel Hurry, a Scotsman in his army, conceiving that he might more easily make his fortune by betraying his party than by promoting its interest, went over to Prince Rupert, and showed how, by an attack upon the parliamentary scattered troops, much execution might be done. Celerity was the distinguishing characteristic of Rupert as a general; and as he adopted the project, he instantly fell upon the unsuspecting enemy, routed two whole regiments of cavalry, and penetrated to within two miles of Essex's quarters. With this exploit, and with much booty, he

* Rush. vol. v. pp. 331, 343, 364, 365.

retired; but the alarm having been spread through the parliamentary army, Hampden, ever on the alert, and ready for an affair of danger, quickly pursued the assailants, and attacked their rear in Chalgrove-field, in the corner of Buckinghamshire. In this skirmish he received a musket-shot in the shoulder, of which he died in great agony a few days afterwards.*

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Death of
Hampden.

So much has already been said of this celebrated individual, that we shall content ourselves here with remarking that, had his advice, on four several occasions, been followed, it would have been, in all probability, decisive of the war. We need not remind the reader, 1st, of what occurred on the day after the battle of Edgehill; 2nd, of what happened on the affair at Brentford; 3rd, of the advice he gave when Essex attacked Reading instead of Oxford; and, lastly, of that which he needlessly urged after the fall of Reading. Such a consummation of the war was, in the very nature of the contest, implied as its object; and it was hoped that, when the council, the various officers, and the militia were all settled, and the king's guilty adherents brought to condign punishment, tranquillity might be restored, and the liberty of the people secured. How far the hope was well-founded may be questioned; for as Charles was destitute of good faith, he was not to be bound by any engagement; and, as the parliament unfortunately, and fatally, encouraged the idea, that, whatever might be the issue of hostilities with his people, his life, liberty and crown—nay, all the regal authority which they now proposed to allow him—would be perfectly inviolable, he confidently concluded that, in

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 80 *et seq.* n., 81 *et seq.*, with *n.* particularly to 88 *et seq.*; but indeed the variations, &c. in the old text as well as new matter are important; Whitelocke, p. 70; Rush, vol. viii. p. 274; Warwick, p. 239. Clarendon has a sort of defence of Hurry, but it is not very consistent. Compare especially

what is said in *n.* p. 80 with the statement in p. 86 *et seq.* Likewise attend to the alterations which had been made by the editor in the text. See how Hurry soon again acted in an equally treacherous manner to Charles (581 *et seq.*), and mark the species of defence set up for him (p. 589).

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any fresh projects, he might be successful in attaining the object of his ambition, while, in the case of failure, he could lose nothing; and therefore would ever have been busied in cabals, both at home and abroad, against the limits assigned to his prerogative, and the men who had imposed them. What succours to his plans he might have obtained from Ireland and Scotland, as well as from foreign states, it is impossible to determine; but, as too many of his subjects, perceiving him seated in the former dignity of his office, would, before the new settlement had been confirmed by time, have been apt to recal the various associations connected with his late power, and still to look forward to him as the source of office, honour, and emolument, so many of desperate fortunes and characters would, undeterred by the fate of their predecessors, have been eager to embark with the sovereign in any fresh adventure which promised to raise them to the highest place in the commonwealth. There was likewise a great probability that the parliament itself, after it had secured the disposal of the offices, would have been rent into factions, and that the weaker would have endeavoured to strengthen themselves by an alliance with the monarch, which would have proved fatal to the new settlement. The only office which it is alleged that Hampden ever desired—and even that is doubtful—was that of tutor to the prince, whom he wished to train in habits suited to the genius of the constitution.*

Essex continued his inactivity, and therefore we shall take a view of the war in other quarters. We have already mentioned that the cessation in the West was broken in the spring. The Earl of Stamford, who commanded the Parliamentary forces in that quarter, had placed 1500 foot and 200 horse in the north of Devonshire under the immediate command of Major James Chudleigh, son of Sir George, who was the earl's lieutenant-general.

Actions in
the West.

* Warwick, p. 242.

This major had been deeply engaged in the army-plots ; but having told the truth on his examination upon oath, he was afterwards so ill-received by his own party, whom he never meant to desert, that he proffered his services as a military man to the parliament. In the first instance he rendered acceptable service to his new masters ; but he soon betrayed his trust. Having learned that Launceston, in Cornwall, was slenderly garrisoned, he resolved to try its reduction. He therefore beat the sentinels from Polsen-Bridge, and approached to a hill called the Windmill, which protects the town, and where Sir Ralph Hopton had stationed his forces in a temporary fort that he had erected. These Chudleigh immediately attacked ; but having met with greater resistance than he had expected, and having been prevented by the numerous hedges from using his horse, he was obliged to retreat. To intercept him Sir Ralph attempted to seize the bridge ; but the arrival of some fresh parliamentary troops defeated the design. Chudleigh, therefore, succeeded in carrying off his ordnance, ammunition, &c. without any extraordinary loss, to Oakhampton. His whole force there, however, only consisted of about 1000 foot and 120 horse ; and Hopton, who mustered 4000 foot and 500 dragoons and horse, determined to attack that town. All that Chudleigh could propose to himself was a safe retreat, without the loss of his artillery and ammunition ; and as the carriages had been dismissed as unserviceable, and no new ones had been provided, this was a matter of difficulty. His object, therefore, was to skirmish with the forlorn hope, and thus, if possible, stop the enemy, till night should oblige the assailants to encamp on the downs, when he hoped that carriages would be provided, and darkness would enable him to retire. Having made proper dispositions for this purpose—his horse being drawn up in six divisions, and the foot stationed at the town's end—he so successfully charged Hopton's horse, and through them even the foot, that he put the whole body

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into disorder, and took three stand of colours belonging to the infantry. Flushed with this success, he ordered the foot to advance; but the superiority of the enemy in number so awed them, that they would not be prevailed upon. He resumed, therefore, his original purpose of restricting himself to the effecting of a retreat; and having given orders to his infantry to leave their matches burning, so that they appeared to the adverse party like an army ready to fall upon them, while with a select body of horse he beat off the scouts, and prevented all intelligence of his design—he thus, being favoured by the darkness and tempestuousness of the night, accomplished his object. Hopton then drew off his troops in disorder from the downs, with the loss of a portion of the arms and ammunition, which next day fell into the hands of Chudleigh's soldiers and the country people.*

Battle of
Stratton.

This brilliant conduct only served to blacken the subsequent treachery of Chudleigh. Stamford had taken up his position on a hill at Stratton, on the borders of Cornwall, and dispatched his lieutenant-general, Sir George Chudleigh, into Cornwall, with 600 horse. The absence of the father was taken advantage of by the son to betray the army in which he commanded. According to a previous arrangement, which was fully disclosed by letters that were afterwards intercepted, Hopton attacked Stamford's army, and as Chudleigh, in the heat of battle, when victory inclined to the parliamentary side, infamously went over with a party to the enemy, and charged the parliamentary troops, a circumstance that spread consternation all around, the earl sustained a defeat. For this service Hopton was created Lord Hopton of Stratton.† Stamford retired by Barnstaple to

* Rush. vol. v. pp. 267, 268.

† *Ibid.* p. 271-2. Mr. Hume's account of this battle is not a little amusing. He quotes Rushworth; yet, though that author says, that 'by intercepted letters to his' (Chudleigh's)

'father, it appeared to have been designed by him,' Hume extols that officer's conduct. But then it afforded him an opportunity of paying a high compliment to the gallantry of the royalist troops, 'led by the

Exeter, where he was besieged by this very Major. Charles had intended to have sent Prince Rupert to the West, when matters began to wear so promising an aspect; but, after the battle of Stratton, he contented himself with sending Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford. Maurice, having joined Chudleigh with a strong force, pushed the siege, and Stamford yielded upon terms, after having held out for eight months and nineteen days. But his conduct gave such small satisfaction to his employers, that a purpose was at one time entertained of prosecuting him for the surrender.*

Hopton being reinforced with part of the troops under Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, overran the county of Devon, and even made incursions into Somerset. Waller therefore was sent against him, and, after some skirmishing, the two parties fought a great battle at Lansdown near Bath. This engagement was not decisive, each party having retreated to its former quarters. On the royal side there fell Sir Bevil Grenville, Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, and Major Lowes. The parliament lost a major, a lieutenant, and two cornets.† Waller having refreshed his men by two days' stay at Bath, bent his course towards Devizes, a town in Wiltshire, to which Hopton had retreated; and which, after some skirmishing, he laid siege to; and, as Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford had returned to Oxford, he had

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Battle of
Lansdown.

prime gentry of the county.' He refers also to Clarendon, who indeed praises Chudleigh, but then he takes no notice of a laboured defence by that noble historian against the charge of treachery brought by the Earl of Stamford, a defence which convicts the accused. He states that it was partly in consequence of this scandal that Chudleigh joined the royal side. But see what he says in this place about the army-plot. It certainly conveys a very different picture from his former statements. In particular he says, Chudleigh had 'been busy in inclining the army to

engage in such petitions and undertakings as were not gracious to the parliament' (Clar. vol. iv. p. 104; yet see the eulogy upon this traitor, especially in p. 32, along with what is said in his praise in p. 104 *et seq.*). Formerly there had been but one petition.

* Rush. p. 263 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 97 *et seq.*; as to whole matter in text, *Ibid.* pp. 106, 219 *et seq.*

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 109 *et seq.*, and Append. A and B as to the battle of Lansdown, pp. 121 *et seq.*, and 605; Rush. p. 284.

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I.

Battle of
Round-
way Down.

every prospect of carrying the place and finishing the war in the West. But a jealousy between him and Essex, who began to entertain apprehensions that he might supersede him, together with some indiscretion as a commander, proved fatal to the enterprize and the army of Waller. The Earl of Caernarvon and Lord Wilmot had been, by the remissness, not to say more, of Essex, who ought to have intercepted them, been allowed to approach, with upwards of 2000 horse, and were within two or three miles of his camp when notice reached him of their advance. His object was to attack them instantly before they should be enabled to act in concert with the besieged, and he gave immediate orders to draw out his army on Round-way Down. His men too much despised the enemy, whom, as they descended the hill, Sir Arthur Haslerig with the horse, which he carried away from the infantry, galloped up to attack on very disadvantageous ground, when he was put to a disorderly retreat. Having joined the reserve, however, they rallied and stood a second charge; but were then totally routed. The infantry stood better; but Hopton having sallied upon them from the town, while Caernarvon's cavalry attacked them in front, destitute of any protection from their own horse, they in a short time were also defeated, and, having flung down their arms, fled in all directions. Waller, with Hazlerig and other commanders, took refuge in Bristol, and from thence he went to London, where, though his fame, which had been previously very high, was tarnished, he was highly caressed, and another army raised for him. He complained loudly of Essex for having allowed Wilmot to pass him; and indeed it is not easy to figure an excuse for him. Many prisoners, four pieces of ordnance, with a vast quantity of small arms, fell into the hands of the conquerors.*

Losses upon the parliament seemed to accumulate,

* Rush. vol. v. p. 285; Clar. vol. iv. p. 129 *et seq.*, and Append. B; Whitelocke, p. 70.

through the incapacity of its officers. Bristol, the second town in the kingdom, was taken on the 22nd of July by Prince Rupert, who appeared before it with an army said to amount to twenty thousand. The governor of the town, Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, son of Lord Say, surrendered it in a manner which justly brought upon him a sentence of death, on a charge of cowardice; but he received a pardon. He had stipulated for the safety of the troops and the inhabitants; yet, under the pretext that the articles of Reading had been violated, the grossest infringements took place.*

About the time that Bristol was surrendered, the queen joined her consort at Oxford with a large reinforcement, and now he seemed superior to his enemies. Waller's army had been nearly annihilated; while Essex had so allowed his to moulder away in inactivity, and the parliament had so ill supplied it latterly with necessaries, that it was reduced to a wretched condition. In this apparent decline of its affairs, some of the Lords deserted the parliament, though, as their reception at Oxford was ungracious, they returned; † and the great body of the Upper House desired peace, while Essex himself recommended it. Propositions were therefore sent down from the Lords to the Commons, to be agreed to by that body, and then transmitted to the king. The particulars were, that both armies might be presently disbanded, and his majesty be entreated to return to his parliament, upon such security as should give him satisfaction; secondly, that religion might be settled with the advice of a senate of divines, in such a manner as should be agreed to by his majesty, with the consent of both Houses; thirdly, that the militia, both by sea and land, might be settled

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I.

Capture of
Bristol by
Prince Ru-
pert.

The propo-
sitions of
the Lords
for peace.

* Whitelocke, p. 71; Rush, vol. v. p. 284; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 141 *et seq.*, and Append. C. There had formerly been a design to betray it (*Ib.* p. 57). See *State Trials*, vol. iv. p. 186, for the trial of Fiennes.

† Baillie, vol. ii. p. 99 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 137 *n.*, 138 *et seq.*, 192 *et seq.* (with the notes), 262 *et seq.*, 332 *et seq.* (and *n.* to p. 333); Rush, vol. v. p. 367, 368.

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by bill, and with the forts, &c., committed to such hands as the king should appoint, with the approbation of both Houses, and that his majesty's revenue should be absolutely and wholly restored to him ; fourthly, that all the members of both Houses, who had been expelled merely for absenting themselves, or complying with his majesty, without any other charge against them, should be restored to their places ; fifthly, that all delinquents from before the 10th of January, 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of parliament, and a general pardon be passed for all others on all sides.

Such was the disposition of the Lords ; but a very different spirit prevailed in the Lower House, as well as in the city. The Upper House appear to have been the main cause of the protraction of the war, and of the present calamities. Individuals of the peerage had been appointed to the highest stations, for which, either through incapacity or unpardonable lukewarmness, they were unqualified. That had been remarkable in the general ; and had it not been for the late defeat of Waller, he probably might have superseded Essex in the chief command. A determination had been formed to call in the Scots ; and their junction with the English parliament proved serviceable, chiefly by giving influence to the popular party, and thus enabling them to exercise a greater latitude in the choice of their officers, and to follow out more decisive measures. The Scots, on the other hand, had discovered the perfidious plot against them, under the direction of Antrim and Montrose, which, with other motives, determined them to enter into a league. Out of a negotiation, therefore, entered into between the two countries, was formed the famous Solemn League and Covenant, of which, and the negotiation, we shall afterwards give a full account. In the meantime we may observe that, with the expectation of great assistance from Scotland, and, above all, with the hope which this inspired of being enabled to act more decisively, and

appoint more efficient commanders without clogging every measure by a deference to the Lords, lest they should desert to the king—the Commons had no cause to despair, especially as the spirit of the city and of the great body of the people remained unbroken. It was probably the dread of this preponderance which the new arrangement threatened to give to the Commons that induced the Lords to be so anxious for peace. It is not likely that they were strangers to the feeling which appears to have been prevalent, that the disastrous protraction of hostilities was attributable to them.* The city, too, proposed to raise an army for Waller.

Under these circumstances, the Commons rejected the propositions of the Lords, declaring that they had sustained great injury by the treaty at Oxford; and that, as the king had since pronounced them no parliament, it was impossible for them to propose a treaty till their character as a legislative assembly was vindicated; and that, considering the league which had been formed with Scotland, any treaty to which that nation was no party would be a betraying of them, which would incur a forfeiture of all hope of relief from that quarter, to whatever extremity they should afterwards be reduced. They also rested their hopes upon the exertions of the city and the neighbouring counties.

Rejected
by the
Commons.

No sooner had the intention of peace on the part of the Lords been intimated to the city, than it excited a general alarm; and, by the activity of Pennington, the lord mayor, a common council was called to petition against it. There was, however, still a faction lurking in the city which favoured the king; and a petition for peace, no doubt framed by their betters, was presented by 2000 or 3000 women of the lowest order in society. It was even sup-

A tumult
at West-
minster.

* See Baillie, vol. ii. pp. 79 *et seq.*, 82 *et seq.*, 99 *et seq.*, 104, 112 *et seq.* Waller was the favourite of the Commons, and hated by the Lords (p. 403). A jealousy was

early entertained of Essex (see a letter to Ormond, Dec. 31, 1642; Carte's *Let.* vol. i. p. 17; also to Clar. vol. iv. p. 289).

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posed that many of the mob were men in women's clothes. Their petition was graciously received, the Commons declaring their hearty desire of accommodation; but this could not satisfy a mob that had been primed for mischief; and as their numbers increased, they bawled out—'Peace, peace; give up those traitors that are against peace, that we may tear them to pieces; give us that dog Pym!' As matters became serious, the trained bands that guarded the House tried to disperse them with blank shot; but when they understood that there was no intention to hurt them, they cried out that there was nothing but powder, and attacked the guards with brickbats and other missiles. A troop of horse was then called in, which, after gentle means had failed, drew their swords, and wounded some of the mob, as well as killed two, of whom one was a ballad-singer. This event is the more particularly dwelt upon, as Royalist writers expatiate on the respectability of the mob, as well as on the cruelty and injustice of those who dispersed it; and the affair has given rise to the erroneous idea that there was in London a large party favourable to the king, whereas the disturbance was in all probability contrived by the Cavaliers to produce distraction, and was confined to a class not likely to have much influence in the state.*

From the gloomy aspect of affairs, it has been supposed by many historians, that had the king marched directly to London at this period, he might have carried it, and thus have terminated the war; but historians, as if an army could be transported with as much facility as the eye travels over a map, are too much inclined to overlook difficulties in these cases: they delight to dwell on contrasts, which impart animation to the scene; the passions and feelings of every kind being excited by extremes. The reader, agitated by what he either hopes or fears, enters with the greatest keenness into the conception of

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 99; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 150 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 182 *et seq.*; May, lib. iii. p. 90.

the piece, when the fate of a kingdom hangs upon a trifle. It is this which has induced historians to take such a view of the present posture of affairs; but if all circumstances be considered, the practicability of reducing London will not be so apparent. The spirit of the city was unsubdued; the factious, after the discovery of Waller's plot, could with no great difficulty have been suppressed; and the mighty efforts which the metropolis immediately made, prove that it could have mustered such a body as most probably would have overwhelmed resistance.*

Charles determined upon immediate action; and his council was much divided regarding the expedition which he ought to undertake—whether it should be against London or Gloucester. By the possession of the latter town, he would have opened a line of communication, of the utmost importance to him, between Wales and Oxford; and, as he expected small opposition from that place, he directed his march thither. But miserable was his disappointment: never, perhaps, was greater heroism in the defence of a town exhibited. Having sat down before it, he summoned it to surrender; but the city sent the following spirited answer in writing, by the hands of Serjeant-major Pudsey and one of the citizens:—‘We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message return this humble answer, that we do keep this city according to our oath and allegiance to and for the use

Siege of
Gloucester.

* The following is a most valuable passage from Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 299 *et seq.*: ‘The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others,—such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the king's army in the encounters with the enemies; for those under

the king's commanders grew insensibly into all the licence, disorders, and impieties with which they approached the rebels; and they, again, into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety, which begat courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. In so much, as one side seemed to fight for monarchy with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the king and government with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.’

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of his majesty and his royal posterity, and do conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved, by God's help, to keep the city accordingly.' The king, who was elated with the strength of his own army, and could not comprehend whence the garrison expected relief, was astonished at the answer. 'Waller is extinct,' said he, in the hearing of the messengers, 'and Essex cannot come.'*

The governor of Gloucester was Massey, and his ability in its defence extorted encomiums from the adverse party. As a considerable loss had been sustained in the attempt to storm Bristol, the ardour of the military for such enterprises was damped, and the town was not to be taken in that way. Yet, scarcely had the messengers returned to the garrison, when the king, by firing the suburbs, made a show of such a design; but this, which

* Clar. vol. iv. pp. 173 *et seq.*, 191 *et seq. n.* Mr. Hume, almost in the words of Clarendon, expresses himself thus: 'The summons to surrender allowed two hours for an answer: but before that time expired, there appeared before the king two citizens with lean, pale, sharp, and dismal (in the original edition of Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 179, the word *bald* had changed into *bad*) visages'—had famine eaten them up?—'Faces so strange and uncouth, according to Lord Clarendon; figures so habited and accoutred, as at once moved the most grave countenance to mirth, and the most cheerful heart to sadness: it seemed impossible that such messengers could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said that they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester; and extremely ready were they, according to the historian, to give insolent and seditious replies to any question; as if their business were chiefly by pro-

voking the king to make him violate his own safe-conduct.' There is something so ridiculous in all this, that it is not surpassed by what we are told of the Spanish bigotry in the early stages of the Reformation—that the poor people were surprised to find that the English had the appearance of men. Why should the citizens of Gloucester have been so unlike the rest of their species? or why should the most uncouth have been selected—*with similar qualities too*? But Clarendon, though, as in the preceding note, he does sometimes tell the truth, is prone to vent his spleen against any brave set of men, by denying the qualities of the body as well as those of the spirit (see in *n.* to p. 223). This, however, affords no excuse for Mr. Hume, as he himself refers to Rushworth and May, who state, and indisputably too, that one of the two was Serjeant-major, or, as we should now say, Major Pudsey, whose gallantry in the siege was beyond praise (May, lib. iii. p. 96).

was the only attempt of the kind, far from striking terror, as had been anticipated, into the soldiers and citizens, only roused a more resolute determination to defend the place to the last. The garrison consisted of no more than 1500, and, with the exception of about 120 that were kept as a reserve, the whole were day and night on duty; yet such were the spirit of the soldiery and talent of the officers, that they not only defeated the projects of the enemy, but made many successful sallies, particularly under Serjeant-major Pudsey, in which the skill and resolution of the assailants were so remarkable, that scarcely a man of them was killed, though the royal army invariably sustained considerable loss. Even the women, young and old, emulated the men in contributing to the defence of the town, by venturing beyond the walls for turf and other materials, undeterred by Rupert's horse, which were ever on the alert, and would, they well knew, have shown them no mercy.*

Great was the consternation of London when intelligence of this siege arrived; and the relief of Gloucester was conceived to be of vital importance to the cause. But their only army was that under Essex, which was so wasted and sickly, besides being eighty miles distant from the town: the reputation of the parliament was sunk, and many began to desert a falling cause; while the disaffected spread daily reports of the fall or surrender of the place, and expatiated upon the impracticability of sending it relief. But the parliament and metropolis showed themselves superior to misfortunes, and afforded a striking proof of the power of a popular spirit. The city regiments and auxiliaries proffered their services, while the regiments of the old army were recruited, partly by impressment, which, by the way, rather dis-

* Clar. vol. iv. p. 225 *et seq.*; May, lib. iii. p. 94 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. v. pp. 286 *et seq.*, 341 *et seq.*; White-locke, p. 72; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 65.

Clarendon (*Ibid.*) tells us that not above one officer, and not above three common soldiers, ran from the town.

CHAP.
I.Essex sent
to the
relief of
Gloucester.

credited the cause, and in fifteen days Essex marched to the relief of Gloucester, at the head of 14,000 choice men. The committee for the militia of the city, acting under powers vested in them by ordinance, ordered all shops to be shut. At the same moment, too, another army was raising for Waller; and the Earl of Manchester undertook to raise one in the associated counties over which he presided, to act in concert with the troops which had performed many gallant exploits under Cromwell. No man can seriously reflect on all this without being satisfied that Charles acted judiciously in trying Gloucester instead of London.*

The siege
raised.

The route of Essex lay through a wasted country; but his raw levies were undismayed, and in various skirmishes by the way evinced their ardour for fight. On the 5th of September he drew up his army in sight of Gloucester, when the siege was instantly raised; and as the royal forces could not be prevailed on by Charles to fight, he was permitted to enter the town on the 8th. By this time it was reduced to the last extremity, and he not only lay there two nights, that its immediate wants might be supplied, but marched to Tewkesbury, where he continued five nights more, that, while he commanded the adjacent country, Gloucester might have a full opportunity of laying in a sufficient stock of provisions. Thus was Gloucester relieved from siege: but it

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 173 *et seq.*; May, lib. iii. c. 6; Rush. vol. v. p. 286 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 72. After the royal failure at Gloucester, all the courtiers and officers poured forth execrations against those who advised the siege, which most of them had approved of. 'Though,' says Clarendon, 'what happened in this last action might well seem to justify the measure: for since it appeared that the city was so much united to the parliament that it supplied their army with their trained bands (without

which it never could have marched), with what success could his majesty have approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his miserable army? And would not the whole body of the trained bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of 200 miles? for less they did not march from the time they went out to that in which they returned' (*Ib.* p. 260). This is good sense, and the gallant conduct of the trained bands will be seen immediately.

was only rescued from that danger to be exposed to another; for what the king could not effect by arms, he then nearly accomplished by treachery. The design, however, fortunately failed, from an ill arrangement between the traitors and the royalist party without.*

Having effected his grand object, Essex, who heard that there was a portion of the royal forces at Cirencester drawing in a large stock of provisions, marched thither, and surprised two regiments, from which he took three hundred prisoners, and four hundred horses, six standards, and, what his army required, fifty load of provisions. He afterwards discovered that this affair was of greater importance than he had imagined, as these regiments were intended to cover a design of raising a party in Kent. From Cirencester he proceeded by Cricklade towards Newbury; but as he approached to within two miles of the latter place, he beheld the royal army stationed on a hill in the neighbourhood, the king having availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the necessary delays of the parliamentary army to get beyond it. The position of the royal army was remarkably favourable for defence; yet Essex, as it intercepted his march, had no alternative but to hazard a battle, and force his way through the obstruction: he therefore prepared for fight on the following morning. After a desperate struggle, the parliamentary troops opened their way through difficult ground which separated the two armies, and the engagement became general. On former occasions the king had always excelled in horse, but here the parliament's cavalry evinced no inferiority; and the trained bands of the city, which had never seen any service beyond the training in the Artillery Garden, gave a memorable proof of the illiberal absurdity of those sneers against that species of establishment, by which certain people;—who probably in their hearts dislike the spirit

Battle of
Newbury.

* May; Rush.; Whitelocke; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 260.

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which actuates such bodies, while their unmanly jealousy inclines them to deny the courage of the soldier to those whom they have been accustomed to meet as citizens—affect a character of wisdom, as if men who have the deepest stake in the community, and cannot justly be accused of want of discipline, should not be most zealous in its defence. Rupert himself charged them with the flower of his horse, but could make no impression on their stand of pikes, which was immovable as a bulwark or rampart. The royal forces also behaved with much spirit, and with greater liberality than we discover on other occasions; for, in reading the opposite accounts of battles, one would almost imagine, from their different statements, that their antagonists were destitute of the ordinary courage of men. Each party did justice to the gallantry of its adversaries. ‘All were Englishmen,’ says Whitelocke, ‘and pity it was that such courage should be spent in the blood of each other.’ The battle continued, with various success, from eight in the morning till darkness separated the combatants. Essex had gained ground; but such was the doubtful nature of the action, that he expected a renewal of it next day, when the king, by drawing off his army, allowed him to pursue his march by Reading to London. The king in this fight and previous skirmishes lost in killed above 2000; Essex did not lose above 500.*

It had been the misfortune of Charles hitherto, in most of the battles and skirmishes, to lose some of his fastest friends; and he is supposed now, in the fall of the Earl of Caernarvon and Lord Falkland, to have sustained a great calamity; but though he might deplore the first, it is most likely that he did not deeply lament the death of the latter, who, far from flattering his passions, had brought himself under obloquy and reproach for having unceasingly laboured to effect a reconciliation with the

Death and
character
of Lord
Falkland.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 235 *et seq.*; p. 108 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 73; Rush. vol. v. p. 293; May, lib. iii. Ludlow, p. 66.

parliament, and thus save his country from all the misery which he both witnessed and anticipated. He was one of those mixed characters, whose failings we pity, whose virtues we admire. At the beginning of this parliament he had stood forth the staunch advocate of civil and ecclesiastical liberty; and, as to high rank he joined the most elegant accomplishments and considerable talents, he soon raised himself to influence with the parliament and estimation with the people at large. It is charity to believe that, as he was firmly attached to aristocratical privileges as well as to monarchy, though a friend to the constitutional liberty of the subject, he began to be alarmed at the spirit of innovation which he apprehended in the Commons; and that, at this critical juncture, the tempting offers of the court, backed with the artful persuasions of Hyde, whose pupil he was, determined him to desert to the king, under the vain imagination that he might gratify his ambition without sacrificing the interests of his country. Fairly entangled with the court, he had not the resolution to abandon it, and with it his prospects, when he perceived that Charles was bent on measures destructive of the national franchises. But, though denounced as a traitor by the parliament, and excepted from pardon by all the propositions, the unprincipled rancour of an apostate never possessed him. He still cherished the hope that he might be the means of saving the constitution, and strained every effort to accomplish the object by reconciling the contending parties. It would be a pleasure to draw a veil over that part of his conduct which reflects most disgrace upon his memory—the sanction which he gave to the most solemn declarations that he must have known to have been destitute of truth: but though it be impossible to excuse this part of his conduct, we feel our indignation melt into compassion when we consider the anguish he endured on account of this unhappy contest, which he believed would end either in anarchy or despotism.

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More than his former cheerfulness, however, brightened up his countenance on any prospect of peace, which he would urge with all his might ; but his interposition for his country, as it was lost on Charles and his more intimate advisers, only brought against him the charge of being one of ‘those bad, hollow-hearted counsellors who too much affected the parliamentary way,’ ‘and were so enamoured of peace that they would have the king purchase it at any price.’ A settled gloom therefore stole upon his mind, and clouded his features : the natural affability of his temper in the discharge of his office was converted into peevishness, which was mistaken for pride ; sleep forsook him, the flesh wasted away from his bones, and a sallow paleness overspread his visage ; his dress and personal appearance, which he had previously paid more attention to, and expended larger sums on, than might have been expected from one of his elegant turn, were now quite neglected. In the society of his friends, often after a deep and sad silence, interrupted with frequent sighs, he would, in a shrill, mournful accent, ingeminate the word—Peace, peace ; declaring that the continuance of these calamities, and the prospect of further mischief, deprived him of sleep, and would shortly break his heart. His courage in the field had always been remarkable ; but the spirit with which he entered into battle on that fatal day was that of a man tired of existence. He dressed himself neatly in the morning, observing that the enemy should not find his body in foul linen ; and declared that he was weary of the times, as he foresaw much calamity to his country, but that he hoped to be out of the world ere night. He was in his thirty-fourth year.*

Before the siege of Gloucester, the king’s party, elated

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 239 *et seq.* ; *Life*, vol. i. p. 201 *et seq.* ; Whitelocke, p. 73 ; Carte’s *Lett.* vol. i. p. 20. From the character of Falkland, and the reproaches flung upon him, I

cannot doubt that he is alluded to here, though the writer prudently declines to mention names in his dispatch.

with the fall of Bristol, had flattered themselves that the war was at a close, imagining that even London would be delivered to them on demand, and it consequently only remained for them to march to it and take possession. Commensurate with such presumption was their dejection now; 'it being their unlucky temper,' says Clarendon, 'to be the soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any misfortune or loss, and again, upon any victory, to be the most elated, and the most apt to undervalue any difficulties which remained.' After the king's return to Oxford, discontent and secret mutiny raged in the army, every one accusing another of want of courage and want of conduct in the field, and all execrating, what themselves had approved of, the expedition to Gloucester. But, while the soldiers were thus quarrelling amongst themselves, in one thing they all agreed—in a contempt of any other body of men, and in particular of the council; and supposing that the king depended altogether upon the power of the sword, they conceived that all councils should be subordinate to them; whence it is not unlikely that, had the king been successful in war, he would have brought himself under a more ignominious bondage than that which he so abhorred from the parliament. The very temper, however, of the troops would have frustrated the effects even of triumph in the field; for their indiscriminate plunder and insolence, wherever they went, raised up the country against them. The court and council were also rent into factions, every one being importunate for office and honours, and ready to sacrifice all that stood in the way of his own advancement.*

CHAP.

I.

Temper of
the court
and army
at Oxford.

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 200–259 *et seq.*, 299 *et seq.*, with Appendix D, (see in p. 309 *et seq.* the miserable subjection Charles had brought himself into with his own partisans; also pp. 470 *et seq.* with *n.* p. 478), 497 *et seq.*, 138, 526 *et seq.* with *n.*; vol. v. pp. 1 *et seq.*, 125 *et seq.*, *n.* 135 *et seq.* 'A very great licence' (p. 226

et seq.), says Clarendon, 'broke into the army, both among officers and soldiers' (at the siege of Gloucester), 'the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine or severity amongst the inhabitants. Insomuch, as it is hardly to be credited how many thousand sheep were in a few days

CHAP.
I.
Actions in
the North.

While the fortune of the war seemed fairly turned in the South, it will be necessary to take a short review of the actions in the North. Hull had nearly fallen a sacrifice to the treachery of the Hothams; but the plot having, as it was ripe for execution, been luckily discovered, both father and son were sent to London, where they underwent the just punishment of their villany.* The preservation of Hull proved the safety of Fairfax. After a brilliant career, he had been attacked at Atherton Moor, by the Earl of Newcastle, with a superior force, especially in cavalry, and had been utterly defeated and pursued into Hull, where he was soon besieged. Before beginning the siege, however, Newcastle directed himself towards Gainsborough, which, after a desperate attack, was surrendered to him. This town had, a little before, been taken by assault for the parliament, by Cromwell, who 'now,' says Whitelocke, 'began to appear to the world. He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and freeholders' sons, and who, in matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel under Cromwell, and thus being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and charge desperately.'† On that occasion, there fell the Earl of Kingston, and a son of the Earl of Devonshire; but Cromwell having been obliged to recruit his little army, and Newcastle, after the defeat of Fairfax, having advanced with 6000 horse and

destroyed, besides what were brought to the commissaries for a regular provision, and many countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant, or the least knowledge of the king, till they had paid good sums for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army, and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect (pp. 341, 342, 361 *et seq.*, 384 *et seq.*; vol. iv. pp. 480 *et seq.*, 496, 515-

518, 554 *et seq.*, 626-51, 67 *et seq.*, 87-97, 700-4, 728-29).

* It is amazing to see Mr. Hume condemn the parliament for this piece of justice. Had any of Charles's officers acted a similar part, would anyone pretend that he did not deserve death? Having engaged with the parliament, they ought surely to have been faithful to it, or surrendered their commission.

† Whitelocke, p. 72.

foot, when there was no sufficient force to cope with him, forced Gainsborough in several places, and obliged Lord Willoughby to surrender it on the condition of being allowed to march away with bag and baggage. Willoughby carried his troops to Lincoln; but the earl dislodged them, and placed a garrison there for the king. After this good fortune he was created marquis, and sat down before Hull.*

In the meantime, Sir Thomas Fairfax had raised twenty-five troops of horse and dragoons, and two thousand foot, with part of which, having been driven from Beverley, he joined Cromwell, who had recruited his forces, and the Earl of Manchester, who also raised an army by an ordinance of parliament. On the 11th of October, they engaged part of the marquis's forces at Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and defeated them. In dragoons and horse, both sides were nearly equal. Cromwell commanded the van, and charged with the utmost resolution; but his intrepidity had nearly proved fatal to him. His horse having been killed under him, tumbled above him, and, as he attempted to rise, he was again knocked down by Sir Arthur Ingram, the gentleman who had assaulted him. He, however, got up, and having seized 'a poor horse in a soldier's hand,' returned to the charge. The van of the royalist horse gave way, and threw the reserve into disorder: Manchester's cavalry then, availing themselves of the advantage, put the whole to the rout. The parliamentary foot now advanced; but the horse had already done the business. A thousand of the royal party fell on that day, while the opposite side sustained a very small loss, which did not include one man of note. So far were matters changed, that the parliament, which had been inferior in horse, though superior in foot now, under Cromwell, began to excel far more in cavalry than it had ever done in infantry. On the following day, Lord Fairfax,

* Whitlocke, p. 70 *et seq.*; Rush, vol. v. p. 275 *et seq.*

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who had beat off many attempts of Newcastle on Hull, by a desperate sally obliged that nobleman to raise the siege.* The tide of war was now, therefore, completely changed in the North, as well as in the South; and there is small reason to doubt that the parliament would have prevailed in the struggle though the Scots had never entered England.

The
Solemn
League and
Covenant.

We have already seen what had occurred in regard to Scotland; but it may be necessary to advert to the feelings and views of the people of that country. The Covenanters have been described by a late celebrated historian, as having been solely actuated by ridiculous fanaticism; but, when we examine the most legitimate sources of information—the familiar letters of one of the chief covenanting clergy, addressed to his brother-in-law—we see matters in a very different light. All men who zealously embrace any opinion, not only on political and religious subjects, but even on those which do not appear to affect human interests, are anxious that others should adopt it, and regard with particular satisfaction all, wherever situated, who concur with them in sentiment. In religious or political matters, all benevolent minds desire that others should enjoy that happiness which they admire in their own institutions. But when there is reason to believe that the chief magistrate lies in wait to overturn the civil and religious rights, every one must feel his interests at home strengthened by the diffusion of the same principles abroad, and therefore watches the proceedings in other states with a concernment approximating to what he does those in his own.

English affairs, however, came at once home to the bosoms of the Scots as their own, for they lived under the same king, and plainly perceived that he required only the conquest of the sister kingdom in order to overwhelm Scotland, and restore the civil and religious bondage

* Rush, vol. v. p. 281 *et seq.*; Whitlocke, pp. 75-6.

which they had so intrepidly cast off. On the other hand, as there was a party in Scotland busy to raise a faction there, which should overpower the Covenanters and join the king, it was scarcely possible for the latter to be quiet. It is as true that a portion of the English parliament looked for the help of the Covenanters in their internal struggle. The intrigues of Montrose, Nethesdale, Aboyne, and the Hamiltons, were early suspected; and the second seizure of the Earl of Antrim by Monro, enabled them, partly by an evidence of a witness with his dying declaration, partly by Antrim's own confession on a strict examination before Monro and a council of war, and partly by papers found on his person, to detect the plot.* After this, which struck them with dismay, neutrality was impossible; and as they might summon a convention of estates, which in a great measure possessed the powers of a parliament, and which Charles opposed in vain, they, under that name, accomplished the object which they were denied by the king. Much was their disappointment, therefore, at the backwardness of the English parliament in soliciting their assistance; and they seem, latterly, to have listened greedily to all accounts of its disasters, which they flattered themselves would lead to that event. The matter was opposed by the aristocratical portion of the Houses; but the more popular succeeded at last in carrying the measure; and commissioners, of whom Sir Henry Vane the younger was the chief, were dispatched to Scotland, for the purpose of establishing a league with that nation. However deeply imbued the Scots might be with a sense of the superiority of their religious establishments over those of all other states, they did not permit their enthusiasm to withdraw them from mere worldly affairs. Imagining that the English were almost overpowered by

* Husband's *2d Col.* p. 260 *et seq.*; (see also pp. 67-8); Rush. vol. iv. Baillie's *Letters, &c.*, as published by part iii. ch. xiii.; Baillie, vol. ii. Bannatyne Club, vol. ii. p. 73 *et seq.* p. 40 *et seq.*

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the king, they flattered themselves that it would be reserved for their army to suppress the royal forces; and that then, in conjunction with the Presbyterian party, they would be enabled to dictate both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, and thus open to themselves the offices in church and state.

The English commissioners were instructed to enter into a civil league only; but it was the interest of the Scots, as well as the dictates of their feelings, to make it also a religious one. As the commissioners could not accomplish their own object, it became necessary for them to modify what appertained to ecclesiastical matters, so as not to exclude, and consequently forfeit, the support and affections of the large party in England, that now began to be known under the title of Independents, including those who had not resolved on a form of church government, but objected to the tyrannical rigour of the Presbyterians. To have yielded to any express stipulation in favour of the Independents, might have shaken the stability of the Scottish establishment, and would have blasted the hopes of the Scots in regard to the success of their schemes in the South. On the other hand, it would have been pernicious, perhaps fatal, to the English to have renounced the interests of so powerful and respectable a body as the Independents. But, as the common safety of the two nations required an immediate agreement, they entered into a compromise—that while the worship in Scotland should be sustained as at present established, the reformation in England should be effected ‘according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches.’ In other respects, they agreed to root out popery, &c. A meeting of divines for the establishment of the English church was to be held at Westminster, where the Scottish clergy were to assist in the discussion. But the latter, though they displayed much erudition there, which, however, they allowed their antagonists also exhibited, appear to have relied more upon the power of

their army than of their arguments: their continual complaint afterwards was, that so fine a military force should do nothing; their cry, to enter upon action, that having borne down resistance from the king, it might act in conjunction with the Presbyterian party against all others.*

The agreement with the Scots obtained the name of the Solemn League and Covenant; and by it they undertook to send a large army into England, to co-operate with the parliament. Having been sanctioned by the English parliament, it was ordered to be taken by the people in both countries; and the enthusiasm with which it was received must have inspired terror into the opposite party. The Scottish pulpits sounded to arms; and the curse of Meroz against those who go not out to assist the Lord against the mighty, rang in the ears of the zealous auditors. Young men of family readily offered their services in the army; and old soldiers of fortune hailed the opportunity of such employment. By the close of the year, Leslie,

* The clause in regard to the church-government of England has been ascribed to the deep hypocrisy of Sir Henry Vane, who, according to Clarendon, overreached a whole nation in what they most excelled in—dissimulation. But it is well for that historian to endeavour to blast the character of an individual whom he may be said to have murdered, and that of a nation which he oppressed with such tyrannical bigotry. Burnet says, that the English commissioners would not hear of a clause for Presbyterianism, and thought themselves well secured from the inroads of the Scottish presbytery, by the words, ‘of reforming according to the word of God,’ cast in by Sir Henry Vane; whilst the Scots thought the next words, ‘of reforming according to the practice of the best reformed churches,’ made sure for the Scottish model, since they counted, and indisputably, that Scot-

land could not miss that character; and that, therefore, in the very contriving of that article, they studied to outwit each other. Now, what does all this prove, but that both parties were satisfied to leave the matter open to after discussion? That the Scots flattered themselves with the idea of carrying their object is beyond all doubt; but, when the affair was so contested, they could not be strangers to the loose nature of the clause. Then, why should there be an assembly at Westminster, to determine upon the best ecclesiastical establishment, if anything had been resolved upon? The private letters of Baillie, however, put this matter beyond question; and it is extraordinary that it should have been reserved for such writers as Clarendon to charge Vane with overreaching the Scots, while the Presbyterians were silent.

CHAP.

I.

Irish af-
fairs and
cessation.

Earl of Leven, who accepted of the command, led 20,000 men to the borders.*

On the other hand, Charles had long been tampering in Ireland, and had only been restrained from concluding a peace, and bringing over the army there to England, as well as from raising another of Irish Catholics, by the backwardness of the first to concur in the measure, and by the fatal prejudice which the project must bring to his affairs, unless it enabled him to triumph completely over the liberties of Britain. His secret correspondence with Ormond, however, and even with Catholics, continued uninterrupted, and he employed all means to incline the army to his wishes, and to obtain a pretext for entering into a peace. The distractions in Britain had prevented sufficient supplies from being sent to the army in Ireland, and it was reduced to straits. Availing himself of this, Charles secretly encouraged the officers to set forth remonstrances of their lamentable condition, and to use the language of despair. The opposite party complained that vessels with supplies were seized by the royal troops, and alleged that others were intercepted by secret intelligence given to the rebels; and it is extraordinary, indeed, that Charles himself commanded Ormond—who had been bribed with a new title—to send him arms and ammunition, articles of which Ormond himself loudly complained in public of not being sufficiently provided. The parliament sent commissioners to watch over Irish affairs, who even engaged their own credit for the supply of the troops, and made many judicious arrangements; but, under the colour that they had been sent without his authority by an assembly in rebellion against Charles, he commanded their departure from the island, and even issued orders to seize them on a charge of sedition. Some of the justices and council strenuously opposed any cessation, for a peace durst not be entered, and those were immediately

* Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 337 *et seq.*; Burnet's *Mem. of the Hamil-* tons, p. 233 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. iii. p. 369 *et seq.*; vol. v. pp. 112, 113.

displaced, and even threatened with an impeachment, on grounds which it was well known could never be substantiated. The lord lieutenant was, on the same principles, detained in England. The officers in the army, too, who opposed any agreement with the rebels, were discountenanced as disaffected to the king. All attempts to bribe the Scottish general, and seduce his army, proved ineffectual. The intrigues, however, failed to give a colour to the proceeding till September. The fate of the English-Irish army, and the result of the cessation, shall be related in their place.*

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I.

* The statement of Mr. Hume on this subject—and he merely follows Carte, an author that makes the boldest assertions against evidence furnished by himself—is so extraordinary that it will be necessary to meet it. His statement is, that Charles was actuated by the laudable motive of saving the English-Irish army (which was in the utmost straits), as well as his Protestant subjects, and that then he naturally employed the army against the parliament. Now, the first commission to Ormond to hear the complaints of the confederated Irish is dated the 11th of January (Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118); and yet it appears, by a letter to Ormond on the 12th of that month, or next day, that Serjeant-major Warren had been previously instructed to carry to Ormond his majesty's commands for peace, and do other work. Along with this letter there is a memorial for the treaty, 'that,' says Charles, '*honour and public safety may go along WITH MY PARTICULAR INTERESTS*, which I permit you to communicate according to your discretion. For the rest, I have given so full instructions to this trusty bearer, that I need say no more.' (Appendix to *Life of Ormonde*, p. 1.) Yet this trusty bearer, the king mentions, knew nothing of Warren's message. Warren seems to have been dispatched in November; and one object was, to dispose the offi-

cers of the army to the king's service, and encourage them to complain. Accordingly, on the 19th December, Ormond writes to Secretary Nicholas, that Warren himself, with others, had formally made a complaint (vol. iii. p. 130); but he takes care not to allude to the secret instructions. And here I must observe, that it is perfectly evident, by collating letters, &c., that both the king, Ormond, and others of the royal correspondents, used in their dispatches a style which imported something very different from what privately passed. Compare the letters in the Appendix to the *Life of Ormonde*, and what we have quoted from the Appendix to Cox's *History of Ireland*, with those in vol. iii. of Carte's *Ormonde*. On the 2nd of February, Charles writes, 'I am glad to see, by yours of the 18th of January, that you are ready to put those propositions in execution which I made to you by Serjeant-major Warren, assuring you, that that service shall not be hindered by the arrival of a more powerful head.' (This, of course, was Leicester, the lord lieutenant, who was purposely kept in England by Charles.) 'And I earnestly desire you (for many reasons, which I have not time now to set down) to send me word, with all speed, the particulars of this business, as how, when, and in what measure it will be done, as likewise what use they will make of Mr.

CHAP.

I.

Death of
Pym.

In December this year, the parliament and people sustained a great loss in the death of Pym, whose poverty at

Bourke's dispatch in relation to it. Accommodation is much spoken of here, I having yesterday received propositions from the parliament; but those that see them will hardly believe that the propounders have any intention of peace; for certainly no less power than His, who made the world of nothing, can draw peace out of these articles.' (This evinces with what disposition the treaty of Oxford was entered into.) 'Therefore, I leave you to judge what hope there is for you to receive supplies from hence, which you should not want were it in the power of,' &c. On the 8th, he writes—'I am glad that mine of the 12th of January are come to your hands, and that you will lose no time in the prosecution of that business, *commanding you to slacken nothing in it, whatsoever the justices may say or do. I would not this way seem to doubt your diligence in obeying my commands, but that I find, towards the conclusion of your letter, that the justices intend to desire of me a stop of the execution of that commission; and I know that I need not bid you hinder, as much as you may, the concurrence of my Protestant subjects.* This last of yours, if I be not deceived, shews me clearly that my commands by Major Warren are very feasible; wherefore I desire you earnestly to lose no time in that neither, and that you would, with all speed, send me Warren over, very particularly instructed, which way and when I may expect the performance of that business, with all the circumstances conducing to it' (vol. ii. App. pp. 2, 3). See, further, a letter on the 22nd, and one on St. Patrick's Day, in which he says—'Besides what you will receive in answer to your last dispatch by my secretary, I must add this, to desire you to send to Chester as many muskets as you can spare, with all expedition. I would wish 2000, and likewise forty barrels of powder to the same place.' And

on the 23rd of March he writes, '*I have so fully instructed this trusty bearer, that I add nothing, but only by way of memorandum, that the Lord Forbes's fleet is to be seized,*' (this lord commanded troops from Scotland to suppress the Irish rebels,) 'whether there be peace with the Irish rebels or not; but not to be undertaken except you be more than competent to do it. And if there be peace in Ireland, then my Irish army is to come over with all speed to assist me, and not else, *except I send you word*' (*Ib.*). Now, if this be considered, along with the plot with Antrim, and the whole correspondence in the third volume of Carte's *Ormonde*, it will set matters in a very strange light. (See from p. 130 to 266.) It appears by a letter from Digby to Ormond, 29th November, that Antrim, who had been liberated by the interposition of the king (see p. 213), had returned to his old project; and yet it was in January following, that the commission which is in the Clarendon Papers was granted to him. (See also Borlase's *Ireland*, pp. 103, 104, 111, 112, 114, 121, 128, 129, 135. See *Clar.* vol. iii. p. 159 *et seq.*; *Rush.* vol. v. p. 348 *et seq.*) Whoever will attend to what we have quoted and referred to, and to what we have formerly proved on this subject, will not entertain a doubt on the matter. The very fact, indeed, that Charles wished a pretext for bringing over the English-Irish army to England, and thence encouraged the officers to complain, and that he had projected the introduction of the Irish insurgents long before the cessation, affords a presumption which is insurmountable. Carte, who abuses all who opposed the royal designs, charges Monro, who refused the proffered earldom, and upwards of 2000*l.* per annum, as a bribe to join Charles, with having indifferently plundered friend and foe; but it is strange that the Protestants did not complain.

his decease put a period to the ceaseless charges of the Royalists, that he was amassing an immense fortune at the public expense; but a new calumny succeeded, that he had been cut off for his iniquity by the loathsome disease, *morbis pedicularis*, with which Sylla had been affected—a disease which has absurdly been ascribed to many.* His body was exposed for some time, to refute the groundless clamour. It was believed, that the load of business, with anxiety for the public service, overpowered a naturally infirm constitution at an advanced period of life. His debts were paid by the parliament.

* Rush vol. v. p. 376; White-locke, p. 69; Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 436 *et seq*; *Journals of the Commons*. See Letters in third volume of Carte's *Ormonde*. The malice of Clarendon makes him repeat the silly tale (which he probably assisted to invent) regarding the cause of Pym's death, and endeavour to destroy his character for integrity by a story which, like the other, only reflects against himself—that one of the witnesses against Strafford, 'an Irishman of very mean and low condition, afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him as an evidence of one part of the charge against the lord lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not reasonably be thought a competent informer, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence.' Now, surely, if

this person of vile quality was not worthy of credit upon his oath against Strafford, he should not, on his bare word, have been believed against Pym, when the Restoration (for that undoubtedly was the 'afterwards') had put all power in the hands of Clarendon's own party. But who was this witness? What did he swear to? To whom did he make this important disclosure? Clarendon is prudently silent as to all this. The same writer denies the great natural talents of Pym, and alleges that they were not much adorned with art; but he admits his capacity for business, and allows that 'he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper.' But see what Baillie says of his powerful eloquence, in his *Journal of Strafford's Trial*.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF THE COURT AND ROYAL ARMY—ASSEMBLY OF THE MOCK OR MONGREL PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD, AND ITS PROCEEDINGS—RUIN OF THE ENGLISH-IRISH REGIMENTS BROUGHT BY CHARLES TO ENGLAND—ENTRANCE OF THE SCOTS, AND THEIR JUNCTION WITH FAIRFAX AFTER HIS VICTORIES AT SELBY—SIEGE OF YORK, AND JUNCTION OF MANCHESTER'S ARMY WITH FAIRFAX'S AND THE SCOTISH—EXPLOITS OF RUPERT, AND BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR—CHARACTER OF CROMWELL AND OF THE INDEPENDENTS—BATTLE OF CROPREDY BRIDGE—ESSEX'S FORCES DISARMED—SECOND BATTLE OF NEWBURY—SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE—FAIRFAX—MONTROSE'S PROCEEDINGS IN SCOTLAND—TREATY OF UXBRIDGE—EXECUTION OF LAUD.

CHAP.
II.

IN his attempt to escape from the wholesome control of his grand council, Charles only incurred a severer thralldom. To the complaints and insatiable demands of those who supported him, and who, putting a due value on their own services, showed that they did not mean to vindicate his claims without a proper return, the royal ear must be ever open; and if any received the slightest check in his unwarrantable pretensions, 'he grew sullen, complained he was neglected, and resolved, or pretended so, to quit the service, and to travel into some foreign kingdom.' Having set the example of trampling upon all law but that of force, he taught the soldiers to regard the sword as the origin of legitimate government, and consequently to despise the council as subordinate to the army. With a respect for the law of the land, the officers threw off that likewise for military discipline, and the ordinary decency of morals, having become addicted to the grossest intemperance and licentiousness, which soon infected the whole army. The council, which wanted all the vigour of a popular meeting, was rent into factions, all forgetting

the cause in their intrigues for place, honours, and emolument, and each aiming at the ruin of his neighbour. But he, flattering himself that, after he had used his present instruments to overturn the constitution, he might either restrain or change them, was not moved by this melancholy posture of affairs, to conceive the idea of attempting to recover the place of a legal monarch; yet it is most certain that, as the government which he desired would have been opposed to the affections of his people, he must have been little better than the slave of the military, on whom alone, in that event, he could have depended.*

Charles, having *learned* advisers, who told him that, in their 'opinion, the act for the continuance of the parliament was void from the beginning, as it was not in the power of the king to bar himself from the power of dissolving it, which is to be deprived of an essential part of his sovereignty,' had formed the design of dissolving the parliament. But from this he was dissuaded by Hyde, who assured him that not one man less would, on that account, attend the meeting at Westminster; and that, as it would confirm all the assertions of the two Houses in regard to his intention (for, on the same principle that he denied the validity of this act, he might all the other acts to which even his supporters were attached, as excellent provisions in favour of public liberty), so it would bring to them an accession of many members who had lately deserted their places in that assembly.† Instead of this, therefore, another plan was recommended—that of summoning the members of both Houses to meet at Oxford, when all those who had left Westminster might, as to a free parliament, resort hither, and thus destroy the authority of the meeting at Westminster. But Charles, though he conceived the scheme to be feasible in the main, was, on other grounds, alarmed for the consequences of such

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 299–315, and other passages already cited.

† Clar. *Life*, vol. i. p. 206 *et seq.*

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an assembly, and reluctantly listened to the project. Nothing being farther from his purpose than peace upon conditions, he apprehended that the members who should obey his summons, having been allowed the character of a free parliament, might assume the independence of one, and, by proposing accommodation, cripple instead of advancing his designs. His council, however, viewed matters in a different light, and he came round to their opinion. But the grounds on which the plan was recommended and adopted are best stated in the words of Clarendon. 'It might reasonably be hoped and presumed, that persons who had that duty to obey his majesty's summons in coming thither, which would be none but such as had already absented themselves from Westminster, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not bring ill and troublesome humours with them to disturb that service, which could only preserve them; but, on the contrary, would unite and conspire together to make the king superior to his and their enemies. And as to the advancing any propositions of peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his majesty to oppose, there could be no inconvenience, since their appearing in it would but draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would never give them any answer, or look upon them under any notion but as private persons and deserters of the parliament, without any qualification to treat or be treated with; which would more provoke those at Oxford, and by degrees stir up more animosities between them.'* Thus did Charles consent, even to this meeting, only from the hope that circumstances had deprived it of all independence, and that, far from accomplishing the object which he professed to have most at heart—the public peace—it would render the quarrel irreconcilable.†

What had been foreseen immediately happened when

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 353.

† *Ibid.* p. 351 *et seq.*

this assembly met. The parliament, which had too fully experienced that propositions from the king were merely intended to carry intrigues for betraying them, had prudently prohibited any message from that quarter, except through the general; and a letter was sent from the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament at Oxford, under cover to him, to be conveyed to those who trusted him. This, as it at once directly denied the authority under which he acted, he refused to forward; and it was followed by a letter from the king's general for a safe-conduct, 'to and from Westminster, for Mr. Richard Fanshawe and Mr. Thomas Offly.' The same conclusion arose from this; and Essex answered, that when his majesty required, for the gentlemen mentioned, a safe-conduct to the two Houses of Parliament, it should be forwarded. Then followed another letter to Essex, enclosing one from the Lords and Commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, to the Lords and Commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, which drew from that body a spirited answer, vindicating their own character as the grand legislative assembly, yet professing their desire of accommodation; and thus ended the matter according to the monarch's wish, while it afforded him a pretext for publishing, in the name of the Lords and Commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, a declaration, full of reproaches against the parliament for continuing so calamitous a war, in spite of all his ceaseless labours to terminate the bleeding misery of his kingdom.*

Charles's Mongrel Parliament, as himself designated it, imitated the conduct of the two Houses at Westminster in ordaining taxes. It allowed a loan of 100,000*l.* on privy seal, which was compulsorily levied, and imposed a duty on wine, beer, and other commodities, while it granted its authority to raise troops, whether by impressment or voluntary service. The excise was first intro-

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II.

Meeting of
the Mon-
grel Par-
liament at
Oxford.

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 396 *et seq.* with *n.*; *Rush.* vol. v. p. 559 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 80 *et seq.*

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duced by the Long Parliament, and it afforded to the royalist party which thus followed the example a field for declamation; as that it had hitherto been the reproach against foreign states, that they were subjected to it, and that the bare apprehension of such a thing at the commencement of this reign had excited a general alarm. It is not, however, the name, but the substance, which ought to excite abhorrence. England gloried in her superiority to foreign states, because no tax could be imposed in that kingdom except by the voice of the community, expressed by their legitimate organ the parliament; while, in other states, imposts were levied at the will of the prince, and fell almost exclusively upon the lower classes, lest the higher, who alone possessed a shadow of political influence, should revolt against a tyrannical government. The people of England had, on the same grounds, justly entertained the greatest apprehensions of a king who, in the face of every constitutional principle, had resolved to impose an excise of his own accord, and to introduce foreign troops to exact it. But it is not so wonderful that the Royalists of that age, who merely desired a pretext for clamour, should, though they followed the example which might have closed their mouths, have stigmatised the parliament on that ground, as that the historian to whom we have so often alluded, should have said, that ‘so extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of excise was unknown to them;’ for, of the invention of monopolies in Elizabeth’s time, he remarks, that ‘had she gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco or the coast of Barbary;’ and he well knew, first, that monopolies, which were against the old fundamental laws, had since been directly prohibited by statute; and, secondly, that Charles had so shackled every manufacture—nay, raw commodity—by that pernicious system, so raised the ordinary articles of

consumption, that industry and commerce had been palsied, and the people oppressed by the dearth of the articles. The removal of these monopolies had since given such a spring and energy to the national spirit, that, in spite of a civil war, the taxes of parliament had become comparatively insignificant, while the people knew that they were imposed for an object that could alone secure public and private liberty, and for which almost any temporary sacrifice ought to be reckoned inconsiderable. Such were the first proceedings of the Mongrel Parliament. But Charles, not content with the taxes which even it imposed, issued orders, under the penalty of fire and sword, to the inhabitants of Oxfordshire, and the neighbouring counties, to bring in their corn, hay, &c., for which, indeed, he professed his purpose to pay at moderate rates. His parliament adjourned itself during the summer; and we shall give some accounts of its after proceedings in their place.*

Charles had hitherto been disappointed in his expectations of great assistance from France; but on the death of Louis XIII. he flattered himself with the prospect of more friendly counsels. To his mortification, however, Mazarine only sent the Count Harcourt to propose a mediation between him and his parliament—which of course ended in nothing.†

In November 1643, some of the English regiments which had been raised for the service of Ireland were brought by Charles to England, and were afterwards joined by more; but, though the officers were sufficiently disposed towards the service, the privates were inclined to mutiny against what they conceived to be treason to their religion and country. The officers entertained the most profound contempt for the parliamentary troops, and their first success seemed to justify their presumption;

The arrival and fate of the English-Irish regiments.

* Rush. vol. v. p. 559 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 416 *et seq.*

State Papers, vol. ii. p. 157 *et seq.*; Appendix to Evelyn's *Mem.* p. 263

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 325 *et seq.*;

et seq.

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but Sir Thomas Fairfax soon convinced them of their error.* Having landed at Mostyn, in North Wales, and been put under the command of Lord Byron, lately Sir John Byron, they took Hawarden Castle, then Beeston Castle, which was so disgracefully surrendered that the governor was executed for cowardice: Northwich, Crew House, Dedington House, and lastly, Acton Church, yielded to them, leaving no place in Cheshire or the neighbourhood in possession of the opposite party except Nantwich; and this town was laid siege to in the depth of winter. Alarmed for so important a place, parliament ordered Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the month of January, when his horse had been greatly injured by the preceding campaign, the foot also much harassed, and the roads very deep, to undertake its relief. The spirit of this gallant commander was instantly infused into his troops, and he led them on to victory. Byron had divided his army, and placed it on opposite sides of the river, but Fairfax in vain attempted to attack one part before the other joined it; for his own artillery was not come up, and the junction was effected before he was prepared for action. The battle was sharp, but of short duration. Byron's forces gave way on all sides, and a great part having retreated to Acton Church, 'were caught as in a trap.' Two hundred only of the vanquished were slain; but a great number of officers and fifteen hundred common soldiers were taken prisoners. The victors also took the whole of the enemy's ordnance, and twenty-two pairs of colours: a hundred and twenty women, who, armed with long knives, are reported to have done mischief, also fell into their hands. The victory was gained with the loss of fifty

* The following is the military character of Fairfax, drawn in 1646 or 7: 'And in regard to activity it not only justly applies to him, but to Cromwell, and most of the officers who were employed after the new model. He was still for action in field or fortification, esteeming no-

thing infeasible for God, and for man to do in God's strength, if they would be up and doing; and thus his success hath run through a line crossed to that of old soldiery, of long sieges and slow approaches; and he hath done all so soon because he was ever doing' (Sprigge, p. 322).

men; and thus, in a great measure, was dissipated that army on which Charles had so much relied, for a great portion abhorring the service, joined the parliament.*

Resolved upon putting into execution his project of introducing the native Irish, the king granted fresh powers to Antrim to seduce Monro, whose army alone, as it was well observed, prevented the Irish from being poured in endless succession upon the western coast.† But Monro was incorruptible, and such of the native troops as were introduced into England were as unsuccessful as the army which had been raised to reduce and chastise them. As these gave no quarter, but continued that detestable mode of warfare to which they had been accustomed in their insurrection, parliament most properly passed an ordinance against giving them quarter.‡

In the same month of January 1644, the Scottish army, consisting of 17,000 foot and 3000 horse, entered England. The roads were excessively deep, and this brave army wanted those improvements in travelling which render a modern campaign so comparatively easy. The men often marched knee-deep in the snow, and the subsequent thaw rendered their progress still more dreadful. Frequently were they obliged to repose in the fields, while the precautions of the enemy reduced them to great straits for subsistence. Having reached Newcastle, they summoned it to surrender in the name of the committee of both kingdoms; but the spirit of the governor and garrison

Entrance
of the
Scots.

* Whitelocke, p. 81; Rush. vol. v. p. 299 *et seq.*; Carte's *Let.* vol. i. p. 29 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 423 *et seq.* Clarendon is wrong in supposing that Fairfax began the attack before both the enemy's divisions were united. Fairfax hoped to have done so, but was disappointed (see his own dispatch). Sir Robert Byron, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, says that the enclosures prevented the royalist horse from assisting the foot.

† Baillie's *Let.* vol. i. p. 103 *et seq.*;

Clar. *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 165 *et seq.*

‡ Rush. vol. v. p. 783. Mr. Hume says, that Prince Rupert, by making some reprisals, soon repressed this inhumanity; but surely if Rupert were justified in making reprisals the opposite party were, in ordaining that no quarter should be given to a body of men that allowed none. The fact is, that the ordinance was invariably acted upon, and that Rupert's denial of quarter occurred some months anterior to it.

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convinced them that it would only be won with difficulty. Their situation was now critical. The Marquis of Newcastle, strengthened with forces from Durham, and twelve troops of horse from Yorkshire, watched their motions with an army of 14,000. After he had shown a disposition to fight, which the nature of the ground prevented the Scots—who in two skirmishes were successful—from meeting with action, he, to straiten their quarters, retired upon Durham House, carrying and driving always everything before him. Five vessels had been sent from Scotland with provisions; but three of them had been wrecked, and the other two, having been driven by stress of weather into Sunderland, fell into the enemy's hands. The army was therefore reduced to such a condition, that it was frequently without the necessaries of life, and never had more than a supply for twenty-four hours at a time. In the neighbourhood of Newcastle, however, they might procure provisions for themselves; but they wanted forage for the horses. By advancing they secured the latter, but exposed themselves to the wants of the former: by sending forward their horse, while they detained the foot, they would have hazarded the ruin of the army; since the marquis could encounter the foot with all his forces, and then return against the latter. It was prudently determined on, therefore, to march forward, in the face of all difficulties, into the heart of England, leaving the town of Newcastle in the possession of the enemy. A fresh victory of Sir Thomas Fairfax brought them unexpected relief.*

The parliament conceiving, that while the marquis watched the motions of the Scottish army, now was the time to reduce the whole of Yorkshire, sent orders to Lord Fairfax, and his son Sir Thomas, to seize the opportunity. The latter having received the orders, left the prosecution of the siege of Latham House, in which he

* Rush. vol. v. p. 603 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Letters*.

was then engaged, to his brother Sir William, Colonels Ashton, Rigby, and others, and hastened to join his father. Colonel Bellasis, who had been deputed by the Marquis of Newcastle to the command in Yorkshire during his own absence, and who had been very active, erroneously conceiving that he might prevent the junction of the Fairfaxes, encountered their united forces at Selby, and was totally defeated: himself and many other officers, with 1500 common soldiers, were taken, besides all their ordnance, arms, and baggage. Vessels and boats upon the river, belonging to the adverse party, also fell into the hands of the conquerors. The marquis now perceived himself in danger of being enclosed between the two armies—that of the Fairfaxes on the south, and of the Scots on the north, and having drawn some additional forces from Newcastle and Lumley Castle, hastily retreated into York, whither he was quickly followed.*

Fairfax joined the Scottish army at Tadcaster on the 20th of April, and marched directly to York. But their united forces were insufficient to beleaguer that city. For the marquis having between 4000 and 5000 horse, with the command of the bridge, could easily meet the assailants at any part. If again they divided their forces, and occupied the opposite sides, then he could attack either division with all his army, and probably destroy it before the other could possibly come to its assistance; and afterwards direct all his force against the other. It was therefore deemed necessary to summon the Earl of Manchester out of the associated counties to their assistance; and, before proceeding further, we shall give a succinct account of his army and its proceedings.†

Siege of
York.

In the preceding year, Manchester had undertaken to the parliament to raise an army out of the associated counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln, with the Isle of Ely, in order

* Rush. vol. v. p. 618 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 620.

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to co-operate with the forces under Cromwell. The earl appointed that intrepid and able commander his lieutenant-general, and, in a short time, found himself at the head of 14,000 men. For the regular support of this new army, after it had performed some gallant feats, the parliament passed an ordinance for assessments in the associated counties; and it was soon put into an excellent condition. On the 3rd of May it sat down before Lincoln, and immediately took the lower part of the city. The besieged retreated to the minster and the castle, on the top of an eminence; and, on the 6th, a fall of rain having retarded operations, Manchester carried these by storm, when the governor and officers, with 700 private foot, and 100 horse, were taken prisoners, besides the arms and eight pieces of ordnance. What enhanced the victory was its being gained with the loss of only eight men. After this he made a disposition to watch the motions of Sir Charles Lucas, whom the Marquis of Newcastle had sent with a large body of horse to forage in the neighbourhood, and then joined the united army at York. But part of the Parliamentary army had also been sent to Lancashire under Sir John Meldrum, and there had been great loss during the siege.*

Charles regarded York as so important a place, that he conceived the loss of it to be almost equivalent to that of his crown. He therefore commanded Rupert to march to its relief, and endeavour to beat the rebel army of both kingdoms as the only prospect which the monarch had to spin out time till Rupert himself should come to his assistance.† Rupert had lately performed some great

* Rush. vol. v. p. 621 *et seq.*

† See the king's letter to him in the Appendix to Evelyn's *Mem.* p. 86 *et seq.* This latter is extremely valuable, as it forms a powerful vindication for Rupert, and it is a proof how memoirs are got up; that, in those of the house of Somerville, it is said, that Essex's army had been

ruined in the south, so that Rupert had no motive for fighting; whereas the ruin of Essex's army occurred on the 1st of September following. Clarendon pretends that the letter which he alludes to could not bear that construction. But I cannot conceive that there is room for doubt on the subject (*Id.* p. 513 *et seq.*)

exploits. He had relieved Newark with great loss to the opposite party; and having then marched into Shropshire, had taken the garrison of Longford, near Newport. He had next proceeded to the relief of Latham House, where the Countess of Derby, during a close siege, had made a noble defence. In his route, however, he had carried Stopworth, in Cheshire, on the banks of the Mersey, with the cannon, and ammunition, and some hundred prisoners. The Parliamentary party before Latham House, on the approach of so superior a force, had retreated to Bolton; but Rupert having followed them, had carried that town also in spite of a gallant defence. The glory of the victory, however, was tarnished by his cruelty. He refused quarter to 1200, whom he put to the sword. Liverpool had also been taken by him; but the ordnance, ammunition, and goods had prudently been conveyed away by the governor, who foresaw that the defence of the place was impracticable. The inhabitants, however, suffered under the vengeance of an infuriated soldiery for the prudent act of the governor. It was when he had performed these exploits that he received the orders of Charles to march to the relief of York, and to fight the united army. Rupert, therefore, having gathered all the forces he could in his march, and being joined by Sir Charles Lucas, and Newcastle's horse, proceeded towards York at the head of nearly 20,000 men.*

Before the approach of Rupert, the Marquis of Newcastle had been reduced to the greatest straits, and had tried the stratagem of negotiation to spin out time till relief arrived. On the 1st of July the prince appeared with his large force; and the united army, expecting that he would approach by the south-west side of the river, retreated to Marston Moor, with the hope of obliging him to fight; but he dexterously effected his object by a

* Rush, vol. v. p. 623 *et seq.*

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different route. The situation of his army, and of the besieged, was however wretched. His forces, suddenly raised, depended for subsistence on the sword, and would be ready to desert on any reverse or want, while they would necessarily, by a long continuance in any quarter, have raised the country against them. The troops in the city were so mutinous for want of pay, that they could scarcely be prevailed upon to join in an engagement. The generals of the united army, on the other hand, had resolved to march to Tadcaster, Cawood, and Selby, with the view not only of making themselves master of the river, but of cutting off all supplies out of the East-Riding, and obstructing his march southwards, while the Earl of Denbigh, with the Lancashire forces, was rapidly advancing from the west, whence they had pursued him by the route he came, and thus rendered retreat very hazardous. Three thousand additional forces were indeed expected by the marquis from the north; but the earl, with the Lancashire forces, which were far more numerous, also hastened forward to join the adverse party. In these circumstances, Rupert had every motive, besides the positive command of the king, to hazard a battle. His army was at least equal, and, flushed with success, were in high spirits for battle, which a short delay would, from the scarcity of provisions, have dejected. If he prevailed, and had it not been for the great exertions of Cromwell, who in reality saved the allied army, such would in all probability have been the fact—the most formidable force which Charles had to encounter was overthrown, and then Rupert hoped to have marched with a victorious army to join the monarch, when it might reasonably be expected that all opposition would be overcome. It may well be questioned, too, whether he could have avoided an engagement. For he required to move for provisions, and could not have stirred without fighting. But the loser is ever censured; and the defeated party, while they indulged themselves in reflections upon his

misconduct, endeavoured to ease their anguish in reproach, and by persuading themselves that the issue ought to have been different. It is said that the Marquis of Newcastle used every argument to dissuade him from hazarding an engagement, alleging that he should be contented with having effected his grand object of relieving York; that he understood such dissension had broken out amongst the generals of the adverse party, that they had formed the resolution of separating; and that then, when besides reinforced with the additional troops expected, he must destroy each party individually. But from the contradictions in the accounts of this matter, there is reason to believe that the marquis, or his friends for him, was, like many others, wise after the event; and as the loss of the battle was imputed to himself, he had a motive for exerting himself to invent an apology. There seems no reason for supposing that the combined army meant to split; and the dissension, which was chiefly directed against Cromwell, arose after the battle: while, if we may credit Clarendon, no personal communication took place between Rupert and Newcastle. It may be added that, even assuming the fact of the marquis's advice, it is manifest that it is impossible he should have had intelligence which could have justified any reasonable man for acting upon it.*

Battle of
Marston
Moor.

On the 2nd of July, the combined army began its march to Tadcaster, the Scots leading the van, when news arrived that Rupert pressed upon the rear with 5000 horse, and was drawing up the rest of his troops. The march was immediately countermanded, and preparations made for battle. The numbers of the respective armies in the field were nearly equal, each being about 25,000. Of the royal army, Rupert commanded the right wing; and, though accounts are contradictory, it appears that Newcastle commanded the left; but that the arduous

* Carte's *Let.* vol. i. pp. 57-8.

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part of his duty devolved upon Sir Charles Lucas and Colonel Hurry. It is uncertain who commanded the centre. On the opposite side, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing, consisting of eighty troops of horse, being partly his own, and partly Scottish. The left wing, which consisted of seventy troops, being the whole of Manchester's cavalry, and part of the Scottish, was nominally commanded by that nobleman and his lieutenant-general, Cromwell, assisted by the Scottish lieutenant-general, David Leslie; but in reality by Cromwell alone, supported by Leslie: the earl having put himself at the head of his own infantry, which was also stationed on the left. The centre was commanded by Lord Fairfax on the right, and the Earl of Leven on the left. As Rupert's line extended farther than theirs, they, to secure their flank, placed on the left the Scottish dragoons, under Colonel Frizzle. The prince's word was 'God and the king;' the opposite party's, 'God with us.'

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the ordnance on both sides began to play, but with very inconsiderable execution. At five, all was ready for a general action, and a deep silence ensued, each party expecting from the other the attack, which an intervening ditch and bank rendered hazardous. Though within musket-shot, however, the hostile armies faced each other without moving, for about two hours—no proof of that headstrong impetuosity ascribed to Rupert—and it was generally believed throughout the ranks of the respective parties, that there would be no battle that night. But at seven o'clock the Parliamentary generals determined on the attack, and the signal being given, Manchester's foot, with part of the main body of the Scots, advanced in a running march, and having soon passed the ditch, charged vigorously. The horse also charged, and the attack began likewise on the opposite wing. The first division of Rupert's horse, headed by himself, charged three hundred of Cromwell's with that intrepid leader at their head; and as the prince

had brought his bravest troops to this quarter, and attacked both in front and flank, the combat was for some time desperate, the respective parties slashing at each other with their swords; but Cromwell's band, ever irresistible, at length broke through, and having been ably supported by Leslie, the whole cavalry in that wing was borne down. The victors continued the chase beyond the left wing of the vanquished. Manchester's charge with his foot was equally successful against the infantry, amongst which was Newcastle's own regiment, who, disdaining to fly, were cut down in the order that they had been first formed in: the remainder fled towards York. In the other wing, the fortune of the first shock was reversed. Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert, at the head of five or six troops, charged the horse opposite, and breaking through went to their own left wing; but Hurry, then charging with his reserve, so furiously assailed Lord Fairfax's brigade, which was annoyed by raw levies that were put to flight and thrown back upon their body, that the right wing was routed with part of the main body, including the Scots, and fled towards Tadcaster, giving out that all was lost: as however the conquerors were ready to seize the carriages, Cromwell with his horse, and Manchester with his foot, having returned from the pursuit of the prince's right, and perceived the condition of their friends, advanced to a second charge. Both sides were surprised to find that they must fight the battle over again, for a victory of which each thought himself assured. The face of the field was now counterchanged, the Royalists occupying exactly the ground which their adversaries had done, and the Parliamentary party that of the Royalists. The second encounter was desperate, but short. Before ten o'clock the Parliamentary forces had cleared the field, and not only secured their own artillery, but taken the whole train of Rupert. The victors followed up the pursuit till within a mile of York. In killed, the king lost between three and four thousand, and in prisoners, four generals

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and nearly a hundred other officers, with fifteen hundred common soldiers. The opposite party would not acknowledge the loss of more than three hundred. Twenty-five pieces of ordnance, a hundred and twenty barrels of powder, and ten thousand stand of arms, with a hundred pairs of colours, and Newcastle's cabinet, fell into the hands of the conquerors.*

Great as was the loss on the royal side at Marston Moor,

* Rush. vol. v. p. 631 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, pp. 93, 94; Fairfax *Mem.* 'a Letter from Cromwell to his brother-in-law, Colonel Walton, announcing the death of Walton's son.' According to this the Royalists made a poor resistance, and the English did all (Ellis's *Col.* iii. p. 300; *Clar. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 508 *et seq.*). This writer pretends, as if he could have the means of knowing, that the parliamentary generals were in such a state of dissension, that the Scots talked of marching home, and all had agreed to separate. But this is just the way he ever talks on any disaster. The parliamentary writers, and the private correspondence, &c. do not warrant us in reposing the slightest faith in the statement, which is refuted by the dispositions which had been determined on. Clarendon, too, assumes that the parliamentary army was more numerous, which is a mistake. The author of the *Memoirs of the Somervilles* says, that the united army would have been obliged to separate for want of provisions, whereas the case was just reversed (vol. ii. p. 345 *et seq.*; Baillie, *Id.* pp. 191, 201, 203 *et seq.*). 'There were three generals on each side,' says this writer, 'Lesley,' (Earl of Leven), 'Fairfax and Manchester; Rupert, Newcastle, and King. Within half an hour and less they all took to their heels.' But this is a mistake as to Manchester (p. 203 *et seq.*). The following picture of the battle by Mr. Trevor to Ormond, is, in my opinion, though artless, admirable (Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 56 *et seq.*).

'To give your excellence the short account I shall at present make to you, I could not meet the prince until after the battle was joined, and in the fire, smoke, and confusion of that day, I knew not for my soul whither to incline. The runaways on both sides were so many, so breathless, so speechless, so full of fears, that I should not have taken them for men, but by their motion, which still served them very well; not a man of them being able to give me the least hope where the prince was to be found, both armies being mingled, both horse and foot, no side keeping their own posts.—In this terrible distraction did I scour the country; here meeting with a shoal of Scots, crying out, 'Wae's us, we're a' undone;' and so full of lamentation and mourning, as if their day of doom had overtaken them, and from which they knew not whither to fly: and anon I met with a ragged troop reduced to four and the cornet; by-and-bye with a little foot officer without a hat, band, or indeed anything but feet, and so much tongue as would serve to inquire the way to the next garrisons, which, to say truth, were well filled with stragglers on both sides within a few hours, though they lay distant from the place of fight twenty or thirty miles.'—Clarendon himself informs us (vol. v. p. 185), that Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell could always rally their troops though broken; but the generalship of the other commanders on both sides must have been very bad.

it is possible that had the issue just been reversed, Fairfax and Cromwell would not have permitted Rupert to derive all the advantages which redounded to them, and which he expected, and would doubtless have obtained, against inferior leaders. They would have instantly rallied their broken troops, and retreating upon their resources in the associated counties, if they did not even renew the contest on the same ground, would have been soon prepared, in conjunction with the Lancashire forces, to try the fortune of another battle, after they had straitened Rupert's army, and thus perhaps deeply injured it by desertion. At all events, they would have effectually opposed his march to the south. But the other, though he expected a reinforcement, was not even, supposing that he had had the mental aptitude, in a condition to keep the field. His army, suddenly raised, was dispirited by such a reverse. It had hitherto depended upon the sword for subsistence; and as supplies were cut off in consequence of the posts occupied by the parliamentary troops, it must have soon been reduced to extremities, which a great portion would not have remained to meet. Newcastle's troops in York too, who were in a raging mutiny for want of pay, could never be expected to take the field after the difficulty with which part of them had been drawn out to Marston Moor. It was therefore prudently resolved upon by Rupert to retreat, so long as it was practicable; and, from the approach of the Lancashire forces, we must conclude that he evinced good generalship in carrying off so great a portion of his army. But the unfortunate must bear reproach; and such writers as Clarendon, who measured events by their own presumptuous hopes, undervaluing every difficulty in the way of their own aggrandisement, as if conquest were as easy as words, have severely visited upon the memory of Rupert the contempt with which he treated them as counsellors, while their successors have rung changes upon the same dull tale.*

* See last references.

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II.
Character
of the Mar-
quis of
Newcastle.

The conduct of the Marquis of Newcastle is not so defensible. Instead of endeavouring to lessen the misfortune to his master, nay to surmount it, he instantly left the kingdom. It is said that he was disgusted with the rashness of Rupert in persisting to fight; but it would be a poor apology for a subordinate commander's abandoning his master, that he had differed in opinion with his superior in regard to an action which had proved disastrous; and this nobleman is confessed to have been utterly unqualified for the substantial duties of a general. Full of the distinguished place he held in society, 'he loved monarchy, as it was the foundation of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that were necessary to both, without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.' His estate and influence in the district enabled him to collect an army; but though 'he liked,' to borrow the language of Clarendon, 'the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full, and for the discharge of the outward state and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded, which in the infancy of a war became him, and made him for some time very acceptable to men of all conditions,—the substantial part and fatigue of a general he did not in any degree understand, being utterly unacquainted with war, nor would submit to it, but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his lieutenant-general, King.' His generosity may be questioned from the plunder he allowed: but it affords a striking proof of the opinion entertained of his character, though the obstacles which intervened vindicate him from the individual charge, that he is accused by the noble historian of not having availed himself of former opportunities to march south,

‘lest he should be eclipsed by the court, and overshadowed by prince Rupert.’ Effeminate in his habits, though brave in action, he frequently, at critical junctures, unless when a battle was expected, and then he behaved with proper spirit in his own person, shut himself up for two days at a time, denying access even to his lieutenant-general, that he might indulge his inordinate taste for music, ‘or his softer pleasures.’* Such a mind shrank from difficulties, and when he perceived that the pomp of generalship must be worn at a vast expense of toil; and beheld that army which he had stept out of himself to render so complete, in a great measure destroyed, for the loss fell heavily upon it, he even on that ground naturally longed for the aristocratic indolence he formerly enjoyed; and having no mental resources to bear up against present calamity, he saw his master’s affairs through the medium of those feelings which render difficulties so appalling to the inactive. The aspiring hopes with which he had espoused the quarrel were now blasted, since he never could expect to recover the proud situation that he had held in the preceding year. Reproaches which must have been mortifying to such a disposition, and from such a quarter, were flung upon him by Rupert, as having occasioned the loss of the battle; and while he could now scarcely look for further honours or rewards from the crown, he might justly conceive that his abandonment of the cause, and retreat from the kingdom, under the pretext of a misunderstanding with Rupert, would serve him in any subsequent accommodation between the king and the parliament, as the latter would not be displeased with a rupture that bespoke the odiousness of the prince’s temper, and might forget past miscarriages in more recent events.

The consequences of the battle of Marston Moor were not confined merely to the contest between the king and the parliament, but powerfully extended to the parties associated with the latter; and as it raised Cromwell, who

* Clar. vol. v. p. 507 *et seq.*

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was the main instrument in the victory, as well as the party with which he acted, to the highest influence, it will here be necessary to present an account and character of both.

Character
of Crom-
well.

The stories which have been so industriously circulated about the birth, and, more particularly, about the early life of, Cromwell, were invented chiefly after his death, and were the production of men whose interested pitiful malice supplied the place of talent. The most nauseous part of the picture has obtained no sanction from such writers as Clarendon, who would not have lost so fair an opportunity to revile his memory, and exaggerate his faults, had they not been sensible that, as the stories were groundless, they could not venture upon a repetition of them without forfeiting all character for sincerity. The disgusting task was left to scribblers who had no characters to lose, but whose endless malice could implant the sting which their want of literary merit would have prevented men of high minds from extracting, had they dared, or, from political motives, been willing to undertake it; for to answer the calumnies of little despicable minds, is to own them worthy of notice: as the intelligent candid portion of the community are superior to contamination, it is only party rancour, which always burns fiercest in the breasts of the retainers of a faction, that encourages the noxious race of slanderers, and wise men console themselves that the tale will not outlive the short day of its authors. But, in the case of Cromwell, matters have been reversed: stories which received little credit in their own age, however sedulously circulated, have been revived with avidity; and the very contempt which passed them over, has served to recommend them as unanswered facts. The courtiers could not see depicted in sufficiently disgusting colours, the man who had so signally triumphed over them as a party, and devoted so many of their number to destruction—whom they felt that they could only expect to overturn, and thus recover

their own loss, by rendering odious, and the influence of whose character they dreaded after the restoration. Had the fame of his exploits been less, they would not perhaps have been so much disposed to persecute his memory. The royal family were naturally gratified with anecdotes that blackened the character of their inveterate and powerful enemy—whom they abhorred as the murderer of a king and their father; while for a season none durst, and few were inclined to stand forward the advocate of his memory, whose very bones were dug from their tomb, to be exposed upon a gibbet, and buried with ignominy under the gallows. A party in parliament, who having from their rank acquired influence at the outset, expected to transfer the power of the throne to themselves, could not forgive the ascendancy by which he reaped the benefit of their labours. The Presbyterians, whose hopes he frustrated, and whom he crushed by his arms, were not less inclined to listen to the slanderous tale, while the republicans, whom he overreached and deserted, were not interested to vindicate him from aspersion. Another party, who admired his exploits, were not unwilling to believe that he was as remarkable for failings which sank him beneath their own level, as for talents which raised him so far above it. Yet calumny was harmless near his own time, and rather cherished by his rancorous enemies as food for their malice than seriously believed. But the political effects of his career did not perish with him, and later writers have collected all the filth vented against his early life, his hypocrisy, and other supposed vices, to render detestable the opposer of a king, while they have exaggerated his good qualities and talents to render respectable the dominion of an individual. Hence he has been represented as of obscure birth and mean circumstances; of a character so rough, boisterous, and untractable, that he resisted ordinary instruction, and, in his youth, delighted only in the grossest debauchery, in haunting taverns and brothels with bullies

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and roisters, till he had wasted the greatest part of his small inheritance, when, by a sudden transition, he assumed the manners of a saint, and having now attempted to gain a livelihood by agriculture, lost the remainder of his fortune, by spending with his servants in fanatical prayers that portion of the day which ought to have been devoted to business. He thus, it is said, entered into the long parliament a man of broken fortune, to whom every change was acceptable. But for all this there seems to have been no foundation.*

Oliver was descended of an ancient, and highly respectable, family. There is even reason to believe that he was, on the maternal side, allied to the royal house of

* The idea of his profligacy is supposed to be confirmed by a letter to Mrs. St. John, in which he pronounces himself to have been a sinner, the chief of sinners; but the whole letter is in a strain of enthusiastic piety and self-mortification, and really proves nothing, as every one must be satisfied who looks into religious letters, &c. The morally depraved, who suddenly turn saints, look upon their moral delinquencies as scarcely dust in the balance weighed with their estrangement from religious duty. Thus in a holograph will writes a doctor of medicine, whose moral purity as a gentleman I presume to have been unquestionable: 'In the name of God. Amen. I constitute and appoint this to be my last will, &c. To Thee, O Lord God of my fathers, I resign my soul! In very truth and deed I confess myself to be the chiefest of the chief of sinners. I cry to Thee for mercy in and with sure hope of pardon through and for the sake of Thy perfect righteousness and blood of Thine own Son Jesus Christ, whom Thou lovest, and in whom Thou art ever well pleased' (Shaw's *Appeal Cases*, vol. i. p. 66). It has been well observed, too, that even the confession in the Litany contains the amplest acknowledg-

ments of sin, and that Cromwell wrote in the same spirit. But the following, from the last speech of Sir Henry Vane the younger, will set the matter in the strongest light. 'I might tell you,' says he to the spectators of his execution, 'I was born a gentleman, had the education, temper, and spirit of a gentleman, as well as others, being, in my youthful days, inclined to the vanities of this world, and to that which they call good fellowship, judging it to be the only way to accomplish a gentleman.' (From this one would instantly conclude that he had been a dissipated debauchee, but mark the sequel.) 'But, about the *fourteenth or fifteenth year* of my age, which is about thirty-four or five years since, God was pleased to lay the foundation or ground-work of repentance in me, for the bringing me home to himself by his wonderful, rich, and free grace, &c. When my conscience was thus awakened, I found my former course to be disloyalty to God, profaneness, and a way of sin and death, which I did with tears and bitterness bewail, as I had cause to do' (*State Trials*, vol. vi. p. 194). On any other occasion Hume would not have failed to quote *Hudibras* about—

— Gospel-walking times
When slightest sins were greatest crimes.
Part I. Canto ii. pp. 658-9.

Stuart itself. His father being a second son of Sir Henry Cromwell, the inheritance was probably not large, yet was it sufficient to enable the family to associate and connect themselves with the first gentry in the country. As only son, he succeeded his father. To lower the idea of Oliver's birth, it has been alleged that his father conducted a large brewery to augment his income from his estate; and that his mother, a woman of high descent, and singular prudence and good sense, continued the business, in order to enable her to give portions to her daughters, as well as to conduct the education of all her children, whom she spared no pains to adorn with the accomplishments of their age. Though this story, which gave rise to the ridiculous stigma of the brewer, were true, and it is not sufficiently authenticated, it would prove little as to the father's rank, while it is to be hoped that Oliver had too much good sense to feel as a reproach what in reality reflected credit upon his excellent mother, whose maternal solicitude he remembered with gratitude, and returned with affection, to his latest breath. The father represented Huntingdon in the 35th of Elizabeth, and was appointed a commissioner in 1605, for draining the fens in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge—facts which, with his marriage, sufficiently establish that he had preserved the station to which his descent entitled him.

Oliver was born on the 25th of April, 1599, and was early put under the tuition of a very learned and respectable clergyman, Dr. Beard. At the age of seventeen, he was sent by his father to Cambridge as a *Fellow Commoner*. In the following year he lost his father, and it is impossible to ascertain how long he continued at the university; but there is no reason to believe that he left it before the usual time; for all those stories about his having been expelled, according to some, after one year's residence there, and to others, after two, stories similar to those by which the great Milton was himself so ground-

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lessly defamed, were of late invention, and rest upon no authority. If he continued the usual time, he must, as he became a husband at twenty-one, have married almost immediately after his return to the country. And here we may put the stories of his early debauchery to the test. The chief scene of them is laid in the inns of court, which it is alleged he entered at the age of seventeen, after he left the university, and remained in for three years—a prodigy of impiety, and every species of profligacy; whereas he, at that period of his life, only went to the university, and it is now ascertained, beyond doubt, that he never was a member of any of the inns of court. Nor, though he could not bear a comparison in that respect, with such as Selden, can he be supposed to have studied with small success under Dr. Beard, and at the university, who could perfectly understand the Latin tongue when spoken, and even converse, though inelegantly, in that language himself. A good knowledge of ancient history, as well as modern, he is admitted by the most unquestionable authority to have possessed. His library afterwards was choice, and his encouragement of learned men notorious.

On the 22nd of August, 1620, when he had little more than completed his twenty-first year, he married the daughter of Sir James Bouchier of Fitsted, in Essex, which of itself affords a presumption against the idea, either of the extreme smallness of his fortune, or of his having impaired it. After his marriage it is not denied that he proved a steady head of a family, as well as a faithful and affectionate husband. But the certainty of his station in society does not rest on such circumstances. He was always intimate, not only with his relations, the Hampdens, the St. Johns, the Mashams, &c., but with other leading families; and, in the third parliament of Charles, he served as member for Huntingdon—a fact of itself perfectly conclusive, since it was estimated that the Lower House then contained three times the wealth of the

Upper, and it is quite ridiculous to suppose that he ever could have been sent there, had he been the individual of broken fortune and character that he has been represented. There is also proof on record that, though opposed on principle to the government, he was, during the long interval of parliaments, still treated by it with the respect due to station and becoming conduct. His importance too rose so high during that period, that Cambridge returned him as its member to the long parliament. The origin of the imputation of having squandered his inheritance, may be traced to his having disposed of a detached part, to pay off portions allotted to his sisters. But he acquired additional lands elsewhere, particularly through his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, who appointed him his heir. The affairs of that man could not be embarrassed who, before the commencement of the civil war, subscribed 500*l.* towards reducing Ireland, and 300*l.* for the service of the Commonwealth.* Great must his ascendancy have been in society, who, at the outset of the present contest, could raise a thousand horse and dragoons, composed of freeholders and freeholders' sons.

Cromwell, though well versed in ancient and modern history, was not qualified as a statesman to speculate profoundly upon human affairs, nor to predict the distant consequences of passing events; but he possessed a ready perspicacious judgment, with a perfect confidence in his powers, a knowledge of character almost intuitive, and a capacity of the first order for the practical business of life, heightened by an enthusiastic ardour that roused up all the energies of his mind with concentrated force upon any emergency. Thus he saw conjunctures in their native simplicity, and judged with an original rectitude and clearness as to what was to be instantly transacted, far

* See first proposition of loan for the service of the Commonwealth. February 1, 1641-2: 'Mr. Cromwell offers to lend three hundred pounds

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beyond what was attainable by such as brought pre-conceived opinions and dull generalities to the aid of their understandings. Bending all his resources to the accomplishment of his immediate object, undismayed either by present fears or the dread of distant, problematical, consequences ; and, latterly at least, seldom starting at a sacrifice of principle, which might have appalled a better head, as well as a better heart, he had ever the prompt decision which is of such importance in life.

His speech, corresponding with the general structure of his mind, was characteristic, and soon removed any unfavourable impression made by the untuneableness of his voice, and ungracefulness of his manner. Having a clear, practical, as well as fervent conception of the subject under debate, and being neither entangled with theoretical inferences, nor studious of embellishment, he struck home with a vehement, blunt, common sense appeal, which reached every bosom interested in the question. Men listened with avidity to a speaker who seemed to despise, as out of place, anything like an attempt at eloquence, when the very existence of the commonwealth was in danger,—whose fervour announced sincerity, and whose practical wisdom, echoed by every breast, produced an effect denied to the more refined speculations and polished harangues of others. His fame as a soldier procured him greater respect in parliament, as his influence there promoted him as a military leader ; but his frequent appointment to committees before the civil war, sufficiently proves that he had attained a character in the house anterior to his exploits in the field. What has been said of his speech relates to occasions when he wished to be understood. When he descended to cant, we do indeed look in vain for a glimmering of common sense.

He wrote without grace or even adherence to the rules of construction ; but he expressed himself succinctly and intelligibly ; and his handwriting (I have seen some of

his letters) was characteristic, and perfectly that of a gentleman.*

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Conscious of his aptitude for war, he was one of the first to take up arms, and almost immediately distinguished himself. As opportunities opened for him, he threw into the shade all the old soldiers who had acquired renown abroad. He lived with the members of his own regiment, who entered the service out of conscience, with the familiarity of a companion; and yet, such was the superiority of his mind, without ever forfeiting the respect due to him as commander. He had thus ever the best intelligence, and was obeyed from love, not fear. It is singular, too, that though always remarkably fond of broad humour, which, however, appears to have been in a measure characteristic of Englishmen, from the throne downwards, till the restoration introduced French licentiousness with Gallic refinement,—and though he allowed full scope to his vein, he never lowered himself in the estimation of those even immediately around him. When the occasion demanded dignity, none could assume it more gracefully.†

* There are some of his letters at Oxford, and they who have only seen his signature cannot judge of his handwriting. I believe many will think the mention of handwriting beneath the dignity of history; but others, who trace character even in it, will be of a different opinion.

† Noble's *Mems. of the Protectorate House of Cromwell*; *Cromwell's Mem.* ch. viii.; Whitelocke, pp. 116, 117, 384, 627 *et seq.*; Harris's *Life of him*; Clar. vol. v. p. 554 *et seq.*; Warwicke's *Mem.* p. 247. See also Hutchinson, Ludlow, Hodson, Waller's *Life* prefixed to his *Poems*; and Thurlow's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 766.

Mr. Hume's account of Cromwell is, like almost every character he draws, and transaction he relates, utterly erroneous. He takes up the idea of his extreme dissipation, &c., and then says, 'all of a sudden, the

spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a grave and composed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and vigour of the Puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained by gaming.' Now really one might suppose, that as Oliver was sent to the university at seventeen, and married at twenty-one, when, according to this account, the spirit of reformation had already seized him, he had no great leisure for such a course of intemperance, and surely, even supposing that he had been guilty of excesses, he might have been forgiven, considering that he became so very different a man at an age when youth, the height of passion, and inexperience are admitted as an apology for so many. He who at such years becomes master of his passions after having given rein to folly and licentiousness,

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Having given the character of Cromwell, it will now be necessary to present an account of the Independents.

obtains an infinitely greater conquest over himself than those who never went astray. But, as we have said, this merit is not due to Cromwell, as the stories are unfounded, and of the same description with those of his having quarrelled with the king at four years old, which laid the foundation of his future enmity; of his having been warned in a dream of his future exaltation, &c. &c. There is only one instance ever referred to of his having repaid what he had gained by gaming, and that is of his having returned thirty pounds, as he conceived he could not conscientiously keep money so obtained; but, if true, it would rebound to his credit, without presupposing that he had been addicted to the vice; and even at the worst, it surely must be admitted to be a noble principle to retrieve errors in this way. The single instance, however, is not sufficiently authenticated. Mr. Hume, according to the vulgar accounts fabricated after the Restoration, says, that his house was the resort of all the zealots; but, how he applied the term zealot, has been already seen, and it is extraordinary, that during the disuse of parliaments, Cromwell appears to have attended the established church, and to have been on fair terms with the clergy in his neighbourhood, though he appears to have endeavoured to protect those who were persecuted for non-conformity, by applying frequently at one time to the Bishop of Lincoln in their behalf. The same writer also repeats the stories, equally groundless, of his ruined affairs, &c., and, upon the same authorities, states that he was chosen for Cambridge by accident and intrigue. The first has been already spoken to; and the true answer to the last is, that not only was his election never called in question, but that an insinuation on that head was never, during his life, thrown out against him. He had

made himself very useful to Cambridge by opposing the Earl of Bedford in draining the fens; and, from his connections with the Hampdens, St. Johns, Mashams, &c., who all intimately corresponded with, and supported, him, his election was just what might have been expected. The reader will not have forgotten that he was, in a former parliament, member for Huntingdon, which his father had represented before him. But then follows the most extraordinary statement of all, which will afford another proof of the small hesitation with which this writer makes the broadest and most groundless assertions. Cromwell, says he, 'seemed not to possess any talents which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere into which he was now at last entered.' (Why, at last, when he had been in parliament before?) 'His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untuneable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed.' (We shall soon have an opportunity of presenting a specimen of Oliver's eloquence, when the reader will be enabled to judge for himself. Mr. Hume selects mere cant, forgetting what himself observes in regard to the writings of Sir Henry Vane the younger, that 'they treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are absolutely unintelligible. No traces of eloquence, or even of common sense, appear in them. A strange paradox! did we not know that men of the greatest genius, where they relinquish by principle the use of their reason, are only enabled by their vigour of mind to work themselves deeper into error and absurdity.') 'The fervour of his spirit frequently prompted him to rise in the house; but he was not heard with attention.' (It is quite evident that Mr. Hume has taken his picture from Warwick; but the passage itself will show what justice he has done to it, and

The Independents, properly so called, conceiving that they could draw from Scripture alone that form of ce-

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likewise the character of Warwick himself in regard to dress. 'The first time,' says he, 'that I ever took notice of him (Cromwell), was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervour; for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports;—the case of Prynne's servant has already been given, and few more infamous ones can be found in the history of any people that claim a shadow of freedom:—'and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table unto that height, that one would have believed the government itself was in great danger by it.' (Was it not?) 'I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto' (pp. 247, 278). Warwick justly reflects upon his vanity at that time for dress; and his frame of mind then, for he became wiser afterwards, recalls to our recollection an anecdote of the great Sully. Louis XIII. sent for him to give his advice upon a great emergency, and the courtiers whispered

to one another and smiled at his unfashionable appearance; which the duke having observed, said to the king, 'Whenever your majesty's father did me the honour to consult me, he ordered the buffoons of the court to retire into the ante-chamber.' But in Warwick's description we find the very reverse of Hume's statement. Oliver effected his object in rousing the House, and was very much hearkened to. The same Warwick tells us, that he 'afterwards appeared to his eye of a great and majestic deportment' (and we may here remark that Mr. Hume mangles the report of Oliver's speech, in the third of the king, when he properly spoke as a member of the committee on religion). 'His' (Cromwell's) 'name,' continues Mr. Hume, 'FOR ABOVE TWO YEARS IS NOT TO BE FOUND OFTENNER THAN TWICE ON ANY COMMITTEE; and those committees into which he was admitted, were chosen for affairs which would more interest the zealots than the men of business.' This would, indeed, be a decisive proof of the little estimation in which he was held, and the reader, conceiving that Mr. Hume would never have hazarded an assertion of this kind without having ascertained the fact, by a careful inspection of the *Journals* (he certainly means to convey that he had, and I have heard credit allowed him for having gone to those sources of information), concludes that his account of that individual's character is supported by irrefragable evidence; what then will be his astonishment at the following statement? That Cromwell was nominated one of sixteen, amongst whom were Hampden, Pym, St. John, Selden, Hollis, Lord Digby, Peard, Rous, Grimston—of the very fifth committee appointed by the long parliament; that, before the recess on the 9th of September, 1641, or within the first ten months, I have found (and

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clesiastical polity which was most consonant to the spirit of Christianity, rejected tradition as the basis of the

though I shall refer to all these, and thus put them beyond dispute, it is possible that my eye may have missed some) that he was specially appointed to eighteen committees, exclusive of his appointment amongst the knights and burgesses generally of the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and of his having been sent up twice alone with important messages to the Lords; and that the most important matters fell within the province of several of these committees; as Leighton's case; an act for the yearly holding of parliaments; grievances in regard to inland posts, foreign couriers, carriers, and foot posts, &c.; charge against Wren, bishop of Ely; act for abolishing superstition, and the better advancing the true worship and service of God; breach of privilege, 3 Car.; fines in chancery, &c.; act for the better enabling members of parliament to discharge their consciences in the proceedings of parliament; act about the speedy raising of money; addition to several statutes, one made in the time of Philip and Mary, the other in that of James; petition of freeholders of the county of Herts, &c.: that, from the re-meeting of the parliament, on the 20th October, 1641, till about the middle of July following, when he went down to the country to raise and train troops, I have found him (and again I must say that my eye may have passed some) specially nominated to twenty-seven committees, exclusive of his having been once again appointed, as before, generally amongst the knights and burgesses of those counties, exclusive too of his having been appointed four several times, in conjunction with Mr. Hotham, to carry important messages to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, who, the reader will recollect, was detained in England;

exclusive likewise of his having been sent no less than six times, always alone, with important messages to the Lords, making in all thirty-eight times: he was besides nominated twice one of the tellers: and the matter that fell within the province of these committees only requires to be mentioned. Grievances, Irish affairs generally; to consider of the speedy and effectual way to reduce the rebels; again to consider of a more effectual way; to meet with a committee of the Lords about tumults and seditious pamphlets; to meet with another committee of the Upper House to consider of a report about the prince and the Marquis of Hertford; bill about the bishops; to consider of the number and quality of all those who have refused the Protestation; to consider the king's reply to Mr. Pym's speech; to consider whether his majesty's last letter was framed; to consider of an answer to letters from the committee at York; the bill of subscriptions; to take information of Danish and Swedish ship-masters, &c., regarding the preparation of a navy in their respective countries; to meet with a committee of the Lords to consider all the information, &c., from York; to receive information of all warlike preparations going on at York, &c.; he was appointed too, conjointly with Sir G. Gerrard, to prepare a letter to Sir William Brereton, &c.

When it is considered that Cromwell was not a lawyer, and consequently unqualified at first to direct in matters of form, &c., and that Pym, Hampden, Hollis, &c., were all, from what had previously occurred, selected, of course, we may form some estimate of his character in the House, from the number of committees he was appointed to. But the first volume of the *Life of Clarendon* might have set Mr. Hume right. Clarendon, then Hyde, was chairman of a committee, of which

various usurpations, whether by the pope, the Greek patriarch, by Laud, or others, which had tyrannised over

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Cromwell was a member, regarding some enclosures of the queen's manor, without consent of the tenants—enclosures which Lord Mandeville, or Kimbolton, was interested to keep up. 'The committee,' says the noble author, 'sat in the queen's court; and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous, together with their witnesses; the Lord Mandeville being likewise present as a party, and, by the direction of the committee, sitting covered. Cromwell, who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons' (then it must, as is evident from Warwick's account, and the journals of the case, have been very early in Nov. 1640), 'ordered the witnesses, and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were very rude kind of people, interrupted the council and witnesses on the other side with great clamour, when they said anything that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde, whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order, was compelled to use sharp reproofs, and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper, that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell, in a great fury, reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, who justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. When, upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before, and at, the enclosure, the Lord Mandeville desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply

upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that, as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interest could never have been the same.' (The reader will recollect, that at the time treated of in our text, Cromwell was this lord's, now Earl of Manchester, lieutenant-general.) 'In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so violent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him, which he never forgave, and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge to his death' (*Life*, vol. i. p. 88 *et seq.*).

Had Cromwell been an ordinary man, and been merely appointed to a committee from accidental circumstances, or out of compliment, the bare report of such conduct would have disposed the House never to nominate him again. Hyde would doubtless exert all his influence against such a nomination, and Lord Mandeville's popularity in the Lower House would have a great effect; while even Cromwell's friends would have taken care that he should not have another opportunity to expose himself and affront them. But he does not appear to have been injured by it; and the probability is, that his charge of partiality against Hyde was not unfounded. For Hyde was ever cunning; and Cromwell, though he proved himself dishonest, always played a high game, making a sacrifice of integrity only for a grand object. Hence he was studious for a character of inflexible worth, and was so successful in attaining it, that one of his keenest opponents—a Presbyterian divine—thus writes of

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and disgraced Christian society. Their form of ecclesiastical government was extremely simple:—That each

him in a letter to a friend, at the moment he bitterly opposed him: 'The man is a very wise and active head, universally well beloved as religious and stout' (Baillie's *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 60).

We may conclude from Clarendon's account, that Cromwell was not, at the outset, an habitual speaker, though he early attracted the attention of the House, and the circumstance will raise our opinion of his judgment. Every one acquainted with human affairs knows that unless an assembly be taught to esteem a speaker for sound practical wisdom he will address it in vain, the finest strokes of eloquence being, at least after the orator has been heard a few times, regarded, and justly regarded, as an idle interruption of that serious business on which men have met. The true plan therefore for an individual who has a character to make, is to reserve himself at first for occasions, when he feels that he can speak with a powerful effect. In this way he gains upon the House, and may then expect to be heard with due reverence on ordinary business. Such was the course pursued by almost all the great speakers whom particular circumstances did not at once bring forward upon the notice of the House. Even the younger Vane was seldom on committees at first.

Lest it should be alleged that I merely meet Mr. Hume's assertion regarding the *Journals* by one of my own, I give a list of dates for everything referred to above, so that the reader may at once satisfy himself of my accuracy. 1640. Nov. 9th, Dec. 3rd (twice nominated), 17th, 19th, 22nd, 30th. 1641, Feb. 10th, 13th, 17th, 23rd, March 9th, June 4th, July 3rd, 28th, Aug. 16th, 18th, 24th (see two nominations this day), 30th, Sept. 1st, Oct. 29th, Dec. 11th, 20th, 29th (see four nominations this day).

1642, Feb. 11th, 18th, 24th, March 1st, 2nd, 5th (twice nominated, and also appointed one of the tellers), 8th, 28th, April 5th, 9th, 16th, 28th, May 3rd, 5th, 12th, 14th, 23rd, 30th, 31st, June 6th, 11th (appointed a teller), 15th, 17th, 18th, 20th, 27th (twice nominated), July 5th, 14th.

It is said that Hampden alone saw into the powers of Cromwell's mind, and prophesied his future greatness in the event of a civil war; for that, '*in the beginning of the war,*' Lord Digby, 'who was then a great man in the House of Commons,' happening to walk down the stairs from the House with Hampden, asked who that man was before them, 'for I see,' said he, 'he is of our side, by his speaking so warmly to-day' (a shrewd conjecture); 'upon which Mr. Hampden replied, "That slovenly fellow which you see before us, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, which God forbid, I say that sloven, in such a case, will be one of the greatest men of England;"' but Hampden knew him well' (Bulstrode's *Mem.* p. 192). This story, though repeated by one author after another, from Bulstrode downwards, is quite as probable as Cromwell's dream, which that dealer in dreams, Clarendon, so gravely relates (vol. iii. p. 202 *et seq.*; though if there were the slightest truth in what the noble historian says, that the dream as to his becoming the greatest man in England, was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a position that promised such exaltation, it would be decisive with respect to the high character he must have almost from the first obtained), or as a preternatural event that is said to have occurred in relation to a crown, when Cromwell as a boy acted a character in a play, &c. Digby's utter want of veracity and great dexterity in invention have been fully established; and we

congregation, as a complete church within itself, should have full power to elect its own pastor and office-bearers, and manage all its own affairs without the control of prelates or of presbyteries, synods, and assemblies, or, in short, any other ecclesiastical institution; though they held that every church should cultivate a communion with others of whose principles and practice it approved; and they admitted the use, while they denied the jurisdiction, of classical assemblies. In no material point of doctrine did they differ from the Presbyterians. The number of this sect, in its strictest definition, was limited; though it included men of great learning, and many of high rank. But it obtained a mighty support, and even accession on general grounds, from a great portion of the community that did not exactly embrace its particular system.

As the grand object of an ambitious priesthood is a form of church government which confers power, and rites and ceremonies have been multiplied to promote it; so wherever the people have been subdued to a religion full of superstitious observances, they regard the form of church policy and the clergy as part of the divine insti-

have no reason to believe that Bulstrode got the story directly from that lord, or from any source that could be depended on as proceeding from him. But the matter can luckily be brought to the test. On the 9th of November, 1640, or the sixth day after the meeting of the parliament, Digby, Hampden, and Cromwell were appointed to the same committee, which consisted only of sixteen, and was authorised to call witnesses, &c. &c. This, therefore, must have made Digby and Cromwell acquainted with each other, and the numerous appointments of Cromwell so early, and his addressing the House, are, along with this, totally irreconcilable with the idea of Digby's not knowing who and what he was. Again, Digby was utterly cast off by the

popular party in May following, and was then called to the Upper House. Now, though plots were in May apprehended, and even the introduction of foreign troops, surely no one could foresee a long protracted war, by which alone the military genius of a man altogether obscure as he is here represented to have been, could have risen; and Hampden would not have been so foolish as to disclose his views, had he entertained those implied in this story. Besides, who could predict of any man altogether untried in war, that he had a transcendent military genius? The great capacity and judgment of Cromwell might be duly appreciated by Hampden at that time, but not the other. And his character was early too high to leave room for such an observation.

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tutions, which they are called upon to support with the same spirit as points of faith. But where the mass of the population, having devoted themselves to the study of the Scripture, endeavour to enlighten their understandings from that fountain, they are solicitous mainly for purity of doctrine, and venerate the ecclesiastical establishment only as it is calculated to secure it. Though always ready to yield due respect to the conscientious ministers of religion, and listen to their elucidation of revealed truths, it is merely as to individuals who, from having cultivated divinity as a profession, are presumed to be better qualified than the rest of mankind to explain it, and whose calling is necessary to awaken, by their exhortation, the religious zeal, and promote the morality of their hearers. Finding no particular form of church policy prescribed in the New Testament, they infer that the author of their religion, while he was sufficiently explicit in doctrinal matters, has left men to their own freedom in that respect, since the form ought to depend upon the circumstances of society, habits of a people, and government of the state. To them it appears as unreasonable, as the history of nations has proved it to be dangerous, to refer to, or draw conclusions from, the example of the primitive church, since, while Christianity was opposed by the established civil and ecclesiastical powers, and was subject to persecution, there necessarily prevailed a form of discipline different from what was requisite when revelation became the religion of the state. Such were the principles upon which episcopacy was established and defended at the Reformation; and it had only been latterly that the hierarchy had pretended to trace their power to a divine origin. The dissenting clergy had indeed all along vehemently opposed episcopacy; but their success with the people had always arisen from the fervour with which they had preached, and the purity of doctrine in regard to ceremonies which they had inculcated. Even in Scotland, the people never

would have been disposed to resist episcopacy, had it not been for its accompaniments. Accustomed to that particular form of ecclesiastical polity, the people of England generally venerated it; and though the mad ambition of Laud, in conjunction with the king, had taught men to look out for some other form which might secure blessings that were, by such an imprudent and criminal course, rendered hopeless under the present system, the bulk of the nation would even yet have gladly returned to episcopacy, could they have been certain that it would not again be made the instrument of such unworthy purposes.*

We have, in a former part of our work, given an account of the pretensions of the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland, prior to the late king's accession to the English throne, and we need not repeat it. During their perse-

* This is quite clear even from Baillie's account. 'It's certainlie true,' says he, in a familiar letter so late as December 27, 1644, 'of what you wrote of the impossibilitie ever to have gotten England reformed by humane means, as things here stood, without their brethren's help. The learndest and most considerable part of them were fullie Episcopall. Of those who joyned with the parliament, the greatest and most considerable part were much Episcopall' (Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 250). There has been always a strong tendency in the high-church party of England to regard Charles I., Laud, and Strafford, as martyrs for the church; but the fact is that they were in reality its greatest enemies. Had it not been for their innovating and outrageous conduct, episcopacy could never have been in danger. (For an account of the Independents and their supporters, see Baillie, vol. ii., but particularly pp. 117, 194, 230 *et seq.*, 239, 242 *et seq.*, 234 *et seq.*, 247 *et seq.*, 252, 253 *et seq.*, 333 *et seq.*, 336, 342 *et seq.*, 346, 349, 378 *et seq.*) There had been disputes about the sacrament, the Independ-

ents wishing the elements to be dispensed through the church instead of the communicants coming up to the table (*Ib.* p. 243); likewise about marriage and baptism; the last of which they conceived might be done privately, and the first constituted without the priest. But these points they conceded; and it is singular that in modern times their principles regarding marriage and baptism are admitted on the opposite side: baptism is generally performed privately, and marriage may be constituted as under the canon law, by mutual consent (see Mosheim, vol. v. pp. 46, 397 *et seq.*; Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 63, *et seq.*; see Whitelocke's Speech upon Ecclesiastical Government, in his *Memoirs*, p. 99). He, Selden, and indeed all the lawyers, were Erastians, holding that there was no divine rule of ecclesiastical government, but that it should depend upon the civil power. Baillie, with great indignance, informs us not only that this was the fact, but that the majority of the Commons held the same tenets (Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. pp. 265 *et seq.*, 277, 306 *et seq.*, 336, 360 *et seq.*, 369).

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cution, both by the late and the present king, they had assumed a moderation of language foreign to their principles; and a great portion of the English, who duly appreciated the noble struggle of the Scots in opposition to the throne, and approved equally of the simplicity of their worship and purity of their doctrine, conceived, before the ambition of their clergy, which, from circumstances, was adopted by the people themselves, was unveiled, that they might more safely embrace a system already established in the neighbour kingdom, than incur all the obloquy and run all the hazard of one which had never been tried. But the language of the Scottish clergy changed with the times, and the spirit of their English brethren also developed itself. When they entered into the Solemn League and Covenant, they flattered themselves that their army would have the merit of terminating the contest with the king, and that then, in conjunction with the Presbyterian party in England, they might dictate equally in matters of state and church, and consequently instal themselves into the richest benefices and places. The aristocracy joined in the same views; and the clergy, thence encouraged to advance their pretensions, so greatly changed their tone, that one cannot read the correspondence of the same individual, at the different times, without being astonished at the difference in his language. The divine right of presbytery, the power of their classical assemblies, their independence of the civil authority, and their right to call upon it to root out heresy, error, and schism, by the most exemplary punishments, were all advanced by them with a violence and bitterness, that one unacquainted with the history of religion, could scarcely have anticipated from a sect that had so lately smarted under, and complained of, persecution, and of the cruelty of forcing the consciences of men. By their excommunications and other church censures, which they insisted upon having accompanied with heavy civil penalties, while they obstinately refused

to specify the causes that fell under their cognisance, they would soon have drawn within the pale of ecclesiastical usurpation the majority of cases proper for the civil courts, and they even arrogated the right of visiting all families within their respective bounds, that they might exhort, threaten, or censure, according to the occasion. Nothing, in their eye, was so sinful as any toleration; and the very mention of it by the Independents, who were content to solicit it, inspired them with rage. They warmly approved, too, of the zeal with which their brethren in the united provinces reproached their magistrates with secretly allowing a species of toleration, and thus committing that heinous sin.*

The most discerning part of the community had early perceived the tendency of the Presbyterian principles, and had, therefore, regarded that sect with no complacency. But when they beheld the monstrous height to which they carried their pretensions, they saw the necessity of opposing them. Presbytery, properly modified, and restrained by the civil power, with a toleration to other sects, as it is in Scotland at this day, might have been obtained without great opposition; but this, as a weak Erastian presbytery, as making the church dependent on the state, which they yet called upon to interpose with a potent hand in their favour, was rejected with disdain; and, as happened to the prelacy, they, by arrogating too much, lost all. The Independents, therefore, whose doctrine was pure, whose form of policy perfectly accorded with civil government, and who allowed tolera-

* Mr. Laing's account of the increase of fanaticism has been thought just; but it appears to me quite unsound. The clergy now scarcely went so far as their predecessors had done before James's accession to the English throne. They had latterly become moderate, like every sect that is under persecution. Their spirit revived with success, and now they had the highest game to play.

Hence it was not that a new race became intolerant, but that men of ardent spirits were encouraged. Even the mild, the gentle Baillie, entered into all their views in opposition to his previous conduct and native temper. Their principles are better explained by Milton (vol. ii. p. 275), and his account is put beyond all doubt by Baillie's *Letters*.

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tion in its utmost latitude, in a religious view, were supported by all of the popular party, and particularly by Selden, Whitelocke, and other great lawyers, who did not admit the divine right of presbytery, or feel it to be their interest to promote it.

Cromwell, who studied the Scripture, had not arrived at a conclusion in regard to ecclesiastical polity; but appears to have esteemed that best which was most calculated to secure what ought to be the object of all such establishments. He is alleged to have at first inclined to the Presbyterian system; but it must have been only at the very beginning of a prospect of change, and to such a modified system as would have been approved of by Whitelocke and others. The troops whom he commanded were inspired with his own zeal, and, like their leader, conceived themselves too enlightened in religion to submit to Presbyterian tyranny. Hence he laboured to support the Independents—a class that, as we have said, included a vast number more than those that literally came under the definition; and, as his fine body of military was moulded to his wish, he became an object of terror to the Scots, whose hopes were humbled by the figure which their army had made.

At the beginning of this parliament, Hollis had, both from his rank and his former persecution, acted a conspicuous part, though subordinate to that of Hampden and Pym. After their deaths he appeared to take the lead; but, for the performance of such a part, he wanted the requisite talents; and as Cromwell, along with Vane and others, soon overtopped him, the most irreconcilable difference arose between them. Hollis had at first protested against accommodation, declaring that he abhorred that word;* but when he perceived that the younger Vane,† Cromwell, and others, were rising into such im-

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 147; by the Presbyterians (see Baillie),
Baillie, vol. ii. p. 47. but they complained of his having

† Vane had been greatly relied on frustrated their hopes, by wishing

portance, and supported by a great party as well as real power, so that he could not longer expect to sit at the helm, he then felt a desire of accommodation, as his best chance to secure power; and, joining with the Presbyterians, exerted all his influence to crush Cromwell, by blasting his character and depriving him of command. The Independents, however, looked to Cromwell as their head; and his achievement at Marston Moor, by raising his own influence also highly, advanced theirs. His fame was spread abroad, and the Scots in vain tried to ascribe the victory to their own troops, under the command of their lieutenant-general, David Leslie. But it is singular that their clergy were alarmed at the same time, lest the leaven of Independency should infect the soldiery; and we learn from themselves, that during the long stay of the Scottish army in England on the former occasion, many had acquired those principles.* Manchester's major-general, Crawford, had been encouraged, as a Presbyterian Scot, in opposition to Cromwell; and the latter, with the army at large, imputed to him many faults, which he seemed fully to atone by his conduct during the siege of York. Entrusted with a mine, by which it was rationally expected that the town would be gained, he occasioned not only a failure, but an immense loss of lives, by so ill-attending to the season of action, that the rest of the army was unprepared to take advantage of the explosion, and at the same time exposed to the enemy. To save himself, Crawford gratifies both his countrymen and Denzil Hollis, by alleging that Cromwell, having been slightly wounded in the neck, had retired from the field, and was not present at the second charge; but this, though made by Hollis the ground of a most absurd imputation of personal cowardice, an imputation that no one ever ventured to repeat, and urged with a

toleration. He, on the scaffold, declared that he had always liked the Covenant, but not the rigorous way

of imposing it.

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 20.

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rancour neither creditable to the head nor heart,* seems to have been altogether groundless; and the enmity of Hollis's party, in conjunction with the Scots, only rivetted Cromwell faster in the affections of the whole mixed body of Independents, while silly calumnies raised his character still higher with the nation at large. Essex, who had formerly been supported by the Upper House chiefly, in conjunction with a party in the Lower allied to the Lords, had lost his character with the popular party, and Waller had been purposely raised up as his competitor, with a view to eclipse him. Waller, however, like all the regularly bred soldiers, Skippon excepted—and even he had too much of that leaven †—had not done much credit to the selection; and, therefore, all men who wished to see a period to the war, turned their eyes towards Cromwell and Fairfax. This, however, so alarmed the Scots and the parties now allied to them, that, though a victorious termination of the war under Essex seemed hopeless, and they had a little before imputed all to his imbecility, they now supported him, conceiving that they could depend on him, and that, at the same time, the great burden of the war and merit of closing it, with all the power which must accompany a most victorious army, would, by such means, devolve upon the Scottish troops. Their hopes, however, were frustrated; their army did nothing but lie as a burden on the country, which they alienated by their plundering and licentiousness,‡ and the Earl of Leven presented a

* No unprejudiced man can peruse Hollis's *Memoirs*, and rise from them with a good opinion of the author. Mr. Laing supposes that, as Baillie and Salmonet agree with Hollis in regard to Cromwell's having been absent from the second charge in consequence of his wound, he must have retired to get it dressed. But had this author not been content with merely dipping into authorities, he would have found it acknowledged

that the whole rested upon the word, accompanied indeed with oaths, of Crawford, and that Mr. Baillie seems latterly to have been ashamed of it.

† Hailes' *Let.* p. 146.

‡ Baillie's *Letters* are invaluable, as fully developing all this (see *Id.* pp. 166, 179, 298, 299, 315, 317, 319 *et seq.*, 323). That Cromwell had been slightly wounded in the neck was well known. Whitelocke says, 'Colonel Cromwell was much cried

memorable proof of the correctness of our observations in regard to military genius, since, though he had acquired a remarkably high character abroad, he was at once eclipsed by new men, and sank into insignificance.

The grand principle by which the Independents surpassed all other sects, was universal toleration to all denominations of Christians whose religion was not conceived to be hostile to the peace of the state—a principle to which they were faithful in the height of power as well as under persecution.* In this, for which they were bitterly reviled by the Presbyterians, they set an example to Christendom; for, though a secret toleration to a certain extent, or rather a connivance at certain sects, had been allowed in the United Provinces, it was on far less liberal principles, and denounced by the clergy as most sinful in the magistracy. It is true that the Independents did not extend the principle of toleration to the Catholics, but the exception was founded on political grounds only:—that the Catholic body acknowledging a foreign spiritual dominion, and holding correspondence, not only with it, but with an organized clergy throughout Europe, and through them with the civil powers, were dangerous to the peace of a Protestant community. This noble principle of the Independents has been, by men who could trace no good in the adherents of a party that opposed the illegal pretensions of a court, deduced from the excess of their enthusiasm; but it owed its origin to better motives. An interested, ambitious clergy, regularly organised throughout a state, are intolerant, because they

up for his services in this battle, and received a slight wound with a pistol-shot in the neck, which some imagined to be by accident and want of care by some of his own men' (p. 94).

* Clarendon, in speaking of the temper of the nation at the time of the Restoration, mentions as one great evil with which Charles II.

had to contend, 'The despotism and interest of the several factions in religion, all which appeared in their several colours, without dissembling their principles, and with equal confidence, demanded the liberty of conscience they had enjoyed in and since the time of Cromwell' (*Life*, vol. i. p. 320).

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suppose their own consequence is involved in the struggle. With the community at large, who in many instances resign their understandings to their spiritual guides, civil interests also too often mingle with religious, and the priesthood are ever ready to sound the alarm. But when the great body of the people think for themselves, and no longer dread the civil consequences of difference in opinion, while they have no organised clergy to sound the tocsin on every appearance of heresy, they become imbued with all the genuine charity of the gospel. The clergy unorganised into a regular government, and each devoted to the duties of his own parish, have neither power nor inclination to concert measures against the opinions of their neighbours, provided they do not threaten their own security. They do indeed pity the delusions of the rest of mankind; but they would correct them by opening their eyes to the light, not by consigning to the flames those whom they cannot convert by their arguments.

To return to our narrative of military transactions. After the battle of Marston Moor the siege of York was resumed, and the town soon surrendered on terms. The three commanders-in-chief then agreed that Lord Fairfax should remain at York as governor, while he sent 1000 horse into Lancashire, to form a junction with the forces of that county and of Cheshire and Derbyshire, for the purpose of watching the motions of Prince Rupert, and with the rest of the army reduce the whole of Yorkshire; that the Scottish army should march northward to meet the Earl of Callender, who was expected with an additional force of 10,000, and reduce the town of Newcastle; and that the Earl of Manchester should proceed towards Lincolnshire, that he might recruit his army out of the associated counties. The Scots were met by Callender, and sat down before Newcastle; but the town was not carried till October, and the English began to despise a force that had boasted so much, and yet per-

Surrender
of York,
&c.

formed so little, while the soldiers alienated the country by licentiousness, which could not have been looked for from the austerity of their preachers, and rigid manners of the leading Covenanters; nor did they ever recover their character by any after stroke. The Earl of Manchester, in his way south, took some places; but Cromwell afterwards accused him of having purposely neglected opportunities, on the principle that the parliament was already too high, and the king too low, and that farther success would prevent such a peace as would be agreeable to him and his party.*

The affairs in the South had been far more prosperous for the king, though in the spring Waller had gained a considerable advantage, and the parliament had furnished two armies, one under him, and another under Essex, which, it was supposed, should have brought matters to a conclusion.

The southern association, consisting of the counties of Southampton, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, having undertaken to raise forces for Waller, which the parliament provided for by ordinance, the king's general, the Earl of Brentford, who had become besotted by habitual drinking,† and Lord Hopton, determined to break into the association, where they expected a party to join them. They therefore entered Hampshire with that view, at the head of 14,000 men, when Waller, Balfour, and others were despatched against them with 10,000. The parties met at Cherington-Down, near Alsford, and the royal army was defeated with considerable loss; but through the able conduct of Hopton, the greater part of the artillery was saved, and the retreat to Oxford secured. Lady

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 636 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 244 *et seq.*, also see 246 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, pp. 94, 95; Clar. vol. iv. p. 513.

† Such is the character given of him by Clarendon (vol. iv. pp. 471 *et seq.*, 526). The same historian tells us (p. 471) that he was illite-

rate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. But I presume that he could not be more so than the Earl of Leven, who, though he had raised himself abroad as a mere soldier of fortune, could scarcely scrawl his own name (Hailes' *Let.* p. 61).

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Hopton fell into Waller's hands; but instead of detaining her as a prisoner, he sent her to Oxford under a safe conduct, with all the plate that properly belonged to her. The circumstance, however, is only worthy of mention, as it serves to refute the idle allegation, that the parliamentary party 'little affected to conduct themselves by the maxims of gallantry and politeness.'*

This victory, as the presage of future success, occasioned rejoicings in the metropolis; and the parliament, according with its spirit, determined to make arrangements which it was conceived would bring matters to a speedy conclusion. Essex was sent out about the middle of May at the head of 12,000, and Waller at that of 10,000. The first was best provided with large ordnance; but the latter, by the addition of leathern guns upon a new construction, was also well supplied. Besides these, upwards of 5000 were sent out under Serjeant-major-general Brown. Charles also took the field, and, that he might augment his army as much as possible, he slighted Reading and other places, that he might draw the troops from the garrisons. The royal army was, however, inadequate to cope with the parliamentary, and Charles wisely left Oxfordshire to elude it, and also to save Worcester, as well as draw the other into a country, where the advantages of artillery, in which the king was inferior, might not be so sensibly felt. But his situation, in spite of the battle of Marston Moor, was soon changed.†

Lyme had been long besieged by Prince Maurice, with a force which it could scarcely have been supposed that a town commanded by heights, wretchedly fortified, and only garrisoned with 1000 men, could have resisted. But it had no less a hero than Blake for one of its commanders, and under such every disadvantage was surmounted. The townsmen, too, acted the most undaunted part, and the very women displayed the highest spirit,

* Rush. vol. v. p. 653 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 655 *et seq.*

for they carried the ammunition, &c., and one is alleged to have discharged sixteen musket shot with her own hand. Hence, with very small loss, the besieged first and last killed 2000 of the besiegers. But, though the Earl of Warwick had contrived to send in a small supply of ammunition and provisions, it was reduced to the greatest straits; and as the safety of the West was thought in a measure to depend upon that of Lyme, parliament determined to relieve it. A dispute, however, arose as to the army which should undertake it, and both Essex and Waller desired the employment. The last was conceived to be fully adequate to the occasion, and the parliamentary committee wished him to be sent; but Essex had, as supreme commander, made an arrangement in his own favour, and when he received other instructions, he argued that he had already made dispositions, which could not be changed without great inconvenience, and was permitted to proceed, while the other was ordered to watch the royal motions. Leaving Essex, therefore, for the present, we shall follow the king.*

Charles having drawn Waller to Worcester and the neighbourhood, and heard that the Earl of Denbigh and others were ready to arrest his march, while Waller hotly pursued, by which he was threatened with being enclosed between the two armies, resolved upon returning to Oxford, now that Essex was despatched into the West. He therefore made a feint to pass the Severn, by which he so far deceived Waller, that he gained two days' march, and proceeded rapidly to his old quarters. Waller, however, overtook him near Banbury, though the Charwell intervened; and the armies faced one another for a day without action, each expecting the attack from the other, under the disadvantage of passing the river. Next morning Charles drew off his army; and Waller having driven off that portion of it which guarded Cropredy Bridge, sent

Affair of
Cropredy
Bridge.

* Rush. vol. v. p. 670 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, 84 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. iv. p. 481 *et seq.*

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part of his cavalry to assail the enemy's rear. But again had he been deceived. A larger portion of the royal troops remained than he supposed, and they having got between his cavalry and the bridge, intercepted their retreat. The horse broke through, but not without great loss; and Waller, as if he had already discharged the duties of a campaign, returned to London to recruit. The truth is, that, from mismanagement, though he always carried out a fine army, he soon found it melt away by desertion.*

Move-
ments of
Essex.
His army
obliged to
lay down
its arms.

We shall now accompany the motions of Essex. His approach towards Lyme having been learned by Prince Maurice, he raised the siege with the great loss already mentioned, and Essex took Weymouth and other places. But the aspect of affairs was suddenly changed. Hitherto the object of Charles had been to form a junction with Rupert, after that prince had, as was expected, relieved York, and defeated the allied army. The battle of Marston Moor, however, blasted all his hopes from that quarter, and made him look towards the south-west, where were Maurice, Hopton, and Grenville, as his only resource. Though, therefore, deceived at first by false rumours regarding the battle of Marston Moor, he marched again towards Worcester, he soon, upon better information, changed his route towards the South by Gloucester and Bath, unobstructed or followed by Waller. An obstruction from another quarter he dexterously removed by a feint to proceed into Wales. Having been joined by Hopton and Maurice, and also by a number of volunteers in Somersetshire, he found himself in a condition to follow Essex with a considerable army. The earl, having been apprised of his majesty's approach, called a council of war, to determine upon the course to be pursued, when it was unfortunately resolved that he should march into Corn-

* Rush. vol. v. pp. 675, 676; Clar. 88; Baillie, pp. 166, 170 *et seq.*, about vol. iv. pp. 487 *et seq.*, 497 *et seq.*; Waller's troops. Append. to Evelyn's *Mem.* pp. 87,

wall, relieving Plymouth, then besieged by Grenville, by the way; that he might destroy Grenville's forces, and thus cut off supplies of men to the king from that quarter, and afford the country, in which Lord Roberts, Essex's field-marshal, had great influence, an opportunity to declare for the parliament; while it was not doubted that Waller would hang upon his majesty's rear, and, by stopping all supplies of men and provisions, render the royal army an easy prey to that of Essex on its return. The parliamentary general, therefore, relieves Plymouth, and marches towards Lestwithiel. But Waller, who was suspected, on no improbable grounds, of wishing the ruin of Essex, as Essex had formerly done his, pretended that he was not in a condition to march, and only sent 2500 horse and dragoons under Middleton, who arrived too late. Had the parliamentary general been in a situation where he could have forced his adversaries to fight, it is not unlikely that he would have still been successful; but in a country so narrow, hilly, and full of passes, he was soon reduced to the last extremity. In this distress, which had been augmented by the treachery of some of his officers, he formed the resolution of breaking through with his horse, while the foot should be left to capitulate on the best terms they could; and having been supported in the plan by some of his principal officers, he immediately executed his purpose, and took refuge in Plymouth.

Skippon, the next in command, though too generous to complain to the parliament of his superior's conduct, appears not to have approved of it; and having assembled the field-officers after the flight of Essex, addressed them thus: 'Gentlemen, you see our general and some chief officers have thought fit to leave us, and our horse are got away. We are left alone upon our defence. That which I propound, therefore, is, that we, having the same courage as our horse had, and the same God to assist us, may make trial of our fortunes, and endeavour to make our way through our enemies as they have done; and

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account it better to die with honour and faithfulness, than to live dishonourably.' But, as few concurred with him, he was obliged to treat; yet the known courage of his men, whom, as Skippon drew them up to charge, in case good terms were refused, it would have been dangerous for the victors to drive to despair, procured them good terms:—that the common soldiers should lay down their arms, but the officers retain theirs as well as their horses; and that the whole should be conveyed in safety to their own quarters, without any other condition than that they should not again bear arms till they reached Southampton. At first some of the royal troops began to infringe the articles; but Skippon having represented the matter to the king, his majesty, who expressed himself much hurt at their conduct, so effectually issued orders against the repetition of it, that each party gave testimony to the other of the good carriage of the respective soldiery.*

The parliament had, previously to this stroke, been much dissatisfied with the generalship of Essex; but, above reproaching him under misfortune, both Houses joined in a letter, assuring him that they imputed no blame to him, and that, while they submitted with resignation to the will of providence, they would lose no time in repairing the disaster, to accomplish which they had ordered arms to be sent to reorganise his troops, and instructed Manchester to march south. The same soldiers had soon an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace with which this disaster had covered them.

Second
battle of
Newbury,
October 27.

Essex's troops having been armed and joined with Manchester's and Waller's, as well as Middleton's, were in a condition to give Charles battle, and, after some marching and skirmishing, they met at Newbury, on Sunday,

* Rush. vol. v. p. 677 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 101 *et seq.*; Baillic's *Lct.* vol. ii. pp. 217, 222, 224, 226, 227; Clar. vol. iv. pp. 487 *et seq.*, 508–525 *et seq.*, not omitting the new matter in the form of notes; *Life*, vol. i.

p. 463 *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 126, who tells us, that it was alleged the object of that unfortunate march into Cornwall was to afford Lord Roberts an opportunity to collect his rents.

the 27th of October. Essex was at this time in London, confined with indisposition, and therefore the duty devolved upon the other commanders. As the parliamentary army was superior in number to the king's, he, who expected a large reinforcement under Rupert and the Earl of Northampton, prudently took up a strong position in order to avoid a battle till they joined him ; but the adverse party were on that account no less eager for an immediate engagement. From the king's position, and the neighbourhood of Dennington Castle, which was garrisoned by him, it was deemed advisable for the parliamentary generals to divide their forces ; and a post was assigned to Manchester at a little distance from the place of action. The parliamentary horse that acted were commanded by Waller and Balfour ; the foot by Skippon : and the news of that morning—that the Scots had taken Newcastle by storm, and that the Irish rebels had sustained a defeat—inspired both officers and men with an augury of success. As Skippon had to march the foot by a considerable circuit, in order to avoid the fire from Dennington Castle, out of which a party sallied upon them, it was three in the afternoon before the attack commenced ; but after a desperate conflict of three hours, during which both sides displayed the genuine spirit of Englishmen, success so inclined to that of the parliament, that it was conceived night came opportunely to save the whole royal army. Four hundred prisoners, and nine pieces of ordnance, were taken by the parliamentary forces : of the latter there were six of the individual guns of which Essex's troops had been disarmed in Cornwall ; and they were recovered by the very men who had been reduced to the humiliating condition of surrendering them. Anxious to remove the stigma, they rushed up to the guns in spite of every difficulty and danger, and embracing them as old friends, exclaimed, they would give them *a Cornish hug*. Charles was so humbled with the success of this day, that he is reported to have marched away to Oxford with only one

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troop. He, however, soon returned, and both armies faced each other at Dennington Castle; but though the parliamentary army was about double the king's in number, the officers declined to hazard a battle. Cromwell, however, afterwards brought a charge against Manchester for allowing to slip so favourable an opportunity to finish the war. After this both parties retired into winter quarters.*

Actions of
Montrose
in Scot-
land.

While these events were passing in England, Montrose, according to the preconcerted plan, had begun his operations in Scotland. Antrim had undertaken to send 10,000 Irish into that country, but his magnificent promises, on which Charles relied, he never was in a situation to fulfil, and he afterwards reduced the number for which he was engaged at that time to 2000, while only 1600 reached that kingdom. Montrose, supported by Huntley, had previously erected his standard at Dumfries; but the attempt was premature. Few joined them; and as the Highlanders whom they brought thither retreated to their hills, the leaders were obliged to seek their safety in flight. Gordon of Haddo, who had joined them, and whose previous oppressions had rendered him odious, having been caught, was condemned on a charge of having carried on a treasonable correspondence with Huntley, appeared in arms, &c., and brought to the block. Not dispirited, however, with this failure, Montrose prepared for another attempt. In disguise, and accompanied with only two attendants, he reached the house of one of his vassals in Strathearn, at the foot of the Grampians; and having sent one of his attendants in quest of intelligence, and to rouse his adherents, he lurked for a time alone, concealed in any hut by day, and wandering amongst the hills by night. In this situation, he heard of the approach of the Irish auxiliaries, and he hastened to set himself at

* Rush. vol. v. p. 718 *et seq.*; 244 *et seq.*, 246, 247; Ludlow, vol. i. Whitelocke, p. 107; Clar. vol. v. p. 127 *et seq.*
p. 13 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lct.* pp. 241-

their head. These native Irish, who, as the retainers of Antrim, had been accustomed to arms in the rebellion, had been under the conduct of Alexander Macdonald (of whom we shall have reason to speak particularly in the sequel), first landed at Ardnamurchan, in Argyleshire, where they plundered, burned, and destroyed the country, as well as murdered the inhabitants; but hearing that the Marquis of Argyle was preparing forces against them, Macdonald shipped his troops, and transported them to Skye, and from thence to the mainland, when they traversed Lochaber and Badenoch, ignorant of the fate of Montrose, though joined by some of the clans. But, as they descended into Athol, he, in the garb of a mountaineer, and with only one attendant, proclaimed himself their commander. They, however, could not believe that a person so habited and attended could be the individual of whose rank and power they had been forewarned, till the respect shown him by the Highlanders who recognised his person, and the number whom his name summoned to arms, convinced them of their mistake. We are told that the amount of his force, even then, did not much exceed 3000 men; but as his panegyrists ever diminish his numbers, to render his exploits the more marvellous, and so many clans joined him, we can scarcely believe that it was so diminutive. Had not all the valuable Scottish troops been in England, his career would have been short. But he was not deemed important enough to warrant the recall of any portion of the army, nor yet to organise regularly a fresh body of men; and to this idea of his insignificance in war may be traced his great success. The committee of estates instantly ordered out troops under Lord Elcho, to the number of from six to seven thousand horse and foot; and Argyle, having raised his adherents, advanced in the pursuit of the Irish. It was necessary, therefore, for Montrose to hazard immediate action before he should be enclosed between the two armies. Perth opened extensive resources to his troops in case of suc-

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cess, as the mountains yet afforded a refuge in case of defeat. The superiority which the raw Lowlanders had hitherto enjoyed over the Highlanders was now lost; for, while the latter were allowed to charge with that impetuous irregularity which corresponded with their habits, the former had just received as much discipline as deprived them of their native impetuosity, and yet was insufficient to be of service to them in the field, as it so hampered them, and cramped every movement, that they had neither the furious onset of irregular, nor the steady valour of regular, soldiers. Troops thus formed and ill-officered were in this instance suddenly embodied; and these disadvantages were heightened by the treachery of some of their leaders. Montrose took up a strong position at Tippermuir; and as the Irish, though used to the musket, were unarmed with pikes, and thence unable to resist the cavalry, he placed them in the centre, and his countrymen on the wings. His panegyrists, forgetting that the utter worthlessness of the opposite troops bereaves him of all glory in vanquishing them, inform us that the adverse cavalry was put to flight by a shower of stones; but, considering the silly fictions of these writers, the relation is only so far valuable as it tends to confirm the account of the other side—that at the very commencement of the battle, Lord Drummond, and his friend Oliphant of Gask, who had been entrusted with command by the popular party, treacherously, according to a preconcerted plan, exhorted their men to immediate flight; Lord Elcho, on the other hand, afforded an advantage by his rashness.* When the horse had thus given way, Montrose ordered his foot to advance against the infantry, and their furious assault put the whole to the rout. Eight pieces of cannon, with the ammunition, and a great number of small arms, fell into his hands; and about three hundred of the adverse party were slain. Drummond and his friend then

* Baillie's *Lct.* vol. ii. pp. 233, 262.

formally joined Montrose. The victory, too, was gained with very small loss on his side; and its importance was great. Perth opened its gates to him, and there, as he plundered the town, he supplied his troops with clothing, and acquired additional arms. His success, too, encouraged others to declare themselves. The Earl of Airly, as well as his sons, with the Lords Duplin and Spynie, joined him; and the Gordons were preparing a large reinforcement. But Argyle advanced, and, as Dundee was impregnable, Montrose, both to avoid him and join with the Gordons, retreated northwards. As he approached to Aberdeen, about 2700 men, some of them from Fife, the rest from that town and the neighbourhood, were, under two of Huntley's sons, who, either from conscience or policy, took an opposite side from their father, called out, to oppose his progress at the Bridge of Dee; but, in spite of every precaution, desertion thinned their ranks, and Montrose, having, with a far superior force, crossed the river at a ford above, poured down upon them with an impetuosity which, though 400 Fife men stood the whole shock for above four hours, ultimately drove them from the field. Had they fled farther into the country, they might have escaped without much slaughter, and possibly have so drawn off the enemy as to prevent his entrance into the town; but as they sought safety in the town, the victors pursued them into it, and, not confining the slaughter to them, exhibited a scene of horrors which might well have been anticipated from a body of men deeply imbued in all the mischief of the Irish rebellion. Montrose had formerly oppressed Aberdeen, because, out of a principle of loyalty—a principle which he now with such unbridled fury affected to act upon—it had resisted the Covenant; yet, such was the disposition of the man, such the unmitigated ferocity of his troops, that the devoted town was abandoned, a prey to rapine, lust, and murder. The peaceful citizen was first stripped, lest his clothes should be soiled with his own gore, and then

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massacred in cold blood; the unhappy mother durst not deplore the inhuman death of her infant; the wife, of her husband; nor yet, with the assistance of kindred, remove the loathsome spectacle from the polluted streets! For four days did this monstrous cruelty continue, and it ceased only then because the approach of Argyle obliged Montrose to evacuate the town.*

As Montrose was not in a situation to cope with Argyle, he retreated northward to form the junction with Huntley, but, disappointed in the expected succour, and finding the opposite banks of the Spey guarded with about 5000 men drawn from the adjacent shires, he had no resource but flight to the mountains. The Highlanders, laden with spoil, left him, according to their custom; yet, with masterly marches over the hills, in which his artillery and ammunition were lost in a morass, he saved himself from defeat and disgrace. But it was necessary to employ his Irish troops, and as Argyle's army had, through some jealousy of his influence in the state, been so shamefully neglected that the desertion of his men obliged him to abandon the pursuit of Montrose, and so disgusted him that he threw up his command, the latter was left at liberty to begin a new expedition. Though the season was far advanced, and winter already begun, he, having gained some fresh adherents, penetrated into the wilds of Argyleshire, hitherto deemed inaccessible, and soon overran that country with a vindictive barbarity, which only the brutal Irish of that age, and the savages of the mountains, could have been found to perpetrate. The houses and corn were burned, the cattle destroyed or

* This account of the horrors exhibited at Aberdeen is taken from Spalding, a cotemporary townsman, most firmly attached to Charles and Episcopacy, and a well-wisher to the general success of Montrose (vol. ii. p. 237 *et seq.*). See for preceding transactions, p. 216 *et seq.*; Baillie,

vol. ii. pp. 64, 92 *et seq.*; Wishart, p. 67 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. iv. p. 606 *et seq.*; Carte's *Orm.* vol. i. p. 477. The statement here is in direct opposition to the general tenor of this author's work, and confirms our account of Irish affairs.

carried away, and all the males fit to bear arms, that fell into their hands, massacred in cold blood.*

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After these exploits he returned towards Inverness; but, after he had proceeded so far, he learned that Argyle, who, disgusted at the neglect of his small army by the parliament, had thrown up his command, had again, resenting the dreadful invasion of his territory as an immediate wrong to himself, collected about 3000 men, to take vengeance on his enemy, and was ravaging the lands of a clan confederated with Montrose. He therefore instantly changed his course, and passing the mountains, fell down upon Argyle's party at Inverlochy in Lochaber. The outposts that escaped fled with breathless precipitation to announce the intelligence, and scarcely could their leader, by hasty preparations, keep off the enemy for the evening. It was moonlight, and the parties faced each other in a menacing posture till morning. Argyle, having devolved the command upon a cousin, next day, instead of leading on his men himself, took to his boat on the lake, from which he viewed the battle at a safe distance; and the apology made for him by his friends—that an accidental fall from his horse some days before had so bruised his face and arm, that he was disabled from using either sword or pistol—has not been deemed sufficient to exempt him from a charge of pusillanimity. A considerable portion of his forces consisted of such half-trained Lowlanders as we have described, and these he divided between the opposite wings; the rest, who were Highlanders, he placed in the centre. The number of Montrose's force cannot be ascertained, but the hostile wings composed of such troops, his furious assault soon dissi-

* Wishart, chap. vii. and viii. This author says that Argyle first practised this cruel mode of warfare; but it would have been better to have given instances; and what shall we think of a prelate, of one that was afterwards bishop of Edin-

burgh, who can gravely tell us that Montrose acknowledged that he had never more experienced the singular providence and goodness of God than in this expedition? Are these the weapons of the gospel? (Spald. vol. ii. p. 269.)

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pated; and then the centre, charged on all sides, was quickly overthrown. The slaughter was great, and Argyle lost many of his own friends; the rest of his troops found shelter in the mountains.*

After this fresh success, Montrose resumed his purpose of marching to Inverness, which, now that he was joined by the Gordons and the Grants, who had warily kept back till they thought they saw some certainty of a successful issue, he expected would surrender to him; but the town was not disposed to yield, and, garrisoned with two veteran regiments, was impregnable. Turning, therefore, from it, he let loose upon the adjacent country the native ferocity of his own temper, as well as that of his troops. Acting on the principle that all who were not for him were against him, he wasted their lands, plundered and burned their houses. Elgin, Cullen, and Banff were exposed to pillage; the inhabitants of Stonehaven in vain implored his mercy; he consumed the town to ashes without a feeling of remorse at the misery he inflicted.† Such were the first proceedings of Montrose—proceedings that were held out by the ministers of his master as an example to English commanders;‡ and by such tender mercies did ‘the mild, the humane Charles’ attempt to reclaim a deluded people to the just sway of his paternal authority. But the people were not to be so won, and no success ever gave Montrose a firm footing in Scotland. Not one fort did he hold; not a garrison did he ever plant. The authorities, which he for an instant appeared to have overthrown, immediately resumed their functions. His route was indeed marked with blood and devastation; but as his power only followed his person, his influence vanished with his presence; and, while men

* Wishart, p. 110 *et seq.*; Baillie, *Let.* vol. ii. p. 225 *et seq.*, 233, 261 *et seq.*; see also Gen. Baillie’s *Vindication*, vol. ii. p. 417 *et seq.*; Spalding, vol. ii. p. 270.

† Spalding, vol. ii. p. 273 *et seq.* See

p. 285, for a proof of inexorable cruelty in Montrose, scarcely credible of one in civilised life. The men, women, and children, with prayers, tears, and lamentations, addressed him in vain.

‡ Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 89.

prayed for his overthrow and punishment, his atrocities everywhere kindled a deeper resentment against counsels that could encourage them.

It is now time to resume the narrative of English affairs. For the supreme military command, Essex was as unqualified from inclination as ability. Unwilling to overpower the king, he had evidently neglected opportunities; incapable of availing himself of his advantages, he had ever lost the season of action. The influence of the peers alone had long preserved him; and, after the death of Hampden, the popular party had attempted to raise up Sir William Waller, hoping, that when that officer had eclipsed the other in war, the chief command might be obtained for him. But he was no less inefficient; 'nimble marches' he did indeed make; but his practice was to lead out a fine army from the city, and return in a few weeks to recruit; such being his utter want of discipline, that the soldiers generally left him after a month's service. But the attempt to raise him as the competitor of Essex had excited such jealousy between those commanders, that he complained of the loss of one army through the designed want of support from Essex; and Essex, of the loss of another, through a similar fault on his side. Cromwell, who had performed the most signal exploits, unless Fairfax may be ranked as his competitor for military fame, had a powerful party in parliament; but the Scots, whom he despised, and whose ecclesiastical discipline he opposed, were hostile to his promotion; while Denzil Hollis, who had flattered himself with the hope of the chief ascendancy, and at last perceived how ineffectually, even in parliament, he could contend with such a character, now not only supported Essex, as well as the peers for whom he showed formerly such small reverence, but endeavoured to destroy the character of his adversary by calumnies of cowardice, which none would believe, and tried, in conjunction with Essex and the Scots, to impeach him as an incendiary, for kindling dissension

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between the two kingdoms. Cromwell's friends had already tried to get the chief command of Manchester's army transferred to him from that nobleman, who, if he really desired success, was destitute of talents to secure it. But the attempt had at once spread alarm; and on the same principle had Crawford been supported when charged with various breaches of duty, as well as been encouraged to traduce Cromwell.

Cromwell, who had at first governed the Earl of Manchester,* had been for a considerable time back on ill terms with that nobleman, and therefore, when parliament instituted an inquiry into the shameful business at Dennington Castle, he presented a charge against him to this effect: That, anxious only for such a peace as victory would be prejudicial to—a principle which he had developed by express words, as well by a series of actions—he had always been indisposed to engage the royal forces, and thus end the war by the sword: That, after the surrender of York, he had, as if he thought the parliament too high, and the king too low, studiously neglected and shifted off opportunities by his own absolute will, against, or without, the opinion of his council of war; and had, in spite of the commands of the committee of both kingdoms, detained his army in positions which afforded every advantage against him: That, even after the junction with the other armies, he had acted a similar part, unless when he cajoled or deluded his council of war to concur with him in neglecting one opportunity under pretext of another, and that again of a third; 'and at last persuading them that it was not fit to fight at all:' and that his conduct was particularly reprehensible when facing Dennington Castle, as he might there have overthrown the king. Manchester gave in a narrative in his own defence, in which he ascribes some slowness in his operations to the jealousies and misunderstandings of his officers; but,

* Baillie's *Let.* p. 229.

confining himself almost exclusively to that part of his conduct which was most obnoxious to reproach, he states that Cromwell had, by not bringing up his horse, been himself partly the cause of the small success on that occasion: That, for his own part, as he was inexperienced in war, he had done nothing without the advice of his principal officers, of whom the first that dissuaded from fighting was Sir Arthur Hazlerig (an individual that Cromwell meant to adduce as a witness to prove his charge); and, says he, 'I must acknowledge that Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sensible of a contradiction in this particular, as when there was but an information of such a report cast out at random, that I had acted without the advice of the council of war, he professed that he was a villain and liar that could affirm any such thing.*' Not content with this, Manchester brought against Cromwell a charge to this effect: that, after the capture of York, he had declared that the Scots had come into England to impose their church-government, and he would as soon draw his sword against them in opposition to such an attempt, as against those of the king's party: That he had spoken disrespectfully of the House of Peers, saying, that he wished there was never a lord in England, and it would not be well till Manchester himself were Mr. Montague; and that he was desirous of such an army of sectaries as might prevent any peace with the king, which was against the inclinations of his party.†

These mutual charges never came to any proper investigation; the Commons having held, that the one at the instance of Manchester, which was transmitted from

* Rush. vol. v. p. 733 *et seq.*

† Supposing Cromwell to have spoken to this effect, it must be conceded by every unprejudiced mind that duly considers the authorities adduced by us, that he justly appreciated the motives of the sectaries, and only discharged the part of an honest man in that he proposed

to act. Nothing can be more revolting than the cant of the Scots about the gratitude which the English owed to them for their interposition in the war, and the services they had rendered in the conflict (Hollis, *Mem.* p. 18; Baillie's *Lect.* pp. 241, 245, 246).

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the Lords, could not be entertained against a member of their House, where it ought to have originated, and the new model having rendered the prosecution of the earl unnecessary. It is, therefore, impossible to determine how far the respective statements are correct. That Manchester had been raised up, much to the displeasure of Essex and his faction, as the rival of that commander-in-chief, and had so little fulfilled the general expectations, that he soon incurred the same suspicion as the other, thus justifying Cromwell's charge in the public esteem, is beyond doubt.* That the other, whose accusation was lodged within so few days after the affair at Dennington Castle, and who had been for a long time on bad terms with his superior officer, should have spoken so warmly to his face against the substance of that charge, is very unaccountable.† But, on the other hand, it is equally manifest that Manchester and his friends had become very jealous of Cromwell, as the head of the popular party, of whose enmity to their peculiar privileges they were remarkably suspicious; and it is not less true, that he had embraced all opportunities to show his disrespect of the Scots. It is not unlikely too, that he had allowed to escape him some expressions against the peerage, which had alarmed the earl. But that the charge, as it stood, was prepared as a temporary expedient to procure the removal of Cromwell, appears evident from several cir-

* Baillie's *Lct.* p. 177 *et seq.* 'It was the faction's (the faction devoted to the king) 'grief,' says this writer, on the 19th May, 1644, that the ordinance for keeping up Manchester's army for other three months, 'made him a greater and better paid armie than the general's,' &c. (*Id.* pp. 229 *et seq.*, 234 *et seq.*, and also for our general statement, see that volume generally; Hutchinson, vol. i. pp. 347, 348; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 132.

† The affair of Dennington Castle occurred on the 10th of November, and Cromwell's charge appears to

have been given in within about a fortnight. Manchester's vindication was presented to the Lords by the end of the month (*Journ.* 25th Nov. *et seq.*; Baillie, *Lct.* p. 244 *et seq.*). Memoirs composed by individuals who have acted a great part in public transactions, without any immediate view of publication for an object, are highly valuable; and the idea is that Hollis's are of this description; but it is quite apparent from the dedication, &c., that he had written them for a purpose, though he had not ventured to publish them.

cumstances. Hollis alleges in his Memoirs, which appear to have been prepared in 1648, as a philippic intended for immediate publication against his enemies, particularly Cromwell and St. John, that the charge would have been proved, had it not been unjustly stifled by the Independent party in the Lower House.* But the secret cabals against Cromwell at this juncture, in which Hollis acted a very deep part; and the fact of Manchester's charge being only made to meet the one against himself, and of its having been brought down by Hollis, afford a clear presumption that the matter could not have been substantiated.

Cromwell's penetration into character, and deep policy, are altogether irreconcilable with the idea of his so foolishly exposing his designs to a nobleman, to whose sentiments, in regard to the exclusive privileges of his own class, he could be no stranger; and if he had been so absurdly incautious, it was certainly the duty of Manchester to have given instant information against him, instead of preserving a profound silence, rendered the more remarkable by differences between them, till himself was accused of the grossest misconduct by that individual, who 'had given great satisfaction to the Commons touching the business of Dennington Castle.'† But the case does not rest on this. Cromwell had reflected, though deli-

* The committee to whom it was referred were the following: Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Brown, Mr. Solicitor, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Strickland, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Walter Erle, *Mr. Maynard*, Mr. Crew, *Mr. Whitelocke*, Mr. Reynolds, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Sergeant Wilde, Mr. Lisle, *Mr. Hollis*, Mr. Hill, Sir Thomas Widdrington, *Mr. Pierpoint* (*Journ.* 4th Dec.).

† Whitelocke, p. 116. Clarendon's account of this matter is very incorrect: and it is very strange indeed that Hollis should impute the not fighting to the designs of the Independent party, lest the war

should be finished, as it might have been, by one stroke. Compare his statement with Manchester's narrative. He pretends that his majesty's affairs were irretrievably ruined now, and therefore that Fairfax and Cromwell had no merit in finishing the war. Lamentable is it, too, to find him so vehement against St. John, for his argument in Strafford's case—considering that he never resented it, but continued most intimately connected with him, till he found himself sinking under the Independent party, to which St. John attached himself. But enough of Hollis.

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cately, on Essex's officers; and that earl having, along with Hollis, Stapleton, Meryich, and others, instigated the Scottish commissioners, sufficiently of themselves predisposed, to impeach him as an incendiary between the two nations, in violation of the Solemn League and Covenant, sent one evening very late for Maynard and Whitelocke to Essex House for consultation, without previously apprising them of the subject; but, though the commissioners were supported by the others, who were all present, and the two lawyers stated that the lord-chancellor of Scotland's idea of an incendiary corresponded with the principles of the English law, they could adduce no other grounds for their intended proceeding, than that he was no well-wisher to Essex, and that, 'since the advance of the Scottish army into England, he had used all underhand and cunning means to take off from their honour, and the merit of their kingdom, an evil requital of all their hazards and services.' The two lawyers justly remarked, that the case must depend on proof; that they had heard no particular stated, nor knew any themselves, which could warrant a proceeding; and that, therefore, the Scottish commissioners should endeavour to collect matter of fact, which tended to substantiate their general charge, when, if called upon, they would be ready to give their opinion regarding it: but that, as it behoved both them and the lord-general to be cautious in engaging in any prosecution which could not be clearly supported by facts, particularly as Cromwell had great interest in the House of Commons, with many friends amongst the peers, while he possessed 'abilities to manage his own part to the best advantage,'* they advised that the business should be at least deferred. With this the Scottish commissioners

* This surely is a proof of Cromwell's talent for speaking. Had he been the tedious, homely, perplexed speaker he is represented by Hume, a seat in parliament would have been disadvantageous to him, as by

exposing himself there, he would have lost the character for talent which he had gained in the field; and yet it was to his influence in the senate that he was greatly indebted for his rise.

were satisfied, though ‘ Mr. Hollis, and Sir Philip Stapleton, and some others, spake smartly to the business, and mentioned some particular passages to prove him to be an incendiary; and they did not apprehend his interest in the House of Commons to be so much as was supposed, *and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him.*’* Now it is singular, that Hollis was, as we have said, the very individual who brought down Manchester’s charge from the House of Lords; and that both he and Stapleton, as well as Whitelocke and Maynard, were of the committee to whom the point of privilege was referred. But as this would have afforded indisputable ground for prosecution, it is vain to say that Hollis and the others were outvoted both in the committee and in the House, since, though it was resolved that an impeachment of a member of the Commons could not originate with the Lords, there was no bar to a proceeding in another form; and the very circumstance of their being on the committee, enabled them to ascertain early what would be the vote, and thus lose no time in taking new measures. It is clear, therefore, that the whole was a cunning device, to alarm the aristocracy and the English, as well as Scottish Presbyterian, party against Cromwell; and we may conclude with remarking, that Hollis himself, while he founds upon the very existence of the charge as a decisive proof of its truth, never alludes to his own cabals for the ruin of his enemy.

‘ I have cause,’ says Whitelocke, in regard to the consultation at Essex House, ‘ to believe that at this debate, some who were present were false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed amongst us:’* and the intelligence could not fail to rouse him and his friends to immediate proceedings. But matters could not remain longer in their present posture. In the armies, general was against general, and the subordinate officers were

Causes of, and proceedings relative to, the Self-denying Ordinance.

* Whitelocke, pp. 116, 117.

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rent into factions by their divisions. The parliament partook of their differences, and was daily splitting into greater factions, while the country at large had begun to cry out against the conduct of the war. It was generally believed, the commander-in-chief did not desire to see it brought to a decisive determination; and not confining their complaints to him, accused the members of both Houses of purposely protracting the public miseries that, by the engrossment of lucrative offices, they might enrich themselves at the common expense.* There had been that time twelvemonth a vote, that the members of the parliament, with certain exceptions, should not hold offices;† and there had now been an inquiry instituted into the number and emoluments of those at present enjoyed by them.‡ The course, therefore, to remove the present commanders, and still the public discontent, appeared chalked out; and on the ninth of December, the consideration of the present condition of the army, and the means of efficaciously reforming it, having come before the Lower House,—Cromwell, while every one was unwilling to broach a subject of so delicate a nature, broke the deep silence thus, ‘That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue; the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost a dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into, so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like soldiers of fortune beyond the sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament. For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of this parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands, and what by interest in parliament, and what

* Baillie's *Lect.* pp. 216–226 *et seq.*,
229 *et seq.*

† *Cob. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 187.
‡ *Journ.* 14th Nov. 1644.

by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but, if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for, as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs: therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy that is most necessary; and I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, that no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves their own private interests for the public good; nor account it a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty affair.* Another spoke thus: 'Whatever is the matter, which I list not so much to inquire after, two summers are past over, and we are not saved: our victories (the price of blood invaluable) so gallantly gotten, and, which is more pity, so graciously bestowed, seem to have been put into a bag with holes; what we won one time we lost another: the treasure is exhausted, the country wasted: a summer's victory has proved but a winter's story; the game, however shut up with autumn, was to be new played in spring—as if the blood that has been shed were only to manure the field of war, for a

* This I conceive to be a sufficient proof of Cromwell's powers as a public speaker.

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more plentiful crop of contention. Men's hearts have failed them with the observation of these things, the cause whereof the parliament has been tender of raveling into. But men cannot be hindered from venting their opinions privately, and their fears which are various, and no less variously expressed; concerning which I determine nothing; but this I would say, 'tis apparent the forces being under several commanders, want of good correspondency amongst the chieftains has oftentimes hindered the public service.* After these speeches, Mr. Zouch Tate moved, that all members of either House should be precluded by ordinance from holding commands; and this having been seconded by the younger Vane and others, was, after a long debate, resolved by the House, when an ordinance in conformity with the vote was ordered to be brought in. On the 11th, the ordinance as prepared was read the first time; and a fast was voted on the same day *for that House*, to be held on the 18th, 'to humble themselves for their parliamentary and particular sins and failings, whereby they might obtain God's blessing in a better measure upon their endeavours for the future.' On the 12th, a petition was presented by many in London, encouraging the design. On Saturday the 14th, the ordinance was read a second time, and a committee of the whole House was appointed to consider it on the Tuesday following (17th), when some amendments were assented to, and a provision in favour of the lord-general, that the ordinance should not extend to him, was rejected by 100 to 93. Another proviso, levelled at Cromwell's friends, that none should enjoy military command who would not subscribe an obligation to submit to any church government which should be agreed upon by both Houses, upon the advice of the assembly of divines, was, with the ordinance itself, allowed to lie over till the next Thursday, or the day after the fast. The fast was

* Surely there are few more eloquently condensed passages to be found in any language than this.

assented to by the Lords likewise; and certain preachers were ordered by both Houses to discharge the spiritual functions, while all strangers, even the attendants of members, were ordered to be excluded. This resolution by both Houses was alleged to be for the purpose of affording the preachers an opportunity to expatiate upon the new intended model, or, as this was styled, the Self-denying Ordinance; but as it had previously been fully debated and determined upon in the Lower House, the object could not be to move the Commons, unless as to the proviso, regarding the subscription to submit to any church government agreed to by both Houses, on the advice of the assembly of divines; whence we must conclude, that, if such a design were contemplated at all, it must have been directed towards the Lords, where it was expected the ordinance would encounter the greatest opposition. Next day the proviso about the church government was rejected by the Commons, and the ordinance passed.*

* Now the reader will be able to appreciate the correctness of Clarendon's statement, which is followed by Hume, and the nature of the latter's *History of England*. The story is, that the Independents knew not how to propose the alterations, till they resorted to the method which had hitherto proved so successful—that of preparing and repairing things in the church, that they might afterwards grow to maturity in parliament. That they therefore proposed that they would have a solemn fast day, in which they would seek God (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their Covenant), and desire his assistance to lead them out of the perplexities they were in; and they took care to nominate fit preachers; that when the fast day came (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches), the preachers prayed that 'parliament might be inspired with those thoughts as might contribute to their honour, reputation,' &c.: that they then ex-

patiated upon public affairs, alleging the parliament lay under many reproaches for making places, &c., to themselves, and that the people despaired of ever seeing an end of the present calamities, &c. They again fell to their prayers, 'that God would take his own work into his hand; and if the instruments he had already employed were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit,' &c. When, continues he, the two Houses met the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, 'If ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday; and that it appeared it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly informed by many *who had been auditors in the congregations*), the same lamentations and discourses had been made in other churches, as the godly preachers had made before them, which could therefore proceed only

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White-
locke's ar-
gument on
the Self-
denying
Ordinance.

In the debate about the Self-denying Ordinance under the grand committee, Whitelocke spoke at considerable length against the measure; arguing that members of parliament could, as having the deepest stake in the community, be most surely depended on for its defence: That military commanders selected from their own body were, as most directly subject to the control of either House, most likely to be obedient: That their rank necessarily obtained for them a submission from the subordinate

from the immediate inspiration of God, and so forth. He also gives a speech for Cromwell (Clar. vol. v. p. 18 *et seq.*). *Now we have given our dates from the Journals, which prove beyond all doubt that the new model was resolved upon before a fast was even voted, and that the ordinance itself had undergone the fullest discussion before the fast was held.* But this is not all. The fast was only kept by the two Houses; an ordinance for the general or national fast having been passed next day, to be held on Christmas-day, 'although it be the day on which the feast of the nativity of our Saviour was wont to be solemnized' (*Journ.*); so that there could not be that concurrence in the language of the different churches, pretended to be alluded to by Vane. It is evident, therefore, as well as from the speeches which we have given from Rushworth, and the facts stated by that collector and Whitelocke, &c., that this account was a most impudent fabrication; and I have no doubt that Clarendon, who takes such credit to himself for his dexterity in forging speeches, was himself the author of the whole. But one feels more inclined to excuse him, who, having embarked all his hopes and fortunes in the struggle, and been engaged in all the transactions, could not fail to be imbued with the passions incident to them, for such a statement, than for the adoption of it by Mr. Hume, who sat down coolly with the avowed object of writing the truth. The apology for him is that he followed Claren-

don; but it cannot be admitted—because he himself refers to Rushworth, as if he had been warranted by his authority; and it is utterly impossible that, as Rushworth gives a most particular account of the whole business, *with dates and speeches*, and mentions that the fast was held to implore a blessing upon the new model, which had already drawn a congratulatory address from many in London, Hume could be deceived. His misrepresentation then, I must speak out, was as wilful as it is gross. If truth be necessary to history, I cannot conceive that Mr. Hume's work will come under the denomination. *He elsewhere, by way of ridicule, quotes the very words of the ordinance, for the national fast on Christmas-day.* As for Clarendon, he tells us he often wished to make a collection of all the speeches and letters he had forged, and which, by his own account, were very numerous (*Life*, vol. i. p. 161 *et seq.*). The principle on which Clarendon wrote, too, was inconsistent with a regard to truth. 'I first undertook,' says he, 'this difficult work with his majesty's approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication' (*Hist.* vol. v. p. 129, but see from pp. 128–130).

Rush. vol. vi. p. 3 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, pp. 118, 119. This author tells us, that '*some said*' the preachers wished the church to be attended only by members, that they might speak the more freely to them, especially upon the point of the Self-denying Ordinance.

officers, that could not be expected from such as more nearly approximated to the station of those whom they commanded; and that, as by this new arrangement the eminent individuals who had already so signally served their country must lay down their commissions, it would not only offend them, but devolve the public safety upon men without experience. He concluded with referring to the conduct of the Greeks and Romans in support of his argument, alleging that they always bestowed the great civil and military offices upon their senators, as on persons the best qualified, both from the deep interest they had in the state, and from their opportunities of acquiring in the senate that intimate knowledge of the counsels of their country, which was necessary for promoting them.*

As this has been presented by Mr. Hume as an irrefragable argument, and the conduct of the ancient republics referred to by him with particular satisfaction, it may be proper to give the matter a little examination. Without an intimate acquaintance with the institutions of any state, it is always dangerous to draw an inference from any particular branch of its policy, because what may be wise and beneficial under one system, may be absolutely pernicious under another. But, in this instance, neither White Locke nor Hume seems to have understood the nature of the political machine in those ancient republics; and in regard to Greece they had remarkably mistaken the fact, since neither in Athens nor Sparta, the two most considerable Grecian states, were senators eligible to other offices.† In Rome, indeed, the

* White Locke, pp. 119, 120.

† In Athens, the senators, and all the great civil and military officers, were annually elected by the people; but the first were chosen by lot out of the respective tribes, from individuals qualified by rank, age, &c., while all the latter were elected by voices in the annual assemblies

called for the purpose. From the nature of the senate it does not appear that candidates for other offices could be put in nomination for the lot (Gillies's *Aristotle's Politics*, p. 80 *et seq.*). The powers of the senate were soon virtually withdrawn by the popular assemblies. In Sparta, the senate was composed only of

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senators were eligible to, and most frequently filled, some of the highest places; but, in order to ascertain how this operated, we must attend to the constitution of that commonwealth. The senate did not, as in England now, elect the public officers, and neither possessed the legislative power, nor any right even to impose taxes. It was a select committee, into which they were chiefly chosen who had already filled some offices, and performed something memorable in the public service, and its powers were limited to superintending the general current business of the state. All laws were enacted, and public officers elected, by the people in their comitia; and, had the power wisely entrusted to the senate been perverted, it could have been modified by a new law. The senate had thus no power to augment the number of offices; and whenever it was suspected that a war was protracted, in order to afford an advantage to members of their body, new men were brought forward. The consuls were invested with large powers; but they could not so modify an army as to turn it against the community; for, as their office expired at the end of one year, they had neither time to corrupt the army, nor undue influence over officers, who depended upon the popular vote for their own advancement. As few, too, of the senate could ever expect to enjoy the consular dignity, they could feel little disposition to promote its power at the expense of their own influence in the national council, while the people could ever, by new laws, curb anything dangerous in the authority of its commanders. The senate not having the nomination to places, was never disgraced by factious cabals and broils to obtain them; and hence we do not ever read of the existence of ministerial, or ruling, and opposition factions in that august body. What we have

twenty-eight, and none was eligible till he had completed his sixtieth year. Their age precluded the idea of their acting in a military capacity;

and the duties of their office as senators required all their powers (Plut. *Life of Lycurgus*).

said relates exclusively to the pure days of the republic. It is not our province to inquire into the causes that, in the progress of centuries, suspended the operation, as they ultimately destroyed the peculiar fabric of that celebrated government.* But in England, at the period we are treating of, the two Houses of Parliament were invested with unlimited power, determinable only at their own pleasure; and in short were, in their aggregate capacity, clothed with all the authority of absolute monarchs. Invested with the whole legislative power, and entitled to appoint all public officers, they had a natural tendency to advance their own greatness to the prejudice of the people, as well as to multiply jobs and places, that they might enrich and exalt themselves at the public expense. Such a system tended also to inflame the members with the desire of securing the chief influence in this assembly of joint absolute princes, and likewise of procuring the great offices, which all could not equally obtain—till they were rent into factions for supremacy, and each fixed his hope upon the military, as on an engine by which it might render its ascendancy complete. Such was the natural tendency of this state of affairs; and it is no answer to the objections, that the English parliament at that time contained a number of patriots, who were prepared to make great personal sacrifices for the public benefit, since an institution must not be appreciated by the integrity of particular men; and this assembly, with all its virtue, had neither escaped the imputation of selfishness, nor the consequences of the system. In proposing the Self-denying Ordinance, its supporters acted upon the immutable basis of sound policy in the ordinary transactions of life, such as has been recognised by the law of every country; that no trustee shall, in any transaction regarding the subject of the trust, act for his own behoof. The human heart is assuredly not changed by an appointment to a place in

* See Brodie's *History of the Roman Government* for an account of that constitution.

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the national council. As for the argument that a member of parliament was best qualified to discharge the duty of a great office, from his knowledge of the councils of his country, it is doubtless strangely erroneous, since no person in such a situation ought to act without the express orders of the assembly he obeys, which can be as well signified to an individual who does not, as to one who does, belong to it; and if he were permitted to take a single step out of his mere unauthorised conception of the designs of parliament from what he had seen passing there, the inevitable consequence would be, that, under such a pretext, he would promote the views of the particular faction to which he belonged. Again, as to obedience being more easily exacted from a member than from a servant regularly appointed, in consequence of his aptitude to the business, the idea is no less groundless, since a member would naturally act in conjunction with a faction within doors, which would exert all its influence to support his proceedings, and it would be a matter of difficulty to disgrace him; while another could only receive his instructions from his constituents, and might be removed without a breach of delicacy: nor did it follow that men of sufficient rank could not be found without the precincts of both Houses. But it is strange, indeed, first, that Mr. Hume should have relied so confidently upon the argument founded on the inexperience of the commanders, which the two Houses were by this new arrangement obliged to appoint, since the result so immediately and decisively belied it; and, secondly, that he should have conceived it so essential that the great military commanders should be elected from members of parliament, when the reasoning was so directly refuted by the experience of his own age; for though there be no law against the appointment of members in either House, the majority of those in greatest command have not held places in the senate. It is singular that Whitelocke himself, in the course of four pages from the transcript of his

speech, mentions the absolute necessity of a new arrangement.*

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The Self-denying Ordinance met with a different reception in the Upper House. The Lords, conceiving that it struck particularly at their privileges, since those only of the Commons who were returned to parliament were exempted, while the whole peerage were thus excluded; and, unwilling to offend Essex, Manchester, and others, as well as anxious to continue them in command, purposely delayed the bill in spite of messages from the Commons, and after a conference, finally, on the 15th of January, rejected it. This gave rise to the first visible breach between the Houses: but, in the meantime, even the Lords were sensible that some new arrangement was absolutely necessary; and as the Commons brought in an ordinance for new-modelling the army to 7000 horse and dragoons, and 14,000 foot, in all, and to put it under Sir Thomas Fairfax as general, and Skippon as serjeant-major-general, the Upper House, though with some modifications, passed it. Essex and the rest having at length perceived, that though they might retain the name of commanders, they had lost the power, resigned their commissions on the 1st of April; and the Commons having passed and transmitted to the Lords another ordinance to the same effect, though somewhat modified, as the self-denying one, it was now passed by the Upper House.

New model
of the
army.

As Cromwell retained a command in the army in spite of the ordinance, the whole has been ascribed to the cunning device of that famous person and his party. But the Self-denying Ordinance, as it was accompanied with such memorable effects, has been the subject of misrepresentation; and it seldom fails, that when individuals rise by certain conjunctures, people overlook the progress of the ascent, and, contemplating the last stage

* Whitelocke, p. 123.

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only, ascribe to early deep-laid policy, what had been of later growth. That it was the ardent wish of Cromwell and of his party, that he should obtain a military command, is undoubted. But that this was the object of the new model, may well be questioned. From the posture of affairs, it was absolutely necessary to adopt some speedy measure to defeat the designs of other parties and advance their own; and though the new model of the army might not elevate Cromwell as a general, it promised, under Fairfax, to exalt the party of which Cromwell was now at the head. He had formerly urged decisive measures which must have frustrated his hopes of holding the chief command; and as an active leader in parliament, with such an army under Fairfax, he had great prospects. But it never could have been anticipated, that by certain conjunctures a pretext should have been afforded for a short dispensation of the Self-denying Ordinance in his favour; and far less could he, if his party were, as is alleged, the inferior in number, expect that any pretext would have been successful. It is easy to assert that the majority were juggled; but it is difficult to believe that men of their penetration, assisted by the Scottish commissioners, inveterate enemies of Cromwell, should have been so readily the dupes of a project to which they had such aversion. Had the Self-denying Ordinance, and that for the new model been speedily passed, he never could have had a pretext for continuing in the army. It was only on the 27th of February that he was ordered by the parliament, which he had till then attended, to join Sir William Waller, that he might march with him to the relief of Melcombe, and the places adjacent, as well as prevent levies and recruits there by the king.* And it was his eminent services at this juncture which led to a dispensation in his favour for forty days, as matters became critical: but had the Self-denying Ordinance, and that for the new model been passed

* *Journals.*

as soon as was expected, both Waller and Cromwell must have been, on the 27th of February, out of command, and neither could have been sent on the employment. On the 11th of May, both Houses, without a division, granted him, as being then on actual service, a dispensation from the ordinance for forty days, and the battle of Naseby occurred within the time limited. By another ordinance they also, at the request of Fairfax and his officers, on the eve of that memorable engagement, appointed him lieutenant-general of the horse during the pleasure of both Houses. Nor is it wonderful. All had the utmost confidence in his capacity for war, and affairs were to the last degree critical.* They who wished a speedy and effectual termination to hostilities, and dreaded the results of a great engagement, were anxious for the assistance of such a genius. His enemies, who desired to protract the sanguinary struggle, imagined that the new modelled army, commanded, as they alleged, by officers without experience, for Skippon was the only old soldier retained, would be so unsuccessful as to cover the commanders with disgrace, and lead to the recall of Essex; and as they were eager to tarnish the fame of Cromwell, and thus divest him of influence, we may presume that they were not averse to afford him an opportunity of losing the laurels he had gained. On the other hand, if the new model were immediately successful, which could alone overcome all the odium that attached to the invidious measure of removing the old commanders, and consequently prevent a recurrence to the old arrangement, the army could speedily be put upon a new footing, since the Self-denying Ordinance only subsisted during the war, and the Scottish army still continued in England as a check upon the other. Besides, little was apprehended from such a temporary and subordinate appointment as that of Cromwell; nor could any one have predicted the fatal obstinacy and insidious pro-

* *Journals.*

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Sir Thomas
Fairfax.

ceedings of the king, which really gave the grand turn to the course of events.*

The rank and influence, as well as the exploits of Sir Thomas Fairfax, pointed him out for the chief command under the new model. His father, Lord Fairfax, who held a Scottish peerage, had a wide influence in his native county of York, which he represented; and in the beginning of this parliament he appears to have been a member of the most important committees. The service which he rendered against the Marquis of Newcastle has been already related. But the military merit of the son was transcendent, having a parallel from none but Cromwell's; and as he had not a seat in parliament, he was necessarily the object of choice. Writers have been fond of paying a tribute to his heart at the expense of his understanding; but the fact appears to be, that he himself even at the time encouraged the idea, that he good-naturedly adopted the suggestions of others, in order that, while he reaped the advantage, he might shelter himself from the odium of certain transactions; and that when the current had changed, he was anxious to seek oblivion of particular branches of his conduct, under the impression that he was the senseless dupe of

* Clarendon's account of all this matter has been already so exposed, that it is unnecessary to dwell farther upon it; but Hollis has been esteemed an honourable man, and therefore we may make a remark on his statement. Some of Essex's troops mutinied, and he alleges that Mr. Solicitor St. John wrote a letter underhand to the committee in Hertfordshire to put them to the sword,—'a villany never to be forgotten nor forgiven:' but the matter rests entirely on his assertion; and his credibility may be tried. He alleges that Cromwell's men also mutinied, crying they will have Cromwell, or they will not stir; but so very different a course was adopted towards them, that he must be sent down, and they have their

wills. Though Cromwell had pledged himself for their obedience, when the other party argued that the new model would fill the armies with discontent and mutiny: and that this was the pretext under which he was sent down (*Mem.* p. 31 *et seq.*). Now the *Journals*, and they cannot be disputed, afford a flat contradiction of this, as they prove that he was sent down on a very different service. The testimony, too, in letters from persons of credit to the parliament, was that Essex's 'were the most unruly, and that none appeared so full and well-armed, and civil as Col. Cromwell's' (*Whitelocke*, p. 131). This is confirmed by *Rush.* vol. vi. pp. 16-18. For text generally see p. 7 *et seq.*

designing men. In talents for war he perhaps equalled Cromwell; in activity, deep policy, and ascendancy over the minds of men (which, however, Cromwell vastly promoted by his situation in parliament), he was far inferior; and therefore, in process of time, descended into the nominal commander, while the real power centred in his inferior officer.*

The parliament has been accused of ingratitude to

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* Hollis, who makes Hazebriq a gross coward as well as Cromwell, and uses the most rancorous language regarding others, says of Fairfax, 'for a commander-in-chief Sir Thomas Fairfax is found out; one, as *Sir Arthur Hazebriq said*, as if he had been hewed out of the block for them, fit for their turns to do whatever they will have him, without being able to judge whether honourable or honest' (p. 34).

The same writer pronounces the keeping in of Cromwell hocus-pocus; and Hume says that the Independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the Presbyterians: but the first should have recollected the charge all along brought against the parliament, when he was one of the leading men, and the following exposure of the absurd charge which was doubtless composed under his auspices, may be a sufficient answer both to him and Hume on the present occasion. 'We must suppose that there are about ten Anabaptists now in parliament, that first expelled the major and better part, and then overcame the major and better part of such as remain behind: then by authority of parliament, and some few other Anabaptists in the city, they master and enslave the major and better part also by force, and then by some tumults raised, they drive the king and all his popish, prelatical, courtly, and military adherents from the city: then they impose taxes upon the kingdom for the maintaining of divers armies, and hereby tyrannise as the decemvirs did in Rome, in spite of the king, in spite

of nobility, in spite of gentry, in spite of commonalty, in spite of Papists, in spite of their own armies; and these not being sufficiently dissonant to reason and nature, we must suppose that these ten Anabaptists have been in travail with this design almost forty years: before king James began to comply with prelates and Papists, and before prelates and Papists began to conspire against Protestants under the name of Puritans, Anabaptists were consulting in close junto how to get themselves chosen of parliament; then how to get a parliament called; then how to preserve that parliament from being ever dissolved; then how to effect all these miracles by such means as none but themselves should ever be able to comprehend. Is not this a rare subject for our great wits at court, to work into proclamations and declarations? It is reported that the Lord Digby, of late, being at Mr. Knightly's house in Northamptonshire, in a parlour there, whilst his soldiers were busily searching, and plundering, and rifling the rooms, smote his hand upon the table, and swore that that was the table whereat all those civil wars had been plotted at least a dozen years before. It should seem that Mr. Pym had sojourned some time in that house, and that was sufficient for an inference that the nest of Anabaptists had been there too, and that nest had studied something which neither our king's cabinet counsellors, nor the juntos of Italy or Spain, could make defeasible' (*English Pope*, pp. 38, 39).

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Essex, for depriving him of the command; but most will be of opinion that, as 10,000*l.* a year out of the sequestered lands were settled upon him for his services,* he was rewarded infinitely beyond his merits.

During the summer and autumn, Charles had sent two messages for peace; but as in these he would not acknowledge the two Houses to be the parliament of England, they were considered in no other light than as a serious mockery, tending to render the breach more irreconcilable, and yet satisfy the clamours of his mongrel parliament and supporters, with an appearance of desiring a termination to hostilities, as well as excite, by such a show of amity, discontent at the war in the adherents of the opposite party. To evince, however, that they also desired peace, the two Houses sent propositions to him by the Earl of Denbigh and Lord Maynard, from the Peers; Lord Wenman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Whitelocke, from the Commons; while Lord Maitland, Sir Charles Erskine, and Mr. Bartley, attended for Scotland. The treatment which the commissioners, who obtained the king's safe conduct, received from the opposite party was such, that Lord Maitland, on one occasion, turned pale, imagining that they should all have their throats cut; and even at Oxford, Hollis disarmed one officer, and Whitelocke another, for abusing their servants; while they were themselves obliged to submit to the most opprobrious language.† Charles himself, however, received them more graciously, having allowed them to kiss his hand; but when they delivered the propositions, and informed him in answer to his questions that they had no powers beyond them, he, using the same language which he had done at the treaty of Oxford, told them that a letter-carrier might have performed the business equally well.‡ He, however, resorted to his old method of seduction; and, having obtained a private interview with

Proposition by the two Houses for peace.

* Whitelocke, p. 121. † *Ibid.* pp. 111-113. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 114.

Hollis and Whitelocke, was so far successful, that they both appear, even by Whitelocke's account, to have endeavoured to procure his favour at the expense of their duty to their constituents.* He then, having prepared his answer, returned it to the commissioners sealed, and yet without an address; and when they remonstrated against this, he replied, 'What is that to you, who are but to carry what I send; and if I will send you the song of Robin Hood and Little John, you must carry it.' To which they only said, 'that the business about which they came, and were to return with his majesty's answer, was of somewhat more consequence than that song.' His conduct in other respects was no less haughty, 'which was wondered at in a business especially of this importance, and where the disoblighing the commissioners could be of no advantage to the king.' A debate arose amongst the commissioners whether they could, consistently with their duty to parliament, carry a letter without an address; but, after some debate, they agreed that this punctilio should not preclude a prospect of peace.† In consequence of the letter, the parliament sent a message to Prince Rupert, that when his majesty should, according to the desire expressed in his letter, ask a safe conduct from the two Houses of Parliament, for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, it should be sent. This brought matters to a predicament particularly displeasing to Charles. His mongrel parliament, and even his ordinary supporters who were not of

* Whitelocke, pp. 113, 114. It was certainly contrary to their duty to act without the knowledge of the other commissioners, to have a private interview with the king, and advise him in regard to propositions that should proceed from him. Whitelocke wrote such out with his own hand, *though he disguised his writing*; and when afterwards this was made by Lord Savile a ground of charge, 'all the examinations,' says Whitelocke, 'at committees, and in the

House of Commons, could not get it out of us.' He indeed informs us, that there was no breach of trust; because they were actuated by the best of motives—a desire of peace; but men are not to be trusted in their own story on such occasions; and all must admit that it looked ill. Whitelocke's property was, fortunately, all within the parliamentary quarters (Clar. vol. v. p. 76 *et seq.*; see for treaty generally, p. 36 *et seq.*).

† Whitelocke, p. 115.

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the select junto, whose secret counsels he so greedily listened to, were clamorous for peace, and as even his council insisted upon his acknowledging the two Houses to be the parliament of England, he was obliged to comply. He, however, satisfied his pride by an entry in the register, that *calling* them was not *acknowledging* them—a quibble which strongly savoured of the casuistry that distinguished his reign, and which has yet found an advocate in the historian to whom we have so often alluded.* The safe conduct was granted accordingly; and the monarch's instructions to his commissioners were, to endeavour to gain the Independents on the one hand, by a promise of protection and liberty of conscience in all things indifferent, and a farther promise of great rewards to the leading men: on the other, to inflame the Presbyterians with the idea that the Independents meant the overthrow of kingly government and the ruin of Scotland; and that consequently their best chance of safety was in joining with him. The parliament soon perceived this object, and took measures to restrain it, as well as to hasten the departure of the two commissioners from the metropolis, the instant their business was finished.†

Treaty of
Uxbridge.

An arrangement having been made for a treaty, which it was finally resolved should be held at Uxbridge, as most consonant to the dignity of the respective parties, commissioners were appointed by both. The grand points were, the militia and religion; and as Charles was firmly resolved not to concede these, and knew that they would not be renounced by the opposite party, he carried on his secret designs under the conviction that the treaty would

* Charles's own letters in *King's Cabinet Opened*, Rush. vol. v. p. 942 *et seq.* Hume says, that this is one of the very few instances from which his enemies have loaded him with the imputation of insincerity. But we have sufficiently proved that his hypocrisy and perfidy were systematic.

† Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181; *Hist.* vol. v. p. 28 *et seq.*; *King's Messages for Peace*, July 4 and September 8; Rush. vol. v. pp. 687, 712, as to other matters; *Ib.* p. 481 *et seq.*; *Cob. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 274, 292, 299, 309 *et seq.*, 318-320.

be abortive. His only prospect of a result which he would have deemed worthy of his consideration, arose from the idea he entertained of a destructive dissension in the parliament, that would restore him fully to his former power. As, therefore, there was a third important point, the breaking off of the Irish cessation, and continuing the war, he strained every nerve to conclude a peace with the insurgents, on condition of their engaging to send him large supplies of men to subdue the people of England. He therefore, in his letters, urges the Marquis of Ormond to make use of the negotiation as an argument to induce the Irish to agree to his terms, which were fully as liberal as he durst grant at present—a rescinding of Poining's Act, by which the dependency of that kingdom upon the parliament was secured—the full toleration of their religion, &c.—to which he added a promise of recalling all the penal statutes when his affairs in England were settled. But, knowing well that Ormond was not disposed to go the lengths he desired, he granted a commission to the eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, Lord Herbert, who had been created earl of Glamorgan, to go much farther, and, in short, purchased the assistance of that people at almost any price. The queen too, who had a second time gone abroad for supplies, carried on with Irish emissaries separate intrigues for the same object. The success of Montrose inspired him with great hopes from that quarter, and Henrietta, who chiefly corresponded with him on state affairs, and was dreadfully alarmed at the treaty, lest her husband should recede from his former grounds, particularly in regard to the militia, declaring that she would not live in England were it renounced, and alleging that she absolutely required a guard for her own safety—assured him of a promise from the Duke of Lorraine, to transport ten thousand men into England. Charles, in his answers, comforts her with professions of steadiness, and urges, that as he saw no prospect of peace, she should hasten the

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transporting of Lorraine's troops by Dutch shipping. With such hopes from Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent, accompanied with a perfect conviction, that whatever happened, his person and regal dignity would be safe, it could not be expected that he would make any concession which could afford a rational prospect of security.*

The first point seriously debated, regarded the militia; and on this it was very improbable that any agreement should ever be made. The parliament proceeded on the principle that by conceding that point, it had no longer security for the salutary laws which had been provided during this parliament, or even for the personal safety of the members; and Whitelocke even combated Hyde upon the constitutional principle, that the sword was by law vested in the monarch, maintaining that the law had not determined where it was lodged; but that it depended equally on both king and parliament. Matters, it must be confessed, had independently of the present struggle, which superseded ordinary rules, arrived at a new era. In former times, a standing army was unknown: the soldiers were the people that were bound to military service; and as it was unlikely that these should turn their swords against their own bosoms, the nomination of officers was safely entrusted to the prince, who acted as their leader. But now that he might embody dissolute troops, which depended on their pay for subsistence, and appoint officers fit for any wickedness, the consequences might be deplorable. This, however, Charles had not left as a speculative danger: his government had brought it home to the breasts of his subjects in characters of blood; and, after such a terrible lesson, the restoring of that power would have implied the most monstrous disregard of all sound policy. It was vain to argue about the legal right.

* Rush. vol. v. p. 978 *et seq.*; Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 80, 81; Appendix to his *Life of Ormonde*, p. 5 *et seq.*, vol. iii. pp. 372, 387;

Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 186; Birch's *Enquiry*; *King's Cabinet Opened*; take also *Digby's*.

The regal power is entrusted for the general good; and when a monarch violates the fundamental principles of that constitution which he is appointed and sworn to maintain, he necessarily incurs a forfeiture of his right, by destroying the very ground on which it was founded.

On the king's side an apparent compromise, that the power of the militia should be vested for three years, in twenty commissioners, one-half of his nomination, the other of the parliament's, and, after that, return to him, was proposed; but it was evidently meant as a deception, such as could not escape the discernment of any ordinary judgment. The commissioners who must have been nominated under this arrangement by the king, would naturally labour to appoint officers agreeable to him; and as the power of the sword returned in three years to the king, every commander who expected promotion, or wished to continue in a military capacity, would despise the parliamentary commissioners, and sedulously promote his majesty's service. But the ten parliamentary commissioners might also be seduced, particularly as the royal vengeance might soon overtake an inflexible adherence to principle; while, should their integrity be unshaken, and a difference arise between them and those for the king, who was to be umpire between them? If the parliament were dissolved, and in his letters to the queen during the treaty, he declares that he would not forget to put a short period to it, the question is easily answered. If it continued, here was a field for fresh contention, and the king, in all probability, would by secret practices accomplish his object. The army would thus be at his devotion; the policy from which he had been partly obliged to recede would be resumed; the bulwarks of liberty, according even to the designs imputed to him by Clarendon, would be overthrown;* and then the popular leaders would be

* If Charles, as Clarendon admits, passed acts before the commencement of the war, merely because he

thought that he had, in the alleged want of freedom in the Houses, a pretext for holding them as having

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exposed defenceless victims of arbitrary power. In his past conduct men had an earnest of the future. On the other hand, the parliament proposed that the militia should be conceded to it, and vested in commissioners either for three years after the first establishment of peace, or for seven years certain from the date of the agreement, and then be settled by bill. This was, of course, refused by the king.

In regard to religion, the parliament insisted that the Solemn League and Covenant should be taken throughout the kingdom, and even by Charles himself; that the bill for the utter abolition of episcopacy, deans, and chapters, should be passed by him, and the lands sequestrated for other uses; that the directory of worship which had been recommended by the assembly of divines, and approved of by both Houses, should be ratified; and that the Presbyterian church government, as it should be afterwards fully modified by parliament, with the assistance of the assembly, should be established. Neither Charles nor his advisers, unless perhaps we should except Hyde, regarded the form of church government in any other light than as a civil engine; and, as this was fully perceived by the opposite party,* his proposals to limit the powers of

been null and void from the beginning, *multo magis* had he such a plea, when *calling* the two Houses a parliament, was not *acknowledging* them. If they were not a parliament they had no power to treat; *ergo*, an agreement with them being a transaction with usurpers, who had no authority to act, was null. Such, we may safely infer from the one case, would have been his logic in the other.

* The king's principles have already been sufficiently established, but see in addition, *MSS.* Brit. Mus. Ayscough, 4161, a letter from Charles to the queen, October 17, 1646, in which he justifies himself for refusing his consent to the Presbyterian government entirely on the principle

of policy; for that religion was not the ground of dissension on either side: that so great a power of the crown once given away could not be recovered; and that he would not consent to a religion which justified rebellion. No. 87 is another to the same effect, with this addition, that he considered the episcopal government of more importance to his authority than even the militia. (See also No. 88, and *Clar. State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 207 *et seq.*) With regard to the opinion entertained of his conscientious adherence to episcopacy, see Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 224 *et seq.* 'No oaths,' says he, 'did ever persuade me that episcopacy was ever adhered to on any conscience,' &c.

the prelates, by preventing them from exercising any act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent and

At the treaty of Uxbridge, Dr. Stewart, on the king's part, spoke very learnedly against the Presbyterian government, maintaining that episcopacy was *jure divino*; and Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshall as stoutly argued that the Presbyterian was *jure divino*, when the Marquis of Hertford spoke to this effect: 'My lords, here is much said concerning church government in the general: the reverend doctors on the king's part affirm that episcopacy is *jure divino*; the reverend ministers of the other part affirm that presbytery is *jure divino*: for my part, I think that neither the one nor the other, nor any government whatsoever, is *jure divino*, and I desire we may leave this argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular proposals.'— 'The Earl of Pembroke was of the same judgment, and many of the commissioners besides were willing to pass this over, and to come to particulars' (Whitelocke, p. 128). The feelings of the mongrel parliament are evident from their desire to renew the treaty against the royal wish, &c. (See also in regard to the council, *Clar. Life*, vol. i. pp. 47-92 *et seq.*, 80-128 *et seq.*, 89-175, 176; see also *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 224 *et seq.*) The whole of Mr. Hume's statements on this head are therefore erroneous. He alleges that Charles was actuated by conscience; though, in a note at the end of vol. vi., he is obliged to confess, that a letter published by Mr. M'Auly proves that he was actuated by policy, but then it was sound policy, though, he says, partly grounded on principle. His text is founded entirely upon the unfortunate piety of Charles; but here a high tribute must be paid to his good sense for being guided by political motives. Was it good sense to kindle dissension in three kingdoms, by his silly, arbitrary, and intolerant innovations?

'It is remarkable,' says Mr. Hume,

in relation to the petition from the citizens of London against episcopacy, in the beginning of the parliament, 'that, among the many ecclesiastical abuses there complained of, an allowance given by the licensers of books, to publish a translation of Ovid's *Art of Love*, is not forgotten by these rustic censors.' The argument of Lord Digby against the petition was, that the abuses in the ecclesiastical system should be reformed; but that the existence of such evils was not a reason for overturning that species of government itself. If, however, the ecclesiastical government was to be regarded, as it undoubtedly ought to have been, as a mere political arrangement for the support of the Christian religion in purity, was it at all extraordinary that men who had suffered so much by its having been perverted into an engine of arbitrary power in church and state, and perceived that the monarch was still inclined to use it as such, should have desired a different establishment, such as they beheld in other countries, and from which they apprehended no bad consequences? But what is all this, it may be asked, to their rage against a translation of Ovid's *Art of Love*? Now, all who are acquainted with the writings of that age, must allow that many of them were abominably licentious; and we may well believe that this translation of Ovid's *Fits of Love*, which I conceive comprehended the amours, which are the worst, as well as the art of love, would not have been selected as an example of the licentiousness of the press, had it not been amongst the most detestable. Every scholar must grant, that, in the original, they are so profligate, that were a poet in our times to indulge in such a vein, he would most properly be deemed a very fit subject for the pillory. Mr. Hume himself elsewhere says that 'Ovid is almost as licentious in his style as Lord

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counsel of the presbyters who should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese, out of the learnedest and gravest ministers of that diocese; by obliging the bishops to reside in their dioceses, and preach every Sunday; by prohibiting them from ordaining ministers without the approbation and consent of the majority of presbyters; by allowing a competent provision out of the impropriations to such vicarages as belonged to bishops, deans, and chapters, besides raising 100,000*l.* out of their estates, towards discharging the public debts, &c.—were regarded as a cunning device to retain that species of government, that, in imitation of his father's conduct in Scotland, and according to the principles manifested by himself, he might, on the first opportunity, restore the spiritual tyranny which had so ground his kingdoms.*

Had the points regarding the militia, religion, and Ireland, been conceded, the other points insisted on by the parliament, which regarded the punishment of delinquents, and the abolition of the court of wards, might easily have been settled. But, as no point was yielded, the treaty was broken off. In the exceptions from pardon were specially included forty of his English adherents,

Rochester (*Essay on the Rise of Arts and Sciences*); and of Rochester he justly remarks in another place, that 'his very name is offensive to our ears' (*Hist.*). But, it may be said, what is all this to the bishops? Are they responsible for all profane and wicked productions? Now, mark the art of Mr. Hume. Instead of representing a matter under all the circumstances of the age out of which it emerged, he renders it ludicrous by narrating it according to the posture of affairs in his own time. No man could be silly enough to dream of implicating the prelates now in the licentious productions that the press may teem with. But what was the situation of things then? Hume talks of *the censors of the press* having licensed the works: but he forgets to inform his readers that the prelates were them-

selves the censors; and that, while they refused a license even to such old books as Fox's *Martyrs*, Jewel's *Works*, nay, to the *Practice of Piety* itself, which had run through from thirty to forty editions, they pampered the gross taste of certain classes, by licensing the abominable productions alluded to. Was not this shameful? Had these works stolen surreptitiously into the world, and the prelates merely been accused of want of vigilance, an apology for them must have been readily received by every liberal mind; but the very act of licensing such productions, justly brought odium on them; and we must therefore allow that the citizens were right in complaining of this amongst other branches of their misconduct.

* Baillie's *Lct.* p. 253.

and nineteen of his Scottish, with all such of the latter kingdom as had concurred in the votes at Oxford against that country, or been concerned in the late rebellions there. In addition to this, they insisted that all judges, lawyers, bishops, &c., who had deserted the parliament, should be rendered for ever incapable of exercising their functions, and a third part of their estates be forfeited to the public for payment of the national debts: while a tenth part of those of all other delinquents, whose property exceeded 200*l.* in value, or if soldiers, 100*l.*, should likewise be forfeited.

The treaty, after twenty days—the time limited—was broken off by the parliament; and just before the expiration of the term, Charles writes to his consort, that she needed not doubt of the issue of the treaty; ‘for my commissioners,’ says he, ‘are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, *which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou rememberest*; and in this not only their obedience but their judgments concur.’ When the treaty was ended, he desires her to promise in his name a repeal of all the penal statutes against Catholics, in order to obtain assistance from abroad; and in another letter he writes thus of his mongrel parliament, which he prorogued: ‘What I told thee last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday handsomely performed. *Now, if I do anything unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for I confess, when I wrote thee last I was in fear to have been pressed to make some overtures to renew the treaty (knowing there were great labourings to that purpose), but I now promise thee that if it be renewed (which I believe it will not without some eminent good success on my side), it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our mongrel parlia-*

Treaty
broken off.

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Execution
of Laud.

During this treaty Laud was, after a long trial, condemned by ordinance to lose his head, and suffered on Tower Hill. The sentence was so far mitigated, that he was permitted to dispose of his property by will, and his body was allowed burial. He had for long been allowed to lie forgotten; but the Scots, in conjunction with the Presbyterian party, and particularly Prynne, renewed the prosecution after their second entrance into England. The miseries they had endured inspired them with resentment. The obstinacy of the king, and the impudent productions of the ex-bishop of Ross made them long for an example. The character and delinquencies of this archbishop have been sufficiently depicted; and the argument in Strafford's case applies to his; but it must be owned that it was hard for him to be brought to the block by a sect that was fired with all his intolerance. He died firmly; yet, by alleging that he had always been a friend to parliaments, he tarnished the

* For an account of the treaty of Uxbridge and relative matter, see Rush. vol. v. chap. xix. p. 841 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. v. pp. 28 *et seq.*, 36 *et seq.*; *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 186; White-locke, p. 125 *et seq.*; Appendix to Evelyn's *Mem.* p. 82 *et seq.* By the way, the ignorance of some editors is

exemplified here. The editor, not knowing that, according to the style of that age, the year began on March 25th, places these documents anterior to the transactions of summer 1644, because they are dated in January and February 3, 1644 (Appendix to Carte's *Ormonde*, p. 5 *et seq.*).

character of his last moments by such a display of the insincerity which had distinguished him through life.*

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* Hume's note at the end of vol. vii. upon the death of Laud, is as uncandid as it is possible to conceive. In the face of all evidence, even Laud's own, and the strongest facts, he asserts, without pretending to support his assertion by any authority, that Laud only suspended ministers for nonconformity, who 'accepted of benefices, yet refused to observe the ceremonies which they previously knew to be enjoined by law. He never refused them separate places of worship, because they themselves would have esteemed it impious to demand them, and no less impious to allow them.' After this he might assert anything; and the flagrancy of the assertion must absolutely astonish any one who reads even the 52nd chapter of his own history.

By the way, Laud in his prayer, after denying that he was guilty of treason, says, 'but otherwise my sins are very great.' Now, might not Mr. Hume have made the same inference from this, which every Christian will allow to have been becoming, that he did from the passage in Cromwell's letter? (Rush. vol. v. p. 817 *et seq.* See Prynne's account of his trial; Laud's *Own Troubles*, and Heylin's *Life of him*; Whitelocke, p. 75 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. iv. p. 572 *et seq.*) For an account of Maxwell, ex-bishop of Ross's writings, and the rage which these and Charles's declarations excited against the episcopal divines, see Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. pp. 39, 40, 52.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF THE RESPECTIVE ARMIES, ETC.—BATTLE OF NASEBY—CAPTURE AND PUBLICATION OF LETTERS FOUND IN THE KING'S CABINET—FARTHER SUCCESSES OF THE PARLIAMENTARY TROOPS—FALL OF BRISTOL—RETREAT OF THE KING TO OXFORD—MOTIONS OF THE SCOTS—ACTIONS OF MONTROSE, AND HIS DEFEAT AT PHILIPHAUGH—TRANSACTIONS OF GLAMORGAN—INTRIGUES OF THE KING—ADVANCE OF FAIRFAX TO OXFORD, AND FLIGHT OF CHARLES TO THE SCOTTISH ARMY BEFORE NEWARK—TERMINATION OF THE WAR—FRUITLESS NEGOTIATION—THE KING DELIVERED UP BY THE SCOTS.

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THE three parliamentary armies having been, by the ordinance of parliament, ordered to be reduced to one, the soldiers that had been under Essex mutinied, and eight troops, commanded by Colonel Dalbier, kept for some time at such a suspicious distance, that it was expected they would join the king;* but the soldier-like, masterly address of Skippon, with the high estimation in which he was held by the whole military, soon brought the great body to order; and Dalbier also joined them.† All laxity of discipline was now dismissed, and throughout the whole ranks was kindled an enthusiasm for the cause as it involved both civil and religious rights. Fairfax having been sent down to join them, determined to waste no time in inactivity. Cromwell had come to Windsor,

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 18. If ever any letter was, as Hollis asserts, written by St. John to the committee of Hertfordshire, to fall upon any of the troops, it probably regarded those which were alone suspected; and it is not easy to say what was to be done under such circumstances. Was it a time to talk of the ordinary process of law, which

Hollis argues for, when their conduct evinced a disposition to join the adverse party?

† Rush. vol. vii. p. 16 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. put this in a very clear light; see particularly vol. ii. pp. 234 *et seq.*, 260, 265 *et seq.*, 267 *et seq.*, Sup. pp. 271, 279 *et seq.* further monstrous tyranny of the Scots.

with the avowed purpose of taking leave of the general, on laying down his command, according to the Self-denying Ordinance, when the dispensation from parliament arrived, with orders to him to march on a particular service.* The enemies of the new model cried out against it, predicting nothing but ruin from commanders devoid of experience; and Charles himself indulged in unworthy 'remarks on the parliament's new British general.'†

In the West, the king had possession of the greater part of the country. All Cornwall was in his power; and, in Devonshire, Plymouth was the only town garrisoned by the parliament. In Somerset, Taunton, the only town of that county, and indeed the only walled town in that quarter garrisoned there by the parliament, was closely besieged by Sir Richard Grenville, and in great distress; the excellent conduct of Blake having alone preserved it. In Dorset, the parliament still held Poole, Lyme, and Weymouth; but the king, also, had possession of other places. In Wilts, Hants, Oxford, and Bucks, the places of strength were chiefly in possession of the king. In the midland counties, as Hereford, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Chester, Leicester, Lincoln, and Nottingham, the majority of the forts were also occupied by him. Warwick and Northampton were chiefly garrisoned by the parliament forces; but the whole of Wales, with the exception of Pembroke town and castle, in South Wales, and Montgomery Castle, in North Wales, were in possession of the king. Beyond the Trent, he still held some places; but the country in general was subjected to the parliament.‡

At the commencement of the campaign, Fairfax himself proposed to march to the relief of Taunton; but, as the king's army became formidable in the midland counties, the committee of both kingdoms ordered the general

* Rush, vol. vii. pp. 23, 24; White-
locke, p. 141.

† Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. pp. 260-265,
267 *et seq.*, 270-274 *et seq.*, 276, 288;

King's Cabinet Opened; Whitelocke,
p. 140.

‡ Rush, vol. vi. p. 18 *et seq.*

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to send a detachment only to the relief of that place, and himself besiege Oxford, as well as watch the royal motions. He therefore despatched between 4000 and 5000 men to Taunton; and, having deceived the enemy by his countermarches, so that the besiegers imagined his whole force was directed against them, he proceeded back towards Oxford. But Goring, having been sent by the king with 3000 to join with Grenville, Hopton, and Berkeley, their united forces being about 10,000, to renew the siege of Taunton, cooped up in the town the forces sent by Fairfax to its relief. By occupying the situation about Oxford, Fairfax was in a posture to intercept the king if he attempted to march to the south or south-west, while the Scottish army, nominally 21,000, yet scarcely 16,000, was ordered south, to be joined with all the forces in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, besides 2500 horse and dragoons, under Colonel Vermuden, whom, as the Scots were deficient in horse, Fairfax sent to join them. But this promising state of things was disappointed by the conduct of the Scottish army, which, chagrined at the new model, and probably reposing small confidence in a military body in which one really old soldier alone, Skippon, remained, retreated into Westmoreland, and thus changed the nature of the campaign. At the outset, the new-modelled army met with some slight repulses, which raised the presumption of their enemies, as they excited the melancholy forebodings of false friends, who declared 'the huge imprudence' of the arrangement to be now fully exemplified. Charles had taken by storm Leicester, which his troops plundered and sacked with every species of inhumanity;*

* 'The king is turning head southward.' 'He took Leicester by storm, and much rapine and ravishing of women was committed there, which was in my judgment the last and most immediate cause of God's vengeance on that army' (Baillie's *Lit.*

vol. ii. p. 286). 'They killed divers who prayed for quarter, and put divers women to the sword, and other women and children they turned naked into the street, and many they ravished.' 'That they hanged Mr. Rymer, our sawyer, in cold blood; and

and the state of the parliamentary affairs appeared to become critical. Their forces were, therefore, ordered to concentrate, and Cromwell was, at the express desire of Fairfax, nominated lieutenant-general of the horse. The parliamentary general, having left Oxford, closely followed the king and beat up his quarters, determined, if possible, to bring his majesty to an immediate engagement. Charles, who was taken by surprise, and saw that his army would be exposed if he attempted to retreat, resolved to offer the engagement, which could not safely be avoided. Both armies, now in the neighbourhood of Naseby, immediately formed their plans for battle. Skippon drew that for Fairfax, and Cromwell joined him late in the evening. The active disposition of the new general not allowing him to rest on such an important occasion, led him into a whimsical adventure. Riding about in the night to reconnoitre, he, absorbed in deep reflection, had passed the lines, and on his return was threatened by the sentinel, to whom he was unknown, with being shot through the head.*

The following was the arrangement on the royal side: The centre was commanded by the king in person, the right wing, consisting of cavalry, by the Princes Rupert and Maurice; the left, also of cavalry, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The right hand reserve was commanded by the Earl of Lindsay and Sir Jacob, now created Lord, Astley; the left by the Earl of Lichfield and Sir George Lisle. The parliament's army stood thus: the main body was commanded by Fairfax and Skippon; the right wing, consisting of six regiments of horse, was led by Crom-

Battle of
Naseby,
June 14,
1645.

at Wighton they murdered Mrs. Barlows, a minister's wife, and children' (Wental, p. 149). See about their plundering, &c., Baillie's *Lett.* vol. ii. pp. 298, 299, 319-322. 'No wonder that they were hated and despised' (*Ibid.*). Of Cromwell's army Clarendon says, 'Sure there never was any such body of men so

without rapine, swearing, drinking, or any other debauchery' (*Life*, vol. i. p. 360). See about the Presbyterians, *Ibid.* *et seq.*; about the Cavaliers, p. 336 *et seq.*

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 27 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 141 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. v. p. 174 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lett.* vol. ii. pp. 276-286.

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well ; the left wing, composed of five regiments of horse, and a division of 200 horse of the association, to secure the left flank, was, at the particular request of Cromwell, committed to Colonel Ireton, who, for that purpose, was made commissary-general of horse. The reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The two armies were about equal in number, and the scene of action was a large fallow field, about a mile broad, at the distance of a mile from Naseby. The field was wholly occupied with the respective armies. Fairfax had taken up his position on the brow of a small hill, having sent down a forlorn hope of 300, who were instructed to retreat when hard pressed. On the right wing of the king's army, Rupert charged most furiously ; and, though Ireton received him with great spirit, the prince ultimately bore down that wing, a circumstance imputed by the adverse party to a disorder occasioned by pits and ditches which had not been observed. Ireton's own horse was killed under him, one spear run through his leg, another into his face, and, in this condition, he fell into the hands of the enemy, from whom he only escaped during their subsequent rout. Rupert pushed on till he came to the baggage, which he commanded to surrender ; but the forces stationed to guard it, being well prepared, returned the summons with a brisk fire, and kept him engaged till the royal forces were thrown into confusion in other parts of the field. In the right wing of the parliamentary forces, Cromwell, after a desperate resistance by the royal troops, which conducted themselves to admiration, completely routed that wing ; but, instead of following the course pursued by Rupert, he sent a small part of his force to prevent the enemy from forming, and wheeled back to the charge of the main body. In the centre, success appeared at first to incline to the king's side, the parliamentary troops having been obliged to retreat upon the reserve, but rallying, they made another most desperate charge, and threw the king's foot into confusion, with the

exception of one Tertia, which stood two attacks immovable as a rock. Fairfax then commanded Captain D'Oiley, of his lifeguard, to attack that body in rear, while himself charged it in front, that they might meet in the middle, and the movement was accompanied with complete success, and with his own hand he killed the ensign who carried the royal colours. A trooper of D'Oiley's having seized the colours, boasted that himself had performed this meritorious act; but, when D'Oiley reprimanded him for arrogating the credit of the general's exploit, Fairfax cried out, 'Let him take that honour, I have enough beside.' Rupert had now returned, but he could not prevail on his troops to make a second charge, and a body of cavalry alone still remained undefeated. Fairfax delayed the attack upon it till he could direct against it the flower of his foot as well as horse, and when the adverse party saw such mighty odds brought against them, they fled from the field in spite of the magnanimous efforts of the king, who cried out, 'One charge more and we recover the day.' His conduct this day, which, in spite of fortune, was in reality the most glorious of his life, was indeed worthy of a prince, and was generously admired by his enemies. The victory was complete; 600 of the royal forces were killed, and 4500, amongst whom was an immense number of officers, taken prisoners; 8000 stands of arms, with all the artillery, bag and baggage, and the king's coach, with his private cabinet, fell into the hands of the victors.

The utmost renown was this day gained by Fairfax and Cromwell, and likewise by Skippon. Fairfax had lost his helmet in the heat of the engagement; and D'Oiley, regretting to see so valuable a life exposed in every part of the field where the battle raged most, offered him his own helmet; but the general, saying, 'It is well enough, Charles,' declined it, and without this usual protection to his person, performed the gallant feat above commemorated. Skippon, who was now far ad-

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vanced in life, received a dangerous wound in the side at the beginning of the engagement; and Fairfax, perceiving his condition, advised him to withdraw, but the gallant veteran swore he would not stir so long as a man remained, and continued at his post till the end of the battle.*

King re-
treats to
Wales.

Charles retreated into Wales, having happily escaped Sir John Gell, who, with two thousand horse, was rapidly marching up to join the parliamentary army, and arrived on the day after the battle. A messenger was, on the following day, intercepted by the parliament from Goring, who said, that he expected to finish the siege of Taunton within a certain time, when he would be in a condition to join his majesty; and it has been thought, that had the intelligence reached the king before the battle, he would have declined an engagement. But as he could not have done this without loss in the meantime, so such information would probably have only tended to ensure his destruction; for Goring was himself deceived by his own sanguine hopes in regard to the siege, and Gell, with his two thousand horse, besides others, would have augmented the parliamentary army.†

The correspondence found in the royal cabinet com-

* Sprigge, p. 27 *et seq.*; Rush, vol. vi. p. 41 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 150 *et seq.*; Clar. vol. v. p. 180 *et seq.*; Append. to Evelyn's *Mem.* p. 92 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 151 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 286 *et seq.*; Ellis's *Col. of Original Lct.* vol. iii. p. 305 *et seq.*

* Sprigge, p. 47; Rush, vol. vi. p. 49; Clar. vol. v. pp. 135 *et seq.*, 187 *et seq.* On every disaster party-men set their wits to work to prove that the battle should not have been fought, or ought to have been gained, and that the course pursued after it was ruinous—though, in reality, no other could have been prudently followed, and none could have been successful. Such is the conduct of Clarendon on this and other occasions. Laing says that Charles should have abandoned all garrisons, and

collected the troops, and that, had he done so, he might have still kept the field, for that the parliament could not have occupied the garrisons without dropping active operations. But the garrisons did not all lie in one quarter; and by delaying his retreat for the accomplishment of this object, the king would have exposed his shattered army to inevitable destruction, while the forces from the garrisons would have been beaten in detail before they could concentrate. Besides, new levies by the parliament could easily have manned the garrisons thus abandoned, and the country, no longer awed by them, would have risen. Then the Scots were marching south (Baillie's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 118).

pletely proved the perfidious assertions of the king in regard to his negotiations with foreign powers for supplies of troops, in spite of the most solemn appeals to heaven, that he never had intended it. They also fully establish the insincerity with which he had entered into treaty with the parliament, and expose some of his intentions relative to Ireland. In a letter, on the 4th August of this year, to Sir Edward Nicholas, he says: 'Though I could have wished that paines had beene spaired, yet I will neither deny that those things are myne w^{ch} they haue sett out in my name (only some words heere and there mistaken, and some com'as misplaced, but not much materiall), nor as a good Protestant, or honest man, blush for any of those papers; indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justify my selfe; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his priuat letters were publiquely scene, as myne have now beene; howsoever, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortunes: it is concerning the mungrill parliament; the trewth is, that Sussex* factiousness at that time put me somewhat out of patience, w^{ch} made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my wyfe, and the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that by their raising and fomenting of base propositions.' † This quotation has been introduced, as it sufficiently disproves the statement by the apologists of Charles, that the parliament were guilty of unfairness in the publication, for the purpose of giving a false colour to the king's policy. The copy of the notes abstracted at the trial of Strafford, was also found with a writing in the king's hand, that he got it from Digby.‡

* Lord Savile, lately created Earl of Sussex.

† Append. to Evelyn's *Mem.* p. 101, 102.

‡ Ludlow, vol. i. p. 156; Baillie's *I. et.* vol. ii. p. 134, 145. Mr. Hume

severely censures the parliament for publishing these letters, and, without informing us that he was indebted for the allusion to the Key to the *King's Cabinet Opened*, which was published soon after the publica-

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In retreating to Wales, Charles appears to have been actuated by sound views. Had he gone to the west, Cromwell and Fairfax would have pursued him without a moment's intermission; and as all his forces, united with those of Goring, could not have coped with the parliamentary army, while the Scottish troops were at last rapidly marching south, his hopes, resting entirely on his present strength, would soon have been terminated. In Wales, which he imagined devoted to him, he expected

tion of the Letters, refers to the conduct of the Athenians, when they intercepted a letter from Philip to Olympias, who, says he, 'so far from being moved by a curiosity of prying into the secrets of that relation, immediately sent the letter to the queen unopened. *Philip was not their sovereign, nor were they inflamed with that violent animosity against him which attends all civil commotions.*' Now, the conduct of the Athenians was certainly no rule for the English. Assuredly if that polite people conceived that the letter related to domestic affairs, they were bound by every principle of honour to transmit it unopened. But who will venture to say, that, had the safety of the state been, on probable grounds, supposed to depend on that letter, they ought not to have opened it? Suppose that at the time this country was threatened with invasion from France, Napoleon's letters to his wife had fallen into the hands of our government, and that, from previous circumstances, there was reason to suppose that they related to that very intended invasion—would any minister have been justified in sacrificing the public safety to a punctilio? But Napoleon *was not our native sovereign any more than Philip was that of Athens.* And mark the difference: Charles and his consort were engaged in a conspiracy against the laws of their country—laws which they were by every tie bound to protect, and unless it can be maintained that any treason, or

other wickedness, between man and wife, ought, from their relation, to pass without scrutiny, the argument of Mr. Hume, if argument it can be called, must be regarded as worthy only of that period of life when everything connected with the ancients is received with admiration. The same remark applies to his observations about the queen's late departure for the continent.

Hume alleges (for which he might plead the authority of Clarendon, vol. v. p. 186) that 'they chose, *no doubt*, such of them as they thought could reflect dishonour upon him. Yet, says he, upon the whole, the letters are written with delicacy and tenderness, *and give an advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals.*' Really it is deplorable to meet all this; for can letters which betray perfidy, and rancorous hostility to the laws he had so solemnly engaged to defend, deserve such a character? As for the composition, it is as vulgar as the principles are detestable. But the author who could discover poetic beauty in the bombast of Montrose, was not likely to miss excellence in the royal letters. The only point Charles regretted was that about the mongrel parliament, and he sends some ciphers to Evelyn, which, he alleges, were the copy of a letter sent to the queen, explanatory of the other, according to what he stated in the letter given in the text. But that letter does not mend the matter, and the ciphers are unintelligible.

to raise another army, and waited the arrival of ten thousand Irish, that he was promised, as well as foreign troops, and could more easily form a junction with Montrose, on whose great success he so confidently relied. The Welsh, however, dreading that their assistance to him, at this juncture, would draw the whole parliamentary army into the country, became extremely lukewarm in his cause; but the utter overthrow of Montrose in Scotland blasted all his prospects from that quarter, and the magnificent promises of the Duke of Lorraine, and the Irish, proved equally fallacious.

A fresh dispensation having been granted to Cromwell, he continued in the army. Under the old military system, the loss of Naseby might have been recovered, since, under pretext of refreshing the troops, which the Presbyterian party now declared to be absolutely necessary, time to recover from the surprise and to raise fresh forces would have been allowed. But Fairfax and Cromwell were not the men to give a day's respite; and the success at Naseby was followed up without intermission by fresh actions. Fairfax having sent a party of three thousand under Pointz and Rositer to attend the king's motions and prevent him rallying, marched instantly to Leicester. The governor refused to surrender; and he determined to take it by storm. But when his purpose was perceived, and the cannon began to play, the place was surrendered on terms. Having secured this town, where he found fourteen pieces of brass ordnance, thirty colours, two thousand stand of arms, fifty barrels of powder, and other ammunition, he determined immediately to march to the relief of Taunton. On his way thither he was met by large parties of clubmen—countrymen, who, not strongly attached to either party, but mainly actuated by a desire of protecting their own property, had been much instigated by the king's emissaries. The parliamentary general, who knew well that, though this body of men might easily be dispersed in his present condition, yet

Proceed-
ings of
Fairfax
after the
battle of
Naseby.

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that on any disaster they might knock his soldiers on the head, endeavoured to conciliate them, and resolved at all events to temporise, by yielding to some of their demands, while he denied others; and he thus escaped their fury.*

Goring having received intelligence of Fairfax's approach, raised the siege of Taunton, which was thus relieved a second time, and retreated towards Langport and Long Sutton, where the king had several forts. The ground occupied by him was extremely favourable for defence, and as he was supported by the king's garrisons, an attack upon him became hazardous. Knowing his situation, he had sent a party back to Taunton, in hopes to take the town by surprise; but the party having been met by Massey, was routed with considerable loss. Having therefore occupied the passes on the river Parrot, Goring marched to Bridgewater, but Fairfax out-manœuvred him, and at Langport gave him a signal defeat. To stop the pursuit of the victors, Goring's troops fired Langport; but the adversaries forced their way through flaming houses, killed 300, took 1400 prisoners, amongst whom were several officers of distinction, and 1200 horses, many of which had been deserted by their riders: 300 standards graced the conquest, which was gained with the loss of less than 100 men. On that very day Fairfax marched towards Bridgewater, and took up his quarters within two miles of the town: there he met with another party of clubmen; but, after some expostulation, he and they parted on good terms. Bridgewater, situated in a valley so level as not to afford a clod which might give an advantage in assailing it, was strongly as well as regularly fortified. The moat, which was in almost every part filled each tide to the brim, was about thirty feet wide, and proportionally deep. The lines occupied a small compass of ground, and were manned with eighteen hundred soldiery; a

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 50 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 152.

large supply of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, promised to enable them to stand a long siege. The parliamentary army was, therefore, in a dilemma. If it left this town, the consequences might be serious; if it sat down before it, and were to any degree unsuccessful, the king might have leisure to collect a fresh force. Some proposed to attempt it by regular approaches; but the time was too precious for that, and a fall of rain might in an instant dash all their schemes. The extent of the ground, though relatively small, rendered it impracticable to block it up with a detachment of the army. It was, therefore, at last determined on to attempt the capture by storm, and Lieut.-General Hammond, having devised a light movable species of bridge from thirty to forty feet long, was ordered to give directions to construct eight immediately for the enterprise. On Monday, the 21st of July, at two o'clock in the morning, the storming began: feints were made in several parts at once, and while the garison was distracted with the variety of attacks, the bridges were suddenly thrown across the moat: the soldiers then quickly passed, and having, in spite of opposition, beat the enemy from the guns, turned them against the town. Having thus reached the upper town, they quickly let down the drawbridge, and passed into the lower, where the cavalry, now admitted, scoured the streets. Six hundred of the enemy were taken; but those that escaped, having fled to the upper town, from which the parliamentary troops had passed, drew up the bridge, and showered down grenadoes and hot slug, that set the division they had left in flames, from which only two or three houses were rescued. While that quarter was in one conflagration, Major Cowel stood with his guard in the street to prevent a sally. The garrison in the second town still held out, and it was at first resolved to carry it by storm; but the assailants so far altered their plan, as to content themselves with a feint to keep the troops in constant alarm. A message was then sent by

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Fairfax to the governor, informing him that he compassionated the innocent, who must suffer on the occasion, and that he would allow the women to leave the town by a certain hour. On this occasion, the governor's lady, laying her hand on her breast, which she said had given suck to prince Charles, desired the messenger to tell the general they would hold out to the last; yet when the hot slugs fired the houses, this lady, with the rest of her sex, gladly accepted of the proffered kindness; and, as the townsmen felt amazed, the governor surrendered on terms. A thousand officers and soldiers, besides gentlemen and clergy, marched out prisoners, while forty-four barrels of powder, as many pieces of ordnance, four hundred-weight of match, and fifteen hundred stand of arms, fell into the hands of the victors. Goods too, of great value, which had been deposited here for security, were seized by the commissioners of the parliament, and sold; from the price of which three shillings were allowed to each soldier for his services in storming the place.*

The capture of this town was of immense consequence; for, as the distance between it and Lyme—a town in the possession of the parliament—was only about twenty miles, a line of garrisons connected them; and all communication with Devon and Cornwall—the counties most devoted to the royal cause—and the rest of the kingdom was cut off. It was debated by the victors whether they should pursue Goring or take in Bath. The council generally recommended the first; but Fairfax,

* See a doleful picture of the royal position, after this disaster, in a letter by Digby to Ormond, dated from Cardiff, August 2, 1645 (Carte's *Orm.* vol. iii. p. 419 *et seq.*). Much accusation of baseness in king's officers. The following language is singular: 'This is the undisguised truth of that low condition wherunto it hath pleased God to bring us by our precipitation; but God can as easily restore us, having wrought as many miracles in this cause

already which I am confident he will not desert.' What would have been thought of a parliamentarian who wrote thus? He closes with saying that the foundation of their greatest hopes was in Ormond himself, whose integrity, prudence, and generosity made him (Digby) believe that God designed him (Ormond) to be the most happy instrument of restoring his majesty. See again Trevor to Ormond, Aug. 18, Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. iii. p. 422 *et seq.*

however disposed to follow their advice, latterly resolved upon the last, as the capture of that place might straiten Bristol, and consequently facilitate his operations upon that most important garrison. Before his approach, however, Bath was reduced by Colonel Rich, under whom, in the affair, a party of dragoons performed a remarkable exploit. Having been drawn up near the bridge, they, quitting their horses, crept on their bellies towards the gate, and having seized on the small ends of the muskets presented against their party through the loopholes of the gate, called out to the guard to take quarter. The astonished guard instantly fled, leaving their muskets behind them, and thus gave possession of the bridge to the assailants, who forced the gate, and were ready to enter, when the town was surrendered on terms. A hundred and forty prisoners, six pieces of ordnance, &c., were taken on the occasion. Rupert had advanced with 1500 to the relief of that town, but, finding that he was too late, he retreated.

Fairfax, having received intelligence of the capture of Bath, directed himself to Sherborn; but as the clubmen rose in great numbers in Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset, Cromwell was despatched against them. The majority he persuaded to return peaceably to their own dwellings; but as a part fired upon a detachment of horse, and killed some which he sent, under a lieutenant, to inquire into the cause of their warlike proceedings, he found it necessary to attack them, and about 200 were wounded. These persons being taken prisoners were, after an examination regarding their instigators, dismissed on their promise not to engage in similar adventures. Their standard had a motto which, though conceived in a sorry jingle, would have justly moved the compassion of every generous mind, had it really depicted the feelings with which they resorted to arms.

‘ If you offer to plunder our cattle,
Be assured we will give you battle.’

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Having dispersed these clubmen, Cromwell joined Fairfax at Sherborn, and the place was quickly reduced. Four hundred prisoners were taken there, amongst whom were several of quality; and the soldiers, in the confusion attending the capture, could not be prevented from plunder, which they disposed of to the country people on the following market-day.

Bristol sur-
rendered
by Rupert,
September
10, 1645.

After this Fairfax resolved to reduce Bristol; but the capture of that town was expected by him to be a matter of uncommon difficulty, while the adverse party flattered themselves that it would weary out the assailants in fruitless efforts, till new forces were elsewhere levied. The garrison was large and well provided; but if we may judge from the accounts transmitted, the fortifications were not calculated for a very vigorous defence. It is probable, however, that had such an individual as Blake commanded the place, it might have held out longer; but the impetuosity of Rupert was not accompanied with that inexhaustible resolution which qualifies a man for bearing up against a continued disastrous contest. The situation of Charles elsewhere, too, was at this time to all appearance so desperate, that it seemed better, if possible, to save the garrison, in order that it might take the field. Massey had shut up Goring in the west; and the Scots, who had advanced to Gloucester, intercepted the king's approach to Bristol. Such was the posture of affairs when the town was surrendered; but the Scots unexpectedly retreated, and then the place might, if it could have been preserved, have afforded a refuge to the king's harassed troops. This, however, which afforded the basis of the outcry against Rupert, by his own party, could not have been foreseen; and before he did yield, the lines were forced, a party of his troops cut off from the garrison, and the town fired in several places. But, in a declining cause, every act is condemned by its partisans, and it was the fate of Rupert, who, with all his faults, was the best officer Charles had, to incur the per-

sonal resentment, on many accounts, of the very individual whom the king desired to record the events of his reign.*

After the fall of Bristol, the garrisons in the West which intercepted the communication with London were beset. Rainsborough was despatched against Berkeley Castle, the only considerable place left for the king in Gloucestershire, and which was already blocked up, while Cromwell was sent against Devizes. Devizes was a place of great strength. The castle, raised on a huge mound of earth, had lately been fortified by order of the governor, Sir Charles Loyd, accounted a good engineer, with several new works cut out of the main earth, so strong that no cannon could pierce them, and so situated as to command each other, while most of the approaches were so palisaded and stocaded, as seemingly to obstruct a storming. But Cromwell was not to be daunted. Before attempting the place, however, he summoned the governor to surrender, and intimated that, if he were otherwise resolved, his wife and the other females were at liberty to pass from the town. The answer was, 'Win and wear it;' but when all was prepared for a storm, the governor surrendered on terms. Layock House, on the same day, yielded to Colonel Pickering, and Berkeley Castle to Rainsborough. Winchester, in a few days afterwards, likewise surrendered to Cromwell, and the castle of Winton, garrisoned with no less than seven hundred men. Basing House, which had hitherto withstood every siege, and either beat off the assailants or wearied them out with loss. Uplifted by his success, the marquis had declared that he, if the king had no more ground than Basing House, would hold it out to the last extremity—whence it had been designated by the Cavaliers 'Loyalty House.' But Crom-

* See Charles's Letters on the subject in Ellis's *Col.* vol. iii. p. 311 *et seq.*

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well, having resolved, at whatever cost, to storm it, carried it without either great difficulty or loss.

In the meantime Fairfax was himself actively employed. Warminster and Axminster surrendered to him. Tiverton Castle was taken by assault; and here occurred a remarkable instance of the just punishment of treachery. There happened to be in the garrison one Major Sadler, who had formerly deserted the parliament's service for the king's. But conceiving, on the investment of this place, that he might purchase his indemnity by treachery to the party he had latterly joined, he proposed to betray the castle. His propositions were, however, rejected, and himself, with about 200 more, seized on the capture of the place. Condemned by court-martial to be shot for his desertion, he effected an escape, and fled to Exeter, then in the possession of the Royalists, as to a place of refuge. But his late practices having been detected by that party, he was condemned there likewise, and paid the mulct of his offences.

Exeter was a town of importance, and to reduce it the parliamentary general now proposed to raise forts on its east side, to cut off resources from that quarter, while with his army, for a similar purpose, he sat down on the other. But winter had begun, and the inclemency of the season, with want of accommodation, engendered sickness in the troops, which wasted them away, particularly the infantry: while the prince, who was in the West, having, in conjunction with Hopton and Sir Richard Grenville, drawn off the troops with which they then besieged Plymouth, and collected what they could from garrisons, as well as raised many recruits, brought into the field from eight to nine thousand horse and foot, which they quartered about Tavistock, Oakhampton, and the neighbourhood, with a view to force Fairfax to rise from the east side of Exeter. But, informed of their design, he suddenly sent a party against them, which beat up their quarters at Bavy-Tracy, and obliged them

to retire with considerable loss. After this he took Dartmouth by storm, and having disarmed the garrison, amounting to from 800 to 1000, he ordered them to return to their several dwellings. Poldram Castle also fell into his hands; and at Torrington he defeated Hopton, who retired with his shattered forces into Cornwall. Resolved to allow the enemy no time to rally and recruit, Fairfax pursued him with continual alarm to a nook of that county, and a fortunate discovery having inflamed the population there against the royal measures, upwards of a thousand volunteered to block up the passes, in order to prevent Hopton from breaking through with his cavalry. The Royalist general, thus completely shut up, entered into a treaty, which was soon completed, for disbanding his army, and surrendering the horses and arms to the parliament. The discovery alluded to regarded the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan in Ireland. A vessel from Waterford had arrived at Padstow, as at a friendly port; but it was suddenly boarded, and the men put to the sword, while the letters, which the captain had thrown into the sea, were fortunately rescued from the waves, and developed the schemes in agitation. Fairfax then assembled the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and showed them the letters, which produced the happy result recorded above.*

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Hopton's
army dis-
solved.

The royal cause had been more successful elsewhere. Having recruited his shattered army, Charles himself left Wales about the end of July, and, in the beginning of August, advanced to Litchfield, with a view, as was supposed, to raise the siege of Hereford, which was at that time warmly carried on by the Scots. But the Earl of Leven, having sent out a strong party of horse under David Leslie to watch the royal motions, obliged him to change his route. Upon this, he drew out a considerable

The pro-
ceedings of
Charles
himself
and his
small
army.

* Rush. vol. vi. pp. 49 *et seq.*, 261 *et seq.*, or part iv. vol. i. ch. ii., iii., viii., for an account of the military

transactions of Fairfax's army; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. pp. 195-207 *et seq.*, 223 *et seq.*

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reinforcement from Newark, and manifested an intention to proceed north, in order to join with Montrose, who was then triumphant in Scotland, and with his usual boasting language, promised to assist his master with 20,000,* though he never could command even a third of that number. Pointz and Rossiter, however, with a large party of horse, intercepted his majesty's passage, and he broke into the eastern association, where he took Huntingdon, and alarmed Cambridge, while he enriched his troops with booty. The Scots now, in discontent at not receiving their pay from the parliament, and bereft of their cavalry, with which Leslie returned to Scotland to punish Montrose, raised the siege of Hereford, and marched north. Charles, therefore, visited Hereford, and expected to relieve Bristol from the siege by Fairfax. But for this his force would have been insufficient, and Rupert, who never could have anticipated the strange countermarch of the Scots, which alone enabled the king to approach that quarter, had already surrendered the town. In the meantime, Pointz had stationed himself between the royal army and Oxford; and Charles, having learnt that Chester, which was well situated for the landing of his expected succours from Ireland, was almost reduced by a party of the parliamentary troops, hastened to its relief with about 5000 horse and foot. But Pointz encountered him on Routen Heath, within two miles of Chester, and defeated him with great loss. At first, success so inclined to the royal side that the parliamentary troops were routed; but Colonel Jones and Adjutant Lothian having drawn out 500 foot and 300 horse from the leaguer before Chester, at this instant charged the king's troops, and thus gave Pointz's men an opportunity to rally. Then commenced a furious assault by Pointz, in front, while Jones assailed the royal forces in rear; and the king's army was utterly discomfited, with the loss of

* *King Charles's Works*, p. 154.

five or six hundred slain, amongst whom was the Earl of Litchfield, and of 1000 common prisoners, besides many officers of quality. With difficulty Charles again led his broken force to Wales. Having there refreshed and recruited his little army, he with about 3000 fighting men came, on the 2nd of October, to Litchfield, the next day to Meldrum, and the 4th to Newark; he continued in Newark till the beginning of November, having quartered his horse at Belvoir, Worton, Welbeck, and Sleaford. But Pointz having taken Shelford Manor, the seat of the Earl of Chesterfield, by storm, and put the garrison, consisting of about 200, to the sword, the unhappy monarch, apprehending that he might be besieged in Newark, marched away during the night with a party of horse to Daintry, where the Earl of Northampton met him with a larger body, and conducted him by Banbury to Oxford. In that town he continued during the remainder of the year. The Scots, in the meantime, having been induced by the parliament to alter their resolution to proceed homeward, sat down before Newark, while the parliamentary forces, under Colonel Morgau, were attended with great success in Wales.*

During the short period Charles remained at Newark, he despatched Lord Digby, accompanied by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with 1200 horse, to join Montrose, who complained much of want of cavalry. Three hundred gentlemen joined this detachment, and at first it was attended with success, having at Doncaster defeated a regiment of horse, and taken about 1000 foot prisoners. But their prosperity was short-lived. Colonel Copley came up to them at Sherborn, in Yorkshire, with about 1300 horse, and routed them completely, having not only recovered the prisoners, but taken 300 of Digby's force, with his own coach, where were found several letters and papers of vast consequence in developing the

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 116 *et seq.*; *seq.*, 246 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 167
Clar. *Hist.*, vol. v. pp. 187 *et seq.*, 224 *et seq.*

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royal designs, and which were therefore published by the parliament for the information of the people. They were to this effect: 1st, Several letters from Goff, an agent in Holland, to Jermyn, now created a lord, and to Digby himself, regarding a negotiation then on foot for a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Prince of Orange's daughter, in order to induce the States to espouse the king's interest. 2nd, Letters from Jermyn, then at Paris, to Digby, relative to the treaty for bringing over the Duke of Lorraine's army, also concerning expected aid from Denmark, and the Prince of Courland; and about an application by Sir Kenelm Digby to the Pope, for assistance from his holiness. 3rd, Regarding a treaty of an Irishman, Colonel Fitzwilliams, with the queen, for sending over 10,000 men from Ireland.*

After their defeat at Sherborn, Digby and Langdale endeavoured to raise a party in Lancashire to join them, but the parliamentary forces obliged them to change their route, while David Leslie interposed between them and Scotland. With difficulty, therefore, they reached Carlisle sands, where the governor of the town, Sir John Brown, having encountered them with an inferior force, broke through and routed their little army; the two commanders, then perceiving the impracticability of forming a junction with Montrose, fled to the Isle of Man. Their troops, abandoned by their leaders, dispersed in all directions, and many of them fell into their enemy's hands.†

Losses, on the royal side, accumulated. Sir William Vaughan was defeated at Denbigh; Hereford, which had withstood all the Scotch army, was taken by Colonel Morgan, with only about 2000 men, the object having been effected by a stratagem, as creditable to the ability of the commander as the execution of it was to the

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 128 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 290 *et seq.*; Digby's *Cabinet*. We shall have occasion to allude more particularly to Sir Kenelm Digby, whose father, Sir

Everald, was one of the chief conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot.

† Rush. vol. vi. p. 133-4; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 290 *et seq.*

bravery of the troops. Bieston Castle was also captured, and Chester, which had been in the possession of the Royalists from the beginning of the war, and was equally fortified by art and nature, while it was no less advantageously situated for landing troops from Ireland, than for preserving a communication with Wales, was at last reduced; and the defeat of Lord Astley on the 22nd of March following, may be said to have given the finishing blow to the war. Astley commanded the only force which Charles had now in the field. It consisted of 3000, chiefly cavalry, and it was imagined that, joined to the forces at Oxford, it might enable him to keep his ground till the arrival of the Irish auxiliaries in the spring. Astley, therefore, proceeded from Worcester to Oxford, and the king sent out 1500 to meet him, that, with their combined strength, they might beat off the assaults of the enemy; but the passes were so blocked up, that the two bodies were prevented from communication, and that from Oxford was not even aware of the motions of the other, till the news arrived of its total overthrow. Encountered with an equal force under Morgan, Brereton, and Birch, Astley's little army was utterly defeated; himself and all the chief officers were taken prisoners. Under this misfortune, that lord justly remarked to some of Brereton's officers, 'You have now done your work, and may go to play, unless you fall out amongst yourselves.'*

We shall now relate the transactions of Montrose. As his army increased, and his exploits became terrible, Argyle brought back his little army of 1500 from Ireland, and the parliament which, on the expiration of the three years from the former, superseded the convention of estates, recalled Lieut.-general Baillie from England, to take command of the troops newly raised against the enemy at home. This officer, who had been bred under Gustavus Adolphus, had acquired the

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Montrose.

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 134 *et seq.*: Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 291 *et seq.*: Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 355 *et seq.*

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character of a good commander. After the taking of Newcastle, he returned to Scotland about his private business; and as he, on the settlement of his affairs, was proceeding back to the army, he was recalled by an express, which reached him when he was within twelve miles of Newcastle; but inadequate were the preparations, and these ill-directed. Baillie himself informs us, that part of the force on foot being employed elsewhere, he never, till the battle of Kilsyth, commanded 2000 foot, nor above 300 horse at one time.* It was his misfortune, too, to be hampered in all his motions, both by the committee of estates, particularly through the influence of Argyle, whose enmity he incurred, and by the appointment of Colonel Hurry as lieutenant-general—an individual who had now deserted the king, as he had formerly done the English parliament, and yet, as a Scot, was unaccountably employed by his countrymen against Montrose. Baillie and he having crossed the Tay, arrived critically to save Dundee, which was stormed by Montrose in three several places at once; and one of the forts having been taken,

* Mr. Laing says that Baillie returned with six regiments; but the idea is utterly repugnant to the general's own statement, which is, that he had after the battle of Marston Moor, and the reduction of Newcastle, gone to Scotland, 'for doing of' his ('my') 'private business.' That, thereafter, he returned to England, and was within twelve miles of Newcastle, where he was overtaken by an express 'requiring' his ('my') 'return to Edinburgh for giving advyse in business wherein the kingdom was much concerned' (Baillie's *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 417). It is true that the general's reverend relative, Baillie, does, though in the language of complaint at the supineness of his countrymen, say, 'Beside all that is come out of Ireland (see about this, p. 164) and all mixed in the countree, there are, we hear, eight foot regiments and some of horse brought home out of

England and not one man sent in their place' (*Id.* p. 268, letter dated London, April 25, 1645). But in p. 273 (letter dated May 4th) he, in no less the language of complaint, says 'that besyde the seven regiments which was in Scotland the rest were decreased to shameful numbers.' My impression is that such of the regiments as were sent back at this juncture had been those ousted by sickness, &c. General Baillie himself vindicates his conduct thus, 'I never having at once and together above two thousand foot, nor above three hundred horsemen before my last disaster at Kilsyth' (*Ibid.*). As for general references relative to text, see pp. 261 *et seq.*, 267 *et seq.*, 270-73, 275-292 *et seq.*, 293. Those will be found indirectly to confirm what I have just advanced on this subject.

the guns were turned against the town, and the suburbs fired in several quarters. Having been apprised of the approach of the enemy, Montrose immediately summoned back his men, who were not easily recalled from drink and plunder. General Baillie charges Hurry with treachery, for not having used his advantage in routing the whole army of Montrose at this juncture, stating that he was informed Hurry was 'desired by some to take heed lest anything might be achieved where he (Baillie) was present, whereby he might have honour.' Montrose, though not without considerable loss, effected his retreat, and Baillie and Hurry divided their forces to pursue him separately, when, as might have been anticipated, they were beaten in detail.

Baillie went to Athol to revenge the conduct of the inhabitants of that district, and is alleged to have ravaged the territory with the inhumanity which he ought to have punished. Hurry, with 1200 foot and 160 horse, went north to prevent Montrose's retreat to the hills; and, on his return from Inverness, he obtained a considerable reinforcement from the garrison, besides being joined by the Earls of Sutherland and Seaforth. Montrose also reinforced, now followed him, that he might rout that division before it was joined by Baillie; and Hurry, anxious to signalise himself by the overthrow of the enemy during Baillie's absence, gave the advantage which was sought. Instead of waiting the arrival of his superior, he hastened to attack Montrose, who took up his ground in a valley at a village called Auldearn, in the neighbourhood of Nairne. No post could have been better chosen. The valley, with which Hurry was unacquainted, enabled him at once to mislead his adversary, to render the attack on some quarters of his own troops almost impracticable, and yet to pour down upon the enemy with the best effect. His ordnance, guarded by a few choice foot, and defended by steep banks and ditches, was placed in the centre; his right wing, commanded by

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his lieutenant, the well-known Irish commander Alexander M'Donald, consisted only of 400 foot, and a small party of cavalry; but then it was unassailable by means of the ground, while it was so obscured that its strength could not be estimated by Hurry; to deceive whom, Montrose placed his own standard there, as in the principal part of his army. The flower of his force was placed on the left. Misled by this judicious arrangement, Hurry attacks the right wing, and, as M'Donald at last rashly left his entrenchment to meet an enemy which could not reach him, he ultimately overthrew that body; but then he had been already long exposed to the ordnance, in fruitless attempts to pass the deep ditches and steep banks, and Montrose, taking advantage of the chief strength of his adversary being so misdirected, pours down upon the rest of his army almost his whole concentrated force. The result was the overthrow of Hurry, attended, according to some accounts, with the loss of nearly 2000 men, though he still boasted of a victory. What aggravated the loss was, that a portion of the veterans from Ireland was destroyed.

On the approach of Baillie, Montrose again retreated to the mountains. The force under the first was about 2000 foot and 100 horse; but a great part of the infantry was after taken from him to guard the low country, leaving him only 1300: 200 horse, including Hurry's, joined him, and with this trifling army was he, reproached at the same time for not pursuing effectual measures to terminate the war, sent into the wilds of the Highlands, in pursuit of an enemy much more than double his strength, and well supplied by the natives with provisions. After some painful marches, in which his men were nearly famished, he returned without meeting the object of his pursuit. His experienced soldiers were now taken from him, to be put under the command of Argyle, while raw levies supplied their place; and with from 1200 to 1300 foot, and 260 horse, he was appointed to guard the low

country from the invasion of Montrose: but scarcely had the arrangement been formed, when he was commanded to find out the enemy. The result was such as might have been expected. Montrose, with an equal number of horse, and more than double the number of foot, attacks him at Alford on the Don, situated about twenty-six or twenty-seven miles from Aberdeen, and obtained a complete victory. An opportunity, however, of recovering the loss, in the defeat of the adversary, was afterwards let slip, through the misconduct of Hurry.

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After this new forces were raised by the parliament, and Baillie was nominated to the command; but it was unfortunate that a few great aristocrats, without talent for military affairs, still governed all; and vexed by finding himself cramped in every movement, by the interposition of the committee of estates, who, though unacquainted with war, would, instead of issuing out general directions, and leaving the detail to the judgment of the commander, direct in everything, he had resolved to refuse the appointment: yet, destitute of firmness of character, he at last allowed himself to be persuaded to accept of it, contenting himself with the poor part of remonstrating against injudicious interference. In the meantime, Montrose's army had increased to upwards of 6000, and he even threatened Perth, where the parliament sat. His troops had undergone a long training, and were elated with victory: those brought against him were raw levies, with as much training as hampered their native impetuosity. Baillie was appointed to watch his motions on one side, while a detachment also threatened him from the west. As, therefore, he passed the ford a little above Stirling, he was overtaken by Baillie with at least an equal force, at a village called Kilsyth, near the Roman wall; but, as the parliamentary general was not disposed to hazard a battle on this ground, he, in order to stop the other's advance, took up a position remarkably calculated for defence; yet such as rendered a movement towards the

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enemy hazardous in the extreme. The committee despising the enemy, and only afraid that he should escape to the mountains, insisted upon attacking him; and Baillie remonstrated in vain. The consequence was, that while the troops were marching on ground where it was impossible for them to make any effective resistance, the cavalry at once assailed with the utmost fury, was thrown upon the foot, and thus brought all into such utter confusion, that Montrose pursued them with immense slaughter for about fourteen miles. It is said that between four and five thousand perished, and the victory was gained with small loss. The event struck universal dismay, and the evils of war were augmented by a severe pestilence.

On the day following the battle of Kilsyth, by far the greatest of his exploits, Montrose marched into Clydesdale, and soon took Glasgow under his protection, when several of the nobility joined him. He even sent a party to Edinburgh to summon that city, and to command the immediate liberation of his imprisoned partisans. The last command was complied with, and the town sent deputies to implore his clemency.*

This success equally misled the presumptuous Montrose and his master, as it even deceived their enemies. No place of strength had he ever possessed himself of; and his army, far from augmenting in proportion to his hopes, daily diminished, while the country was everywhere inflamed against him, for his uniform plunder, murders, and devastation. The Gordons deserted him, and as he marched south, with the view of forming a junction with Digby, and proceeding to England, many of the Highlanders returned to their hills. The defeat of Digby was soon followed by his own. David Leslie returned with his horse and some foot, and, by rapid marches, expected at the Fort to intercept the flight of Montrose to the mountains; but when he reached Gladsmuir, about three

* General Baillie's account, in the second vol. of Baillie's *Let.* p. 417 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. vi. p. 230; Wishart, ch. xiv. and xv.

miles and a half to the west of Haddington, he learned that the enemy was stationed at Etrick Forest, near Selkirk, and instantly penetrated into that district. The ability shown by Montrose in his irregular warfare, did not mark his generalship here; for Leslie was within a mile of his camp before he suspected his approach. He instantly prepared for battle on Philiphaugh; and his foot resisted Leslie's cavalry, till that general, having led on his own regiment, threw them into confusion. Deficient in horse, Montrose's infantry, once broken, were in the enemy's power, and either cut off or taken. The horse also routed, he repeatedly attempted to rally, but his efforts only augmented his loss. His only resource was disgraceful flight to the mountains, where he tried to levy fresh forces; but, on the pacification with his master, orders arrived to abandon his design, and he escaped to the Continent.*

Some of the prisoners taken at this battle were executed as traitors, even according to statutes particularly passed in the beginning of the year against those who carried on intestine war against the parliament: 100 of the Irish were shot at a post.†

It will now be necessary to take a survey of the transactions of Glamorgan in Ireland. By following out his instructions, Ormond had endeavoured to procure the co-operation of the Irish, on terms such as Charles had, with every solemnity, denied he would ever grant but such as were incompatible with the existence of the Protestant body. They even involved a scheme for joining in war-like operations against Monro's army. Yet as negotiations were carried on with the queen, and Sir Kenelm

Irish
affairs, and
transac-
tions of
Glamor-
gan.

* Wishart speaks of the amazing cruelty practised by Leslie, drowning hundreds by throwing them over a bridge, though there was no bridge there, and estimates the number thus murdered far beyond what he would allow to have been on Montrose's

side! I presume that the 100 Irish were the individuals which misled the distinguished editor of the *Memoirs of the Somervilles*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 164.

† *Scots Acts*, lately published.

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Digby had solicited assistance directly from the pope, his holiness despatched, as his nuncio, J. Baptista Rinuccini, to encourage the Irish to insist on the restoration of their religion, as the price of recovering the king's absolute power. Charles only hesitated on the conditions, from a fear of for ever forfeiting the support of his Protestant subjects, and even raising them as one man against him. Deeply reproached by the chief Protestants in Ireland, for the concessions he had made, Ormond, who was besides in some measure actuated by principle, declined to proceed further; and the queen, not content with expressing her dissatisfaction at his backwardness, had declared that in such a business no Protestant was to be trusted. A rigid Papist was therefore to be selected for conducting the affair, and one apparently well calculated for the object immediately presented himself. This was Lord Herbert, now created Earl of Glamorgan, eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, and himself afterwards the famous marquis of that title, to whose genius science and the arts have been so indebted for the original invention of the steam engine. Distinguished equally for his religion and devotion to the royal cause, he had besides, as an Englishman, peculiar qualifications for obtaining influence over the Irish Catholic. Married to a daughter of the late, and niece to the present Earl of Thomond, he was not only allied to some of the highest and most powerful families in that island, but had, through his wife, acquired considerable property there. The latter circumstance afforded him a pretext for visiting Ireland, and thither he went with powers from Charles sufficiently ample. The promises made to Glamorgan, were repeated to the nuncio. 'My instructions and powers,' says that nobleman, in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, dated the 11th of June 1660, 'were signed by the king under his pocket signet, with blanks for me to put in the names of the pope or princes, to the end that the king might have a starting hole to

deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects, leaving me as it were at the stake, who for his majesty's sake was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone. In like manner did I not stick upon having this commission inrolled or assented unto by his council, nor indeed the seal to be put on it in an ordinary manner, but as Mr. Endymion Porter and I could perform it with rollers and no screw-press.' It was even resolved that the king 'should have seemed angry with him at his return out of Ireland, until,' says he, 'I had brought him into a posture and power to own his commands, to make good his instructions, and to reward my faithfulness and zeal therein.' The royal design, as disclosed in the same letter, was to bring one army of 10,000 from Ireland, through North Wales, and another of the same strength through South Wales; while a third, of 6000, should have been brought from the Continent, and supported by the pope and Catholic princes at the rate of 30,000*l.* a-month. Fully empowered to treat with the pope and Catholic princes, as well as with the Irish, and even to erect a mint, and dispose of the revenue and delinquents' estates, Glamorgan sets out for Ireland. Lest Ormond should suspect the extent of the powers granted to Glamorgan, Charles endeavoured to conceal them by resorting to the most unworthy artifices. Glamorgan in a short time concluded a treaty with the confederated council of the Irish Catholics, for the supply of troops, upon the condition of removing all disqualifications, and allowing their clergy to retain all the livings which they had held from December, 1641. Such was the vigilance of the parliament, and such in a national contest is the difficulty of concealment, that only notice of the commission to Glamorgan was obtained, yet the steady denial of it by Charles had silenced the rumours on the subject, when an unexpected capture of documents developed the truth. The titular Archbishop of Tuam,

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president for the insurgents in that place, and one of the supreme council of Kilkenny, was slain at Sligo in October 1645, and his baggage having fallen into the hands of the victors gave them possession of the documents alluded to. While the affair produced the utmost consternation among the king's friends, Digby arrived in Ireland; and perceiving that the general belief in the circumstance would prove fatal to the royal character with his Protestant subjects, as well as eager to supersede Glamorgan in the command of the army, he, in conjunction with Ormond, commits him to prison on a charge of high treason, for having counterfeited a commission from his master, and grossly abused his name. But Glamorgan, confident in his innocence in that respect, and of his continued influence over the king, bore the imprisonment with cheerfulness; and, as he expected, Charles, after the most solemn disclamations of ever having granted that individual powers which were not to be exercised under the guidance of Ormond, wrote for his liberation, when, in pursuance of his original powers, backed with fresh letters from Charles, the accused recommenced his intrigues. Though concealment was still practised, the lord lieutenant (who had been much exasperated by a discovery that Glamorgan had formed a design with the Catholics to seize his person) was not to be longer deceived, and while he declined to appear in the negotiations, he declared he would not oppose them; but in the meantime, he carried on a separate treaty himself. The fall of Chester, and ruin of the royal affairs elsewhere, rendered the treaties fruitless; but the intrigues were still persisted in by that misguided prince.*

* For a proof of Glamorgan's commission see Birch's *Enquiry*; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 201-3, 337; see the passage referred to in p. 337; see also p. 346. 'I could wish,' says Hyde, or Clarendon, in the letter here referred to, written to Nicholas, March 7, 1647, 'I

could wish the king should sadly apply himself to the part he is to act, that is, to suffer resolutely, *and to have no tricks*; but on my conscience, if he had any noble design, Denbigh would serve him stoutly and faithfully; and if he comes into France, I will pass my life he will

Having given an account of the transactions of Glamorgan, it may now be necessary to relate the immediate

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send me all the intelligence he thinks of moment to my own particular, or that part of the public I intend. *You do not believe that my Lord Digby knew of my Lord Glamorgan's commission and negotiation in Ireland. I am confident he did not; for he showed me the copies of letters which he had written to the king upon it, which ought not in good manners to have been written, and I believe will never be forgiven by those for whose service they were written.*

See as to Digby's supposed selfish motive for arresting Glamorgan, Birch's *Eng.* p. 105. See Clar. *State Papers*, regarding the opinion entertained by the queen of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 178. See pp. 168-175, in proof of the reflections against Ormond by the Irish Protestants, who had supported the royal pretensions to a certain extent, which were flung out for his concessions to the Catholics, concessions, they alleged, that put the island into the power of that body. As to the transporting of Glamorgan's commission, and the eagerness with which it was expected, see Carte's *Let.* vol. i. p. 80-2; Birch, p. 58.

As part of Mr. Hume's argument against the genuineness of the commission to Glamorgan is founded on the king's character for sincerity, we shall begin our examination of his reasoning with a few remarks on that subject. 'I shall first remark,' says he, regarding the imputation of insincerity, '*that this imputation seems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not insist on this accusation.*' Ludlow, I think, is almost the only Parliamentarian who imputes that vice to him; and how passionate a writer he is must be obvious to every one. *Neither Clarendon nor any other of the Royalists ever justify him from insincerity, as not supposing that he had*

ever been accused of it. In the second place his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice: he was reserved, distant, stately, cold in his address, plain in his discourse, inflexible in his principles, wide of the caressing, insinuating manners of his son, or the professing talkative humour of his father' (Note F. to vol. vii.). That any writer who had the slightest respect for his own character, not merely as an historian but as a man, should have written thus is truly astonishing; but, indeed, it is the less wonderful in a writer who (not to mention other things), after having told us, that 'it must be confessed that though Laud deserved not the appellation of Papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish; and that not only the discontented Puritans believed the Church of England to be relapsing fast into the Romish superstition; the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island,' could yet say, in treating of the trial of Laud, 'the groundless charge of Popery, *though belied by his whole conduct,* was continually urged against him.' It is not so astonishing in a writer who alleges, with every degree of scorn, that Hampden, St. John, and others (the fact is very doubtful, not to say unauthenticated in regard to them), had determined to go to America, that they might enjoy long fanatical prayers, which were not allowed them in England:—who after stating that even the Dutch and Walloon congregations were, contrary to all former practice, commanded to attend the established church, and giving an account of the proceedings in the Star Chamber relative to the '*zealots,*' who had erected themselves into a society for buying impropriations—that they might establish lecturers of their own—and, in fact, justifying the

The king's negotiations with the parliament during his stay at Oxford.

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proceedings of the king. Defeated in the field, and disappointed, both in foreign supplies, and in his hopes from

general proceedings, on the ground that the principles of toleration were then unknown—yet boldly asserts that Laud never denied the Puritan preachers separate places of worship, but only refused to let them enjoy livings in the established church, when they would not comply with its doctrines and ceremonies. With regard to the calumnies which he says were vented against Charles, it is utterly impossible that he could be ignorant for an instant that they imported downright insincerity; indeed in transactions betwixt men, every charge against an individual of a departure from principle, must import insincerity; the one cannot be charged without necessarily involving the other. But let us just follow a few of Mr. Hume's own statements in regard to the conduct of Charles immediately after the execution of Strafford. He says, 'In vain did Charles expect as a return for so many instances of unbounded compliance, that the parliament would at last show him some indulgence, and would cordially fall into that unanimity to which, at the expense of his own power, and of his friend's life, he so earnestly courted them. All his concessions were poisoned by their suspicion of his want of cordiality; and the supposed attempt to engage the army against them, served with many as a confirmation of this jealousy. It was natural for the king to seek some resource, while all the world seemed to desert him, or combine against him.' (Query? What is the meaning of this, but that it was natural for him to engage the army against the parliament, a parliament of whose 'transactions, during the first period of its operations, till the king's journey to Scotland, he himself says, 'We shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainer, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other re-

spects so much outweigh their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty.') He concludes the sentence thus, 'and this' (what, except engaging the army against them?) 'probably was the utmost of that embryo scheme which was formed with regard to the army. But the popular leaders still insisted that a desperate plot was laid to bring up the forces IMMEDIATELY, and offer violence to the parliament: a design of which Percy's evidence acquits the king, and which the near neighbourhood of the Scottish army seems to render absolutely impracticable.' The perplexity of this passage we shall not dwell upon, as we have already remarked sufficiently on Percy's letter. But did not the charge insisted on by the parliament imply insincerity? nay, the most unbounded perfidy? Did it not directly import this—the royal professions, with the passing of laws, cannot be trusted, since the perfidious object of this plot is to overturn all law? See again what Mr. Hume says in regard to the Incident. But what is his language in regard to the Irish rebellion? 'When the people heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their acts of violence, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman.' Did not this involve an accusation of the last degree of perfidy in the face of all his solemn appeals? 'Amidst the greatest security, they' (the Commons), says he, 'affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation, and seemed to quake at every breath of danger,' &c. 'When Charles dismissed the guard which they had ordered during his absence, they complained, and, upon his promising them a new guard,

Ireland, he, without abandoning his intrigues, both with the Irish Catholics and foreign states, resorted to nego-

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under the command of the Earl of Lindsay, they absolutely refused the offer, and were well pleased to insinuate, by this instance of jealousy, that their danger chiefly arose from the king himself.' If all this do not import a belief or accusation of insincerity, the word has no meaning; we might follow this throughout his *History*, and yet the imputation of insincerity was of a later growth than Charles's own age!—though every charge in regard to Ireland, and, in particular, that relative to Glamorgan's transaction, carries such an imputation on the face of it. Thus Mr. Hume stands self-confuted: but we might also ask, what he means by alleging that Ludlow was the first to impute insincerity to Charles, when the *State Papers*, published during the king's life, nay, before the civil war, and even addressed to him, directly charge him with perfidy? Let it likewise be remembered that the parliament, in the face of his most solemn denial, accompanied with oaths, voted that the king intended to raise war against them, and that he had been tampering with foreign powers, to introduce their troops into the kingdom. But had Hume never seen the introduction to, and annotations on, the *King's Cabinet Opened*, and the introduction to Digby's *Cabinet*, where the royal professions are contrasted with the letters? &c. Indeed, the only object in publishing the letters was to unveil Charles's treacherous designs. Had he never seen, for instance, the *Eikonoklastes* or answer by Milton to the *Eikon Basilike*; not to mention other works? Even Fairfax, after the discovery of the king's perfidy, by the letters got at Padstow, pronounces the arrestment of Glamorgan to have *only been for a present colour, to salve reputation with the people* (Rush. vol. vi. p. 107; Birch, pp. 122-3, 1756). We might quote many works, but it

is unnecessary. Even the gentle Baillie calls Charles, during his life, *excessively bloody, and false, and hypocritical, &c.* With regard to what Hume says about Clarendon and other Royalist writers, not justifying the king from insincerity, as, not supposing that he had ever been accused of it; it need not surprise us after what we have seen of this historian's mode of writing. Does not Clarendon justify his master from the army-plot, the Incident, the Irish rebellion, &c. &c. and do not all these import perfidy to his people and parliament? But, further, does not, as we have amply shown, that noble author fully confirm the charge by informing us that Acts of Parliament were passed under a secret intention of taking advantage of a pretext to disregard them—that, in the face of the most solemn disclamations, accompanied by appeals to heaven for his sincerity—of any purpose to make war, he had fully resolved upon it? &c. The passage quoted above, from one of that historian's private letters, and another referred to, as quoted in our preceding volume, prove his idea of his master's sincerity. But Mr. Hume can even defend the passing of bills, with a secret intention to disregard them, because they had been passed by the Houses, while they had not full liberty. When, then, could the parliament ever after rely on any treaty? He says that Charles's secret purpose only referred to the bill about the bishops, and that for pressing troops; though Clarendon, *his own only authority*, after stating that he had passed those two bills, on that principle, says expressly, '*I doubt this logic had an influence upon other acts of no less moment than these*' (vol. ii. p. 430). Even Hume himself, as we have seen, is obliged to admit that he was tampering with the army, to engage it

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tion. His professions, wherein he made a notable abuse of religion, which he affected such an earnest wish to

against the parliament, before his journey to Scotland. As to the inflexibility of Charles's principles, then, I know not what is meant by it, unless that he obstinately denied such concessions as alone could afford a security to the people against a recurrence of an utter disregard of every legal principle to which he had bound himself. As to his private conduct, we need only refer to his offer to give his testimony in favour of Buckingham, and his treatment of Williams. But he was *cold and reserved in his manner*. Why, this very Mr. Hume ever charges the Puritans and Presbyterians with hypocrisy, on account of their cold, reserved manner. Yes, but then Charles had neither the professing, talkative humour of his father, nor the caressing insinuating manner of his son. Now, does he allow that the first was a hypocrite? He does, indeed, say that his wisdom bordered on cunning, but he pronounces 'his intentions just.' Then, what is his character of Charles II.? Let the reader examine it. It formed, forsooth, a complete contrast to that of Tiberius, with which Burnet had compared it; for 'the emperor was provident, wise, active, jealous, malignant, *dark, sullen, unsociable, reserved, &c.*' For my part, I should like to know whether any man would not rather trust an open, frank disposition, than a cold, reserved one? Whether Fielding, and other writers, evinced an utter want of knowledge in the human heart, when they drew their fictitious characters? And as for *professions*, have we not seen enough of them? The sincerity of Charles, after what we have proved, cannot be longer a matter of controversy.

We shall now proceed to an examination of Glamorgan's transactions. Lord Herbert, now created earl of Glamorgan, son of the Mar-

quis of Worcester, had early been deeply in the confidence of Charles (Birch, p. 350 *et seq.*; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 144 *et seq.*). And, on the 27th December, 1644, Charles writes to Ormond, 'My Lord Herbert having business of his own in Ireland (wherein I desire you to do him all lawful favour and furtherance), I have thought good to use the power I have, both in his affection and duty, *to engage him in all possible ways, to further the peace there*, which he hath promised to do. Wherefore, as you find occasion, you may confidently use and trust him in this, or any other thing he shall propound to you, for my service, there being none *in whose honesty and zeal to my person and honour I have more confidence*, so I rest yours, &c.' To this the following postscript was added in cipher: 'His honesty and affection to my service will not deceive you; but I will not answer for his judgment' (Carte's *Ormonde*, Appendix to vol. ii., Rush. p. 17). This, from the sequel, will evidently appear to have been calculated to afford 'the starting hole' which Charles so ardently desired. But Hume, of course, lays hold of it to prove that the king had too contemptible an opinion of the earl's understanding to trust him in such a matter; and to show how justly his majesty estimated the nobleman's powers, he alludes to a publication of his. But the earl does not appear, as a politician, to have been contemptible. Nothing can afford a better proof of the idea formed of his capacity than the confidence of Hyde and others with the great powers—including those of conferring honours—which had been granted to him (Birch, p. 18 *et seq.*). Besides, a limited capacity would have been no objection to his employment: for Clarendon informs us that Charles—and he imputes the failing to kings in general—afraid

cultivate—however veiled over with a desire of putting a period to the distractions of the Commonwealth, were all

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lest he should be thought to be led by an able minister, committed his affairs to weak men, whom he soon allowed to acquire an ascendancy over him (*Life*, vol. i. p. 96). After the discovery of the commission, and the effect it began to produce, Digby, who is accused of having acted from unworthy motives, alleging that the belief in such a commission to Glamorgan by the king would confirm all the charges against Charles, in regard to his having been accessory to the rebellion, prevailed on Ormond to commit that nobleman to prison, on a suspicion of treason, as the commission must either have been forged, or *surreptitiously gained*. 'Or, if possible, the earl had any colour of authority, it was certainly bound up and limited by such instructions and declarations of his majesty's intentions therein as would in nowise license the said earl to any transaction of that nature; but most confident he was that the king, to redeem his crown, his own life, the lives of his queen and children, would not grant unto them' (the Irish) 'the least piece of concessions so destructive to his regality and religion' (*Ib.* pp. 93, 94). But Glamorgan bore the ignominious restraint with patience, and wrote to his wife, assuring her both of his perfect integrity and of the king's continued favour. Yet he is said to have produced to the council the following defeasance, signed on the day after the treaty, by the same commissioners who had subscribed it:—That the earl 'did no way intend to oblige his majesty other than he himself should please, after he had received those 10,000 men as a pledge of the said Roman Catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his majesty; yet he promised faithfully, upon his word and honour, *not to acquaint his majesty with this defeasance* till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his majesty to the granting of

the particulars in the said articles; but that done, the said commissioners discharged the said Earl of Glamorgan, both in honour and conscience, of any further engagement to them therein, though his majesty should not be pleased to grant the said particulars in the articles mentioned; the said earl having given them assurance upon his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any person whatsoever, discover this defeasance in the interim without their consent' (*Carte's Ormonde*, vol. i. p. 551). The first author, so far as I know, who alluded to this strange document, was Carte, and he refers to a manuscript for his authority. His papers are at Oxford; but I omitted to examine whether this formed part of them. If it do not—or if the original itself be not there—I am afraid it cannot deserve a moment's attention. For is it not beyond all measure strange, that Ormond, Digby, Secretary Nicholas, and even the king himself, and all his friends, in all their attempts to remove the odium of this transaction, by charging Glamorgan with having exceeded his powers, and having even forged a commission, never once so much as alluded to this document in support of a statement to which all their protestations could procure no relief? Mr. Hume quotes it as conclusive in favour of the king; and yet Charles and all his friends were so blind to the plainest fact as not to see it. But taking it as genuine, it admits of an easy solution. Charles had resolved to have 'a starting hole' in case of failure, since a disclosure without success necessarily withdrew from him the support of the whole Protestant body; but it was no less expedient for the Catholics to prevent such a catastrophe, since, in that case, all that portion of the Protestant party, who were now inclined to favour them to a certain extent,

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calculated to obtain for him that unlimited power which it had been the object of his reign to usurp. The views

for their own security, would, on the publication of such concessions, leave them naked to the vengeance of the parliament. If it were presented by Glamorgan, too, it is not unlikely that it was prepared at the time and antedated. That his commission and powers were never doubted by the Catholics is a fact beyond all question; and it is strange that Charles does not, in his dispatches, deny the commission, but alleges that his instructions were exceeded; and that Nicholas, in his dispatches at the time, pretends, with Digby, that if genuine, it was surreptitiously obtained—an expression which can merely import that the king acted without advice of his council. We may remark, too, *First*, that the assurances, &c. were repeated in a letter to the nuncio, specially written by Charles, and also in another to the pope. *Secondly*, that Ormond had particularly recommended him to the leading Catholic, Lord Muskerry, *to whom Ormond subscribes himself his most affectionate servant and brother.* *Thirdly*, that Glamorgan, at the treaty, took an oath (which was pretended by Digby to be one cause of the earl's commitment) 'for the punctual performance of what he had, as authorised by his majesty, obliged himself to see performed, and in default, not to permit the army entrusted to his charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his majesty, and by his majesty, be performed' (Birch, pp. 71-2). It may, perhaps, be conceived that a nobleman of their own persuasion, so bound down, and likewise authorised by the king, ought to have been safely trusted with the defeasance. But is it at all conceivable that men should oblige him to swear thus, if they knew that he had no powers to treat, and therefore perjured himself by the oath he took? And *Fourthly*, that in all the after transactions between that nobleman and the Catholics—for the

treaty was renewed—the original powers of Glamorgan are assumed as indisputable. But if they knew that he possessed no such authority, what motive could they have for acting thus after the disclosure of the defeasance? Thus, then, the main argument of Hume falls to the ground; and what is perfectly conclusive is, that Hyde (Clarendon) and Secretary Nicholas, who had every opportunity of ascertaining the fact, and the latter of whom had been employed at the disclosure, to disclaim the powers, appear by their correspondence to have regarded them as quite unquestionable. Surely men of their talents, who had all opportunities of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the royal character, as well as of ascertaining the truth, and who had a direct interest in wishing it to be otherwise, deserve infinitely more attention than Mr. Hume. And I repeat that, as they never alluded to the defeasance, nothing short of the original instrument can be received as evidence to outweigh the presumption thence arising against its authenticity. The paper ccccxviii. in the third volume of Carte's *Ormonde*, appears to me decisive of this point.

Charles's disclamations were all taken by both Catholics and Protestants as a mere device to divert the present storm. Glamorgan was made a prisoner on the 20th of December, 1645; and, on the 30th of January, Charles says, in a letter to Ormond, 'I cannot but add to my long letter, that, upon the word of a Christian, I never intended Glamorgan should treat anything without your approbation, much less your knowledge. For, besides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his judgment, though I could not think him so extremely weak, as now, to my cost, I have found,' &c. (Birch, p. 89 *et seq.*)

Thus writes he on January 30th to Ormond, and it is not without just-

with which the Scots had entered England have already been sufficiently developed. The lust of dominion which

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tice that Mr. Hume remarks: 'It is impossible that *any man of honour*, however he might dissemble with his enemies, would assert a falsehood in so solemn a manner, to his best friend.' If then we establish beyond all question that he did so dissemble, the character of that prince must be abandoned as indefensible. On the 3rd of February, or four days after the above letter to Ormond, he writes to Glamorgan, but he evinces an anxiety, chiefly for the consequences to himself, and assures that nobleman that he will bring him so off, that he may be still useful, and that he (the king) shall be able to recompense him for his affection, if he will follow advice, which was clearly to take the blame (Birch, pp. 356-7). But, on the 28th of the same month, his majesty addresses the earl thus: 'HERBERT, *I am confident that this honest, trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction why I have not in everything done as you desired, the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you: for, believe me, it is not in the power of anyone to make you suffer, in my opinion, by ill offices. But of this and diverse other things I have given Sir John Winter so full instructions, that I will say no more, but that I am your most assured constant friend*, CHARLES R. Oxford, 28th February 1645.' This Sir John Winter was the earl's cousin-german (parliament had, as we have seen, lately applied for his removal from court as a recusant (*Journals of Lords*, March 23, 1641), a rigid Catholic, and lately appointed secretary to the queen (Birch, p. 359). Glamorgan was released on the 21st of January, partly at the request of the confederated Irish, who declared that his liberty was necessary for preparing the levies, and he never slackened his diligence in the business he was sent on; even Ormond, who had been much influenced by an

idea that the earl meant to arrest and supersede him—he had even obtained powers for the last—then assured him that he might securely go on in the way he (Glamorgan) had proposed himself to serve the king, without fear of interruption from him, or so much as inquiring into the means he worked by (Birch, pp. 138-163 *et seq.*). *Even Digby, far from censuring him longer, courted his friendship* (p. 360). At first he tried to prevail on the Catholics to consent to terms more consonant to the feelings of the king's Protestant supporters, and consequently more agreeable to the royal interest, with secret assurances of greater concessions afterwards; but as the pope had been applied to for pecuniary assistance, the nuncio insisted that the funds of his holiness should not be advanced without something like an equivalent, and he even objected to the conditions of the treaty which had been divulged—particularly to that of secrecy, which he conceived to be attended equally with dishonour and insecurity. Yet it is extraordinary that he never once alluded to the defeasance. Glamorgan, therefore, found himself obliged to abandon the more moderate views, and recur to his former: in all the transactions, the original powers and treaty are referred to as unquestionable. On the 5th of April Charles writes thus:—

'Oxford, 5th April, 1646.

'GLAMORGAN,—*I have no tyme, nor doe you expect that I shall make unnecessary repetitions to you. Wherefore (referring you to Digby for business) this is only to give you assurance of my constant friendship, which, considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot be but confident of my making good all instructions and promises to you and the nuncio.*

'*Your most assured constant friend,* (Birch, pp. 360-1.) 'CHARLES R.'

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tempted them, in so intolerant a manner, to insist upon the obtrusion of their own ecclesiastical system in Eng-

The last words printed in italics, '*my making good,*' &c. are written in cipher. Though Digby now affected a desire of reconciliation with Glamorgan, Charles did not conceive him trustworthy in the business (see Hyde's letter quoted above), and, therefore, except in what is expressed in cipher, Charles is cautious, pretending to refer Glamorgan to that individual. But on the following day he uses a different language:—

'HERBERT,—As I doubt not but ye have too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage (loss was first written) ye have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me a desire of revenge and reparation to us bothe (for in this I hold myself equally interested with you). Wherefor, not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you; and that in deed more than in words, I shall show myself to bee,

'Your most assured constant friend,
'CHARLES R.

'Oxford, 6th April, 1646.'
(Birch, pp. 361-2.)

Now, who are they that his majesty alludes to, as the individuals against whom he feels such a desire of revenge and reparation? I presume they could be no other than those who proceeded against that lord, viz. Ormond and Digby. What, then, becomes of the effect given by Hume to the letter from Charles '*to his best friend?*'

But the following letter, which was written wholly in ciphers, is the most conclusive of all:—

'GLAMORGAN,—I am not so strictly guarded but that if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind, I having always *loved your person and conversation, which I*

ardently wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is as dear to me as my own. If you can raise a large sum of money, by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it; and if I recover them, I will fully repay that money. And tell the nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it. And if I do not say this from my heart, or in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next, to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends, to none of whom am I so much obliged as yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions that can be used by your constant friend,

'CHARLES R.

'From Newcastle, July 20, 1646.'

Now, what has been the course pursued by Mr. Hume in the vindication of Charles? At first he took no notice of Birch's *Enquiry*, contenting himself with repeating the assertions of Carte (Birch, p. 348); but as he found this would no longer satisfy the public, he, on that subject, writes a long note, in which he dwells on the defeasance; and, referring only to the letter of 5th April, passing *all the others over in total silence, as if no such letters had been in existence, though they are all given by Birch, all too (with one exception) from the originals in the British Museum*—he pretends that this alludes to a new negotiation, as the former had been broken off. *For this too he quotes Birch*, though that author produces documents which incontestably prove that the original powers and instructions to Glamorgan, and the assurances to the nuncio, were the basis

land, had not only alarmed the Independents, properly so called, but all the intelligent portion of the community, including the majority of both Houses, who did not believe that any peculiar system of church government was prescribed by the Author of revelation. Obstructions were therefore thrown in the way of their intolerant proceedings; and men, alarmed by the disclosure of their principles, determined that if Presbyterianism ever were established, it should be under limitations that would render it innocuous. Parliament, with this view, prudently introduced that species of ecclesiastical government, with a complete subordination to the civil. The

of all the subsequent transactions: but is it not extraordinary that a writer of such acuteness as Hume, should set out with proving that Glamorgan was a man of too limited a capacity to be trusted by Charles before any alleged demerit; and yet that he should conclude with contending, that, after such a breach of confidence, he should still be deemed worthy of a fresh employment, of as high a nature as that disputed? It may be observed that the queen's confessor, Father George Leyburn, provoked the nuncio, by disclaiming Glamorgan's instructions, and that yet the same father, in his *Memoirs*, gives an account of the matter as quite unquestionable (see his *Memoirs*, and passages from them in Birch, p. 319 *et seq.*). Since the publication of Birch's work, the facts have been put beyond all doubt, if doubt could have possibly existed, by the *Clarendon Papers*, already quoted by us.

As for yielding to the desires of his Catholic subjects, had it not implied a breach of faith, and lust of power, it could not have been condemned. But the horrid guilt was in endeavouring to purchase the assistance of the atrocious actors in the Irish insurrection to subjugate Britain; and then, had they succeeded, they might and would have imposed their creed.

Yet this is, of course, defended by Hume, who alleges that it was necessary, for the safety of himself, his wife, children, and friends. But why were his own and their safety ever in danger? Because nothing short of the overthrow of the laws which made him king would content him. He might even still have reigned secure, by adequate concessions; and his *friends*, far from wishing him to pursue the course he took, were only prevented from deserting him as one man, by his denials of the truth. They all too (but Hyde, and perhaps one or two more, who could not brook their own proscription) urged Charles to enter into an accommodation with his parliament; and by doing so they only brought against themselves, from this very king, a charge of villainy and treason.

After all this, the candour of Hume, I doubt, cannot longer be defended, any more than that of the monarch whose cause he undertook. But, possibly, the reader may conceive that he has afforded to Charles a defence of an unexpected nature. For if an historian can be vindicated for sitting down coolly to misrepresent facts, through so many volumes, in defence of that misguided prince, we cannot condemn the infatuated individual himself.

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grounds upon which any individual could be excluded from the sacramental table, were defined; and the church was interdicted from interfering with any question betwixt man and man. Every presbytery was tempered with the lay elders; but from it there lay an appeal to the synod, from the synod to the assembly, from the assembly to the parliament, or commissioners specially appointed by it. The powers of the assembly were strictly defined, and extremely limited, while their proceedings were, as we have said, subject to the review of the legislature; but there was another important change in the institution of that assembly: instead of permitting it to be composed of divines and elders selected by the respective presbyteries, the parliament, conceiving that the discussions of ecclesiastics were harmless in comparison of the intrigues and cabals of eminent laymen, who might endeavour to make the assembly of the church the means of erecting an independent government in the state, excluded laymen from forming a constituent portion of it. This was a severe blow to the aspiring hopes of an interested priesthood, as well as of their lay brethren, who already possessed in fancy the civil offices of the state. But even this arrangement was only by way of experiment.*

How inefficient the Scottish army had proved in this

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xiv. p. 280 *et seq.*; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 444 *et seq.*; *Baillie's Let.* vol. ii. pp. 110 *et seq.*, 115, 116, 118, 119, 124-8, 131-9 *et seq.*, 140-3 *et seq.*, 145-9, 157 *et seq.*, 194 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 69 *et seq.*; *Rush.* vol. vi. p. 205-7, 224 *et seq.* Selden had incurred the enmity of the high church party, before the beginning of this parliament; but because he would not subscribe to the terms of the Presbyterians, he was early denounced by them as 'the avowed proctor for the bishops' (*Baillie's Let.* vol. i. p. 303). Selden and Whitelocke, having both spoken against the Presbyterian tyranny, 'they' (the clergy) 'were pleased

to term me' (*Whitelocke*) 'an Erastian, and a disciple of Selden' (pp. 160-70; see also pp. 110-11). Selden and Whitelocke were, with many other members of parliament, members of the assembly, and 'Selden spake admirably, and confuted many of the divines in their own learning. And sometimes, when they cited a text of Scripture, to prove their assertions, he would tell them, perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often pull out and read) the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus, and so would totally silence them' (*Whitelocke*, p. 71).

arduous contest, has been sufficiently seen. The leading men of that nation, and particularly the clergy, had depended more for the success of their schemes upon its anticipated achievements, than upon their own arguments in the assembly of divines. Imagining that the power of the parliament was broken, they trusted that, to the arms of their countrymen would be reserved the glory of a successful termination to the contest, and that when thus possessed of the military strength, they could not fail to secure the civil and ecclesiastical power. First 20,000 Scots had entered England, and then an additional 10,000 under Callander had joined the army; after this, there is reason to believe that recruits were likewise sent up; yet, as they lost great numbers at York and Newcastle, as well as by disease, and probably by desertion, while they garrisoned various towns which they occupied for their security, they could not bring 16,000 men into the field. In the old parliamentary army, many Scotchmen had held commissions, but all these were carefully excluded under the new model, and their countrymen regarded this as no favourable omen to their future hopes. When the Scottish army, at the beginning of the preceding summer's campaign, so miserably disappointed the hopes of the English parliament, that body naturally provided for the military destined to stand all the shock of the conflict, with more unwearied pains than for the Scottish, which they are accused of having neglected. But the latter supplied its own wants, by mercilessly plundering the country, and thus excited both against it and the northern kingdom, a general abhorrence in Englishmen.

Essex, after he was discarded, as well as Hollis and their party, conceiving that their only chance to regain power was by uniting more closely with the Presbyterians, complained loudly of the partiality shown to the English army; but as they could not stimulate the Scottish to any great exploit which might have recovered its character, they declaimed to unwilling ears against a better provi-

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sion to that fine military body which in so short a period accomplished the object of the war. The Independent party, who now perceived that the army favoured their pretensions, advanced them more boldly; and, to the great indignation of the Presbyterians, both Fairfax and Cromwell pleaded, in their dispatches, for a Christian toleration to all opinions which did not involve principles pernicious to the state.* The Commons, divided between the parties, were in a state of faction; the Upper House had been considerably alienated from the Lower; and as the Scottish army had been regarded by the Presbyterian party as their chief strength, so its removal from England had been reckoned by the favourers of the Independents no less necessary for them. In the commission which had been granted to Fairfax, the clause for the safety of the king's person had been omitted; but, with a very few exceptions, the idea of changing the form of the government into a republic had not been contemplated. Some had,

* Cromwell concludes his account of the battle nearly thus: 'Sir, this is none other than the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God; and would rather perish than assume to himself, which is an honest and a thriving way; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he may trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for' (Rush. vol. vi. p. 46). 'My Lord Fairfax,' says Baillie the divine, in a letter to Lord Lauderdale, dated four days after the battle, 'sent up the last week an horrible antitrias-

trian; the whole assembly went in a body to the Houses to complain of his blasphemies. It was the will of Cromwell, in the letter of his victorie, to desire the House not to discourage these who had ventured their life for them, and to come out *with the much desired libertie of conscience*' (*Id.* p. 280). Cromwell speaks more fully out in his letter on the taking of Bristol. The following passage in his letter regarding the capture of Bristol, appears to me good. 'It may be thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made. Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good. It is their honour that God vouchsafes to use them' (Rush. vol. vi. p. 85-8; Whitelocke, p. 172; Thurloc's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 73).

indeed, talked of executing justice upon the king; but even Ireton, long afterwards, only declared that Charles had done enough to warrant his deposition, and placing the crown on the head of his son. The idea of deposing him does not appear to have been confined to the Independents; it spread widely among the Presbyterians, a portion of whom seem to have entertained the notion of imprisoning him, or even bringing him to the block.* But they still cherished monarchy, and indeed the Scots had a direct interest to maintain the kingly power, since it alone afforded them a pretext for claiming a footing in England. Both parties, therefore, still looked towards Charles as to a prince with whom it was possible to negotiate, and whose cooperation with either would confer ascendancy in the state.

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Charles was no stranger to this posture of affairs; but, instead of being moved by it to coalesce with either, he was induced to play the same false and subtle game which had always distinguished him. Trusting that, by flattering each by turns, he might raise up such a jealousy between them as would lead to a bloody contest, wherein each should aim at the other's extermination—when he should recover his power in their confusion—he endeavoured to soothe each, and poison it with inveteracy against the other. 'Now, for my own particular resolution,' says he, in a letter to Lord Digby, on the 26th March, 1646, —'it is this:—I am endeavouring to get to London, so that the conditions may be such as a gentleman may own, and that the rebels may acknowledge me king, being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating the one or the other, *that I shall be really king again.*'* In the meantime, he was endeavouring to raise

* Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. pp. 370-3, 381 *et seq.*, 383, 387-9 *et seq.*, 392-3 *et seq.*, 403, 407-8 *et seq.*, 412; Walker's *Hist. of the Independents*, p. 164.

† Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. iii. p. 452. Let any man read this letter, and collate it with those to Glamorgan, and his professions to the parliament, and defend the sincerity of Charles

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an army in Ireland, from amongst the insurgents there, whose acts had been so revolting to humanity, in order that, with their assistance, he should bear down all opposition, after the mutual extermination of the parties whom he was courting in England. In regard to the Irish transactions, his conduct was still more reprehensible than those with the English and Scots: while he was assuring both Ormond and Digby, in the most solemn language, that they alone possessed his confidence; and that Glamorgan had acted with equal want of judgment and honesty, he was secretly encouraging that earl to prosecute his schemes, by the promise of revenge against the two individuals, Ormond and Digby, who had obstructed them. Glamorgan had even authority to supersede the marquis as lord lieutenant.* Such disingenuous policy, and attempts to overreach all parties, could succeed with none; and while Charles hugged himself upon the notion of deceiving all, he was, in reality, himself the only dupe of his own impostures.

He proposed that the power of the militia should be vested in certain individuals, and asked to be allowed forty days' residence at Westminster, for the settlement of affairs, when he alleged that he doubted not to give them satisfaction, provided both Houses, the lord mayor, and the common council, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the commissioners for Scotland, would come under an engagement for his safety, and liberty to return to Oxford. Parliament, however, saw through his designs, and determined to frustrate them by refusing such an engagement. They therefore coldly answered, that they were preparing ordinances which, when he should agree to them, might be productive of a lasting peace. These ordinances put the

if he can. 'The truth is,' says Baillie, in a private letter written about January, 1646, regarding the king's messages for peace, 'the truth is, secret letters written about the last treaty makes them trust him no

more, and resolve to treat no more at all with him; only they will send him propositions, and require his positive answer' (*Lct.* vol. ii. p. 344).

* See former note.

power of the sword entirely into the hands of the parliament; but they gave offence to the Scots by reserving to each country the command of its own militia, while they also displeased the city of London, by withdrawing from it that portion of power which had been intended at the treaty of Uxbridge.* This kindled additional hope in the royal breast of stirring up the parties to mutual extermination, so that, at the critical moment of their depression, he might, at the head of the Irish army, establish himself in uncontrolled authority. To the Independents, he urged the tyranny of the Presbyterians, and the necessity of combining with him for their own security. To the Presbyterians, he represented that their only chance of safety lay in joining with him to subdue the Independents who, averse to monarchical government, would sacrifice the interest of Scotland to their levelling principles. The negotiation with the Presbyterians, and particularly the Scots, was conducted by Montreuil, the French ambassador, in his master's name, though it was afterwards alleged that he acted without sufficient authority. In his zeal for the service, he visited Scotland, and afterwards treated with the army. The intrigues with the Independents were managed by John Ashburnham, who likewise sounded the English Presbyterians.

Out of Montreuil's intrigues arose a strange agreement, in the name of his master and the queen regent on the one side, and Charles on the other, whereby the latter was promised security in the Scottish camp; and it has been said that, though Charles treated with the ambassador to avoid the disgrace of doing it with a rebellious army, the Scottish commanders had really agreed to the terms. But it is not easy to conceive what the conditions were, other than the personal safety of Charles, since it

* Rush, vol. vi. p. 215 *et seq.*, 249 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 182 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xiv. p. 159 *et seq.*; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 404 *et seq.*; *Clar. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 196 *et seq.*; *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 335, particularly p. 342 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lit.* vol. ii. p. 335 *et seq.*

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is established by Montreuil's correspondence, subsequent to the agreement, that the Scots steadily adhered to their Presbyterian principles. That they were anxious to have the king with them, fully confiding in their power to persuade him to yield to their conditions, is a fact that rests on sufficient evidence; that Charles, who was now blockaded in Oxford, and terrified at the idea of being taken a prisoner by Fairfax, and led in ignominy to the metropolis, by his victorious army, which rapidly advanced, wished refuge, is no less certain. His hope was to engage the Scottish army on his side, and, with his characteristic dissimulation, he affirmed that, could they convince his conscience of the truth of their Presbyterian tenets, he would immediately subscribe to them. The Scots, however, were not to be deceived. They saw through the springs of the royal ecclesiastical policy; and one of their chief divines affirmed that no oaths would convince him that Charles was actuated by conscientious motives. While, therefore, the ecclesiastics were sufficiently ready to enter upon a discussion regarding Presbyterianism, they, as well as the statesmen, rested all their hopes of converting him on the ground of their being able to satisfy his understanding that it was for his interest to coalesce with them. Previous to his taking refuge in their camp, they intimated to him, through Montreuil, the absurdity of his even wishing them to agree with him, on the principle of supporting the episcopal hierarchy, since, by such a proceeding, they would at once forfeit the cooperation of the English Presbyterians, and thus join both parties against themselves, who, in that case, unless they were guided by the chimerical hope of conquering England, could never expect to reinstate him on the throne. He proposed that they should cooperate with Montrose; but though the Scotch army had been as selfish as he wished it, such policy was not reasonably to be anticipated, since, besides forfeiting the affection of the English, it would have lost the support of the party in Scotland which

raised it, and, as the leading men justly argued, put all in the hands of the Malignants, against whom they had hitherto fought. Indeed, it is most likely that, had the officers really acted so treacherous a part to their country, they would have been deserted by the soldiers. This scheme, therefore, on which Charles so much relied, was rejected, and admission to his followers was even refused.*

In the meantime, as Fairfax was rapidly advancing to Oxford, while the town was already in a state of blockade, the king's situation there became critical; and to avoid the humiliation of being carried to London a captive, he determined, if possible, to effect his escape. With only two attendants—John Ashburnham and the Reverend Dr. Hudson—he, disguised as the servant of the first, left Oxford; but his route was not yet resolved upon. He hesitated whether to throw himself upon the mercy of London, or, if possible, retreat north to form a junction with Montrose, whose presumption misfortune could not cure. He proceeded to Henley, and from thence to Harrow on the Hill, within sight of London, uncertain whether at once to repair to the capital. Of this the parliament was very apprehensive, knowing that it would at once occasion intrigues to embroil affairs, by the pretext which it afforded his adherents of resorting thither; they, therefore, published an ordinance the instant they heard of his retreat from Oxford—declaring that all who harboured the king, or, knowing of his resort, concealed it, should be proceeded against as traitors to the Commonwealth, forfeit their whole estates, and die without mercy. They likewise ordered the immediate departure, from London, of all Papists, and soldiers of fortune who had borne arms against the parliament. In the meantime, Charles had

King
leaves Ox-
ford, April
27, and
takes re-
fuge in the
Scottish
camp, May
6, 1646.

* *Clar. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 269 *et seq.*; *Hist.* vol. v. p. 235 *et seq.*; *Thurloe's State Papers*, pp. 72-74, 85 *et seq.*; *Baillie's Lct.* vol. ii. pp. 368-374 *et seq.*; *Append. to Evelyn's Mem.* p. 115 *et seq.*; compare pp. 104 and 118; *Burnet's Mem. of the Hamiltons*, p. 274; *Peck's Desiderata*, ix.

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visited families who recognised his person, though they affected ignorance of his quality; and it is not to be doubted that he was, in this way, apprised of the ordinance which thus threatened to cut him off from all communication with his supporters. Having lingered for some time, where he twice narrowly escaped detection, first from a man intoxicated, and secondly from a hair-dresser, who observed the particular cut of the hair in spite of the attempt to conceal it by negligence, he at last turned towards the Scottish camp before Newark. This delay had been partly owing to his disappointment of a party of horse, which had been promised by Montreuil, to escort him; but which came at length. It is possible that, in spite of the negotiation, Leven was surprised at the appearance of Charles; yet, without presupposing that he was less acquainted with the intrigues than the other officers, we cannot believe that the surprise he showed was not in some measure assumed. But poor Montreuil was reviled by them, and so far sacrificed by the French court to cover their own dark designs. Newark was, by the command of Charles, surrendered to the Scots; and Montrose, by his orders, also laid down his arms. That individual had been again defeated in the North, and his influence was so reduced that he had resolved upon the strange expedient of employing his limited troops to impress an army.* Though, however, Montrose laid down his arms, a party in the North, in conjunction with Antrim's forces under Colonel Quito and his sons, particularly Alexander, kept the field till the following year was far advanced. In reference to this state of matters—to which we shall afterwards recur—were not a few intrigues carried on.†

Conceiving that they had the game in their own hands,

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 266 *et seq.*; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 383 *et seq.*; Wishart, chap. xx.; Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 174 *et seq.*; Whitelocke,

p. 199 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 366 *et seq.*

† We shall, in a fitter place, cite our authorities.

and being not immediately in a condition to resist the English parliament, which demanded the custody of the king's person, and sent Poyntz to watch their motions, the Scots retreated to Newcastle, as in the neighbourhood of their own resources. The parliament demanded the persons of Ashburnham and Hudson; but the Scots were prepared with an excuse when these individuals escaped. At Newcastle every means were taken to induce Charles to agree to the Presbyterian establishment; and as he affected to be governed by conscience, though his private correspondence shows that he was actuated by worldly policy only, Henderson undertook to remove his scruples. A long written controversy ensued between them upon the respective merits of their creeds; but it ended as is usual with all discussions of that nature. Clarendon asserts that so excellent was the royal argument, that Henderson indirectly acknowledged himself to be vanquished. But such a story of a Scottish divine, whom interested motives could not sway, would have required great authority to confirm it; and, unfortunately for this, it is proved beyond doubt by private correspondence, that Henderson was only grieved to observe, that while Charles pretended to be influenced by conscientious scruples, he was really actuated by that perverted thirst for dominion, which had proved so calamitous to his country. Whether Charles was really the author of the controversial writings that pass under his name may well be questioned; but it has justly been remarked that the far-famed production is never read. The style is as stiff and pedantic as the thoughts are commonplace.*

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 407 *et seq.*; *King Charles's Works*; Baillie's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 370 *et seq.* A death-bed recantation was forged for Henderson, who died during the king's stay at Newcastle. Harris strongly questions whether any such written controversy ever took place; no allusion to it occurs in Baillie's *Letters* or others, and the

fact of one paper in the king's handwriting being in Lambeth Library, would not be decisive of the question; but a passage in a letter from Charles to Jernyn, Colepepper, and John Ashburnham, dated August 12, 1646, seems to me to establish the point. He alleges that Presbyterian government is chiefly

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When he joined the Scots he declared it was not his intention to prolong the miseries of war; and Oxford, as well as the other garisons, was surrendered to the conquerors, to whose credit it redounds, that, from the time of the New Model, they were remarkable for the most scrupulous fulfilment of articles. The garrison of Oxford consisted of about 7000, containing the army the king had brought thither; and though part of them were Irish, not an insult was offered to one of their number. An order was at the same time required from Charles for the surrender of Dublin, but he evaded the request, for he had determined not to desist from war; and though he sent a public dispatch to Ormond, declaring, that as nothing but regard to the Protestants of that distracted country, who otherwise must have perished, had induced him to treat, and thus desist from his purpose of executing vengeance on the rebels, so now he wished all negotiation to be suspended, that they might still be reserved for justice; yet he privately instructed the same nobleman not to obey his public orders, and those instructions he reiterated. During his residence at Newcastle, he was concerting the means of raising an army in Ireland. A peace was concluded there by Ormond, contrary to the orders of both Houses. By this the Irish engaged to provide an army of 20,000, and pour them into Scotland. The stricter Catholics, however, and their priests, were dissatisfied with the conditions; and as they refused to be bound by them, Glamorgan was instructed and empowered by the monarch (also in the face of a letter sent to him by Charles to drop all proceedings) to purchase their assistance on any conditions, even on that of pawning his three kingdoms.*

prised by the Scots because it holds 'the supreme power is in the people, though they pretend other causes publicly. For the second I refer you to my paper of disputations, which you shall have by the French Am-

bassador' (Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 247).

* See previous reference; Clar. *Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 237, 305; Carte's *Ormond*, vol. i. p. 572 *et seq.*, vol. iii. pp. 452, 455 *et seq.*, 474 *et seq.*, 478

When he entered the Scottish camp, the English parliament, with the whole Independent party at least, were under the most serious apprehensions that a new war was meditated; and the suspicion was soon strengthened by a letter from him to Ormond, wherein he mentions his purpose of proceeding to the Scottish army, in consequence of a promise from them to assist him in conjunction with the forces of Montrose, to procure a safe peace and the restitution of his own prerogative; and that as the circumstance would prevent troops from being transported by the rebels into Ireland, he desired that his letters should be shown to his friends on that side of the water, to make them resolute in his cause. It had been written a few days before his departure from Oxford, and, as it was circulated throughout Ireland by Ormond, it fell into the hands of the Scottish general, Monro, who transmitted it to the English parliament. Great was the outcry against the Scots for their supposed perfidy, but they vindicated themselves by declaring the king's statement to be '*a most damnable untruth.*'*

As the prospects of the Scots in relation to English affairs depended entirely upon the king's joining them on their own terms—by acknowledging the Presbyterian discipline, and subscribing the Covenant—they endeavoured, by every species of entreaty and argument, to bring him to the conditions. Dreading, too, the influence of his former advisers, and jealous of the English, they tried to prevent access to the royal presence; and Charles, whose hopes had at first been sanguine, complained of ill treatment, though he afterwards did them the justice to own, that, in regard to personal respect, he had no cause to complain.

The English parliament demanded delivery of the

et seq., 481 *et seq.*, 488 *et seq.*, 491 *et seq.*, 495 *et seq.*, 516 *et seq.*, 524–528, 532–563 *et seq.*; Birch's *Enquiry*.

* The king's to the Marquis of Ormond, and the Marquis of Ormond's

letter to Monro, &c., 1646 (Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 374 *et seq.*; Rush, vol. vi. p. 266 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 208; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 463 *et seq.*).

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king's person ; but the Scots—arguing that Charles being their monarch, as well as that of England, they were fully as much entitled as their southern neighbours to that important charge ; and that, in such a case, possession gave them a preferable right — refused compliance. The English, on the other hand, maintained that the Scots having entered England merely as auxiliaries, and having no right of jurisdiction there ; and it having been in the capacity of auxiliaries that his majesty had taken refuge in their camp, they were bound to receive directions from those who paid them for fighting their battles. Charles, however, believing at this time, from the language of the pulpit, which generally announced the public feelings, that the Scots were favourably disposed towards him, was inclined to reside for some time with the army. Their views were disclosed by the following passage from Scripture, which was by one of their preachers read before him : ‘ And behold all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto him, why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king and his household, and all David's men with him over Jordan ? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, because the king is near of kin to us : wherefore be ye angry for this matter ? Have we eaten at all at the king's cost ; or hath he given us any gift ? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, we have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye ; why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first heard in bringing back our king : and the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.’

Propositions having been agreed to by the parliament, and consented to by the Scottish commissioners, were transmitted to the king. In substance they did not materially differ from those made at the treaty of Uxbridge, except that the term demanded for vesting the power of the militia in commissioners, before it should be settled by bill, was prolonged from seven to twenty years.

Charles, as if he had had only one satirical remark in store, merely repeated the observation which he made both before the treaty of Oxford, and afterwards before that of Uxbridge; for, having demanded whether the commissioners from the parliament had any power to alter the conditions tendered to him, and having been answered in the negative, he told them that, saving the honour of the business, a common trooper might have equally well performed the part assigned them. As it was evident that he would not agree to the terms, negotiations, both by the Presbyterians and Independents, were set on foot to gain him. By the Presbyterian party he was urged to close with them, ostensibly on their own terms, under the prospect of a mitigation of them, when the weight of the kingly character should, with the settlement of affairs, give them the ascendancy in the state: but as he considered the episcopal hierarchy a necessary support to the throne, which again upheld the church, while he conceived the Presbyterian government to be so destructive of monarchical power, that it would reduce him to the situation of a titular king, no persuasion prevailed upon him; yet, instead of giving an absolute negative, he still pretended to found all his scruples upon a conscientious belief that episcopacy was a divine institution. The Presbyterians, however, were not to be deceived. They justly regarded this as a mere device to gain time, till he consulted his masters beyond seas, and was in a situation to excite fresh commotions. They therefore endeavoured to alarm him, by asserting that a great portion of the people, from his having been so bloody and false, had resolved to cast him and his family off for ever; and that if he did not quickly assent to the propositions, all men—even the Presbyterians—would abandon him, when the scaffold or perpetual imprisonment would be his doom: but this effected nothing, it having been always the misfortune of this monarch to believe that neither his person nor the externals of royalty could be in danger. The queen, however, and all his confidential friends, importuned him to

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agree to the Presbyterian government, provided he could reserve the power of the sword, since, by thus satisfying the Scots, he adopted the only means of saving himself for the present, and preserving the chance of recovering his full regal authority. But he, declaring to them that the church was a more powerful engine than the militia, and that, once renounced, it might never be recovered, obstinately adhered to his resolution. He looked towards France for assistance, and was warned in vain that his hopes there would prove a dream.* Apprehensions were even entertained by his own friends, that if France interposed at all with any sufficient force, it would only be to reduce him to the state of a tributary prince; and resolutions were entered into by Hopton and Hyde to defeat any attempt against Jersey and Guernsey (to the first of which the Prince had retreated when Hopton was driven into Cornwall), an attempt which they were warned that the French court meditated in conjunction with Jermyn, the king's agent and bosom friend, whom that perfidious court is said to have bribed to such a treason. We have already mentioned the intrigues carried on at the same time with the Irish, while in Montrose he had still a fund of hope. Flattered with this prospect of affairs, he meditated an escape to his northern kingdom, presaging that a rupture between the English and Scots would ensue upon his absence; and thence inferring that, when the two parties had been wearied and exhausted with mutual

* The correspondence on this subject in the *Clar. Papers* is extremely valuable, and proves beyond all question the utter mistake which Mr. Hume laboured under on this most important subject. He says, that had Charles agreed to put down episcopacy, he would have so offended the religious feelings of his adherents that he would have been deserted; whereas his friends, with the exception of Hyde, all urged him to the measure; and Jermyn, in one of his letters to Charles, declares

that 'there were not five or six persons of the Protestant persuasion who believed that episcopacy was *jure divino*, so as to exclude any other form of ecclesiastical polity: and that even the divines at the treaty of Uxbridge would not, though much provoked thereunto, maintain that (we might say uncharitable) opinion, no, not privately among your commissioners' (vol. ii. p. 263; see also p. 242 *et seq.* generally; and Baillie's *Letters*, &c.).

bloodshed, a great portion of the kingdom would fly to him for refuge against the pressure of the times.

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From all these considerations, as well as even deluded with the idea that he would deceive both parties, Charles continued obstinate; whence, after the lapse of about eight months, the Scots determined to deliver him up to the English parliament. While they thus surrendered him they still declared their attachment to monarchy, but they meant such a monarchy as would have left no power to the king, nor did they conceal their sentiments that monarchy was not inconsistent with the deposition and imprisonment of a prince who wilfully opposed the welfare of his subjects. They even declared in parliament, that it was only on the condition of his assenting to their propositions that they would ever restore him; and that if he resisted the terms offered, and entered their country, they would confine him for the public good, and carry on the government without him. A great party, however, went so far as to harbour the idea of bringing him to the scaffold, a project in which they outdid the Independents, who only entertained the idea of deposing him, and transferring the crown to the Duke of York, who was in their custody. He was particularly anxious for a declaration from the queen and prince, to the effect of his having gone sufficiently far in his proposed concessions; 'for,' says he, 'if there be the least imagination that 364' (the prince) 'will get more than I, I shall not live long after. This is not my opinion alone, for the F. ambassador and Montrose fully concur with me in it.'*

It was when the Scots had lost all hopes of prevailing on the king, and were fully sensible that no trust could be reposed in him, that one of their ministers, after having uttered bold truths, ordered the psalm to be sung which begins thus,

'Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?'

* Clar. *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 324; see also p. 314.

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But Charles, standing up in his place, called for the psalm which begins with,

‘Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For men would me devour;’

and the audience good-naturedly indulged him.

He, during his residence with the Scottish army, repeatedly proposed to go to London for the purpose of treating with his people; but the parliament as constantly resisted it, unless he would consent to their propositions, and sign the Covenant; and matters came at last to a crisis. The English ordered the Scottish army to quit the kingdom, as they had no further use for their services; and the Scots only pretended to delay on the ground that great arrears were due to them. Their demand amounted to about two millions, but, after all the necessary deductions, it was reduced by the parliament to less than a fifth of that sum; and one of the implied, though not expressed conditions upon which the first instalment was paid, was that the custody of the king’s person should be resigned to the English. This gave rise to a great scandal against the Scots, and their apology, in so far as the officers of their army were concerned, is not altogether admissible: That they came into England merely as auxiliaries, and were, in the common cause, as deeply interested in securing the king’s person as Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English army: That his refuge in their camp was a mere matter of necessity, to prevent an ignominious captivity; and that, though they regretted that he had thrown himself upon their mercy, they did not conceive that his act could possibly absolve them from the solemn covenant they had taken when they engaged in the war: That, in short, the case was simply this, Charles saw that he would be a prisoner somewhere, and preferred the Scottish army for his keepers; and it was ridiculous to suppose that an army, under the command of a committee of both kingdoms, could have any possible right to act for itself, in opposition to those principles on which it had been

King delivered up
to the
English,
January
30, 1647.

raised and kept afoot. It is not easy to discover an answer to this argument, if we admit that it was urged in good faith. But it applies only to the Scottish parliament and their commissioners, and not to the military officers, who had been treacherously tampering with Charles through the French ambassador, and were, consequently, bound to continue their treachery to their employers, by affording him an opportunity to escape if he desired it. Affairs had become critical with the English, and even Hollis and his party, who ardently desired to favour the Scottish army, in opposition to that of Fairfax, now urged its departure from the kingdom—imagining that, as the Self-denying Ordinance was only to continue during the war, his party might now alter the New Model, and recover the military power into their own hands. In this, however, they were sadly disappointed; and they, in no small degree, attributed the failure of their expectations to the unexpected death of Essex, whom they wished to reinstate in the command, and round whom both that party and the Scots had rallied. If the previous professions of the Scots—that Charles would be brought to the scaffold if he obliged them to surrender his person—were sincere, they had no cause afterwards to complain of that catastrophe, since in that case they, by surrendering him, must be regarded as accessory to his fate. But the truth seems to be, that such notions had been principally indulged by themselves; and that it was only after a full experience of the perfidy of Charles, and the second resort to hostilities, and obstinate rejection of all propositions, that such a measure was, as necessary to the safety of the victors, fully resolved upon.*

* Rush. vol. vi. chap. x. and xi.; Whitelocke, p. 206 *et seq.*; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 30 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 371 &c., already cited (these letters are remarkable for the light they throw on the state of parties); Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 463 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 174 *et seq.*;

Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 94 *et seq.*; Clar. *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 242 *et seq.*; Append. to Evelyn's *Mems.* p. 118 *et seq.* (no wonder Charles was anxious about burning his cabinet after the discovery by the former); Burnet's *Mem. of the Hamiltons*, p. 277 *et seq.*; see particularly, pp. 310, 311. Charles,

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It is said that, when the intention of the Scots to deliver him up was darkly communicated to Charles, in a letter by Lanerick, he was engaged in a game of chess; and that, such was the native composure of his mind, he continued it, unruffled by the intelligence. It has been well remarked of him, that, like his progenitors, he appeared to most advantage in adversity, which we may remark, in passing, is far more easily borne than prosperity: but the narrator does not inform whence he derived the anecdote, while in the same paragraph, and seemingly as a reason for the coolness he mentions, he apprises us that at the moment he was resolved on an escape, for which a vessel had been provided by a well-known character, Mr., afterwards Sir Robert, Murray. In no case could the intelligence be very unexpected; long had he been prepared for such an event; and independently of an escape—to Ireland, as it would appear—his hope of a different issue had been founded entirely on the prospects held out by the Hamiltons, of raising a party in Scotland, which, contrary to all their former principles, should attempt his unconditional restoration. Without that, he was not only not averse to change his keepers, but really desired it, as he flattered himself that he might obtain that success with the English officers which he was inflexibly denied by the Scots, whose interest indeed accorded with their principles. He was conducted to Holdenby, where he continued a considerable time.*

During this summer (1646) an ordinance was passed

told the Scottish commissioners, 'That if he were a prisoner it was the opinion of many divines that the promises made by a prisoner did not oblige, though he did not assert that to be his own sense.' But he did not deny it to be so. Such was the use he made of divinity. 'The king,' says Baillie, in a letter dated 1st December, 1646, '*all his life has loved trinketing naturally, and is thought to be much in that action*

now with all parties, for the imminent hazard of all' (*Let.* vol. ii. p. 412). Yet the imputation of insincerity was, according to Hume, of a later growth than his own age (see *Scots Acts*, lately published, vol. vi. p. 239, 'Declaration concerning the King's Person; Hailes' *Let.* p. 185 *et seq.*

* Burnet's *Mem. of the Hamiltons*, p. 307; Hailes' *Let.* pp. 190, 191; see also Clar. *Papers* vol. ii. p. 329 *et seq.*

for abolishing Episcopacy, and sequestering the lands of the church for the use of the state, and the beneficed clergy were thus deprived of their livings. The impeachment of the bishops had been allowed to drop, but in this measure they suffered the punishment. Whatever the bigoted, whether in religion or politics, may think, it surely cannot fairly be questioned, that when a political change deprives a body of men of their livings, they are entitled to compensation; and the English parliament cannot be justified in departing from such a project which had formerly been contemplated. But, on the other hand, the high clergy, though some of them were men of profound erudition and great capacity, did not merit much sympathy, since they had been at least accessory to the innovations that had led to the change under which they smarted, and since the inferior clergy had been mercilessly driven by them from their livings, because they would not comply with audacious novelties.*

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Episco-
pacy abo-
lished by
ordinance,
&c., Sep-
tember 6,
1646.

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 158; *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 528; *Rush.* vol. vi. p. 373 *et seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF THE ARMY AND MUTINY—THE KING SEIZED BY JOYCE—THE ARMY BROUGHT UP TO LONDON, AND THE EFFECT ON THE PARLIAMENT—THE KING FLIES TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT—SECOND CIVIL WAR AND INVASION FROM SCOTLAND—THE TREATY OF NEWPORT—THE INVADERS FROM SCOTLAND OVERCOME, AND THE CIVIL WAR TERMINATED—KING SEIZED A SECOND TIME BY THE ARMY—THE HOUSE OF COMMONS PURGED—THE KING'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

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HAD the parliament been united in interest and principles, and been still supported by the people, they could not have had much cause of fear from the army they had raised; but as it was divided into factions, while each regarded the military as the instrument of ascendancy in the state, intrigues were engendered in the army, and its ruin attempted by one party, as well as the great body encouraged by the other. Cromwell, Vane, and their party, had now gained the ascendancy; and Hollis, with his party, irritated at success which had been so fatal to their own ambition, determined to break the army. But, as another must have been necessary under existing circumstances, we may safely conclude, that the object was merely to recover the sword into their own hands, and by new arrangements crush their opponents. Their violence and injustice, particularly of Hollis, exposed their scheme to unavoidable failure. The principle on which they proposed to reduce the army—that there was no occasion for a military force now that the war was closed—was palpably uncandid. The king's adherents were ready on the first opportunity to take the field. Without regularly embodying and exercising the trainbands throughout the country, till they were reduced to

perfect order, the dissolution of the military could only give rise to a new war, to the most imminent hazard of the parliament. It was evident, therefore, that the object was merely to disgrace and dissolve the present army that they might raise another. But it may appear so extraordinary that the Independent party, which had been so successful, should now be outvoted in the two Houses, after the success that had procured them the support of the people, that it will be necessary in this place to explain the cause. We may easily conclude that many who had voted for the New Model, out of fear that the Royalists would otherwise prevail in the struggle, were not now unwilling to see a fresh change in the military establishment. But this would not have been sufficient to counterbalance the increasing weight of Vane, Cromwell, and their friends. The real cause was, the addition of a great number of new members. Of these, many, no doubt, supported the Independent party; but, as in the western districts, from the state of property, a limited number of individuals led the country, and were devoted to the royal interest, so now, from the same causes, that quarter returned members who, though hostile to both parties, yet threw their weight into the Presbyterian scale as the lightest; and the number, particularly from Cornwall, being great, they enabled the Presbyterians in the Lower House to carry the measures against the army, contrary to the wishes of the community. Many peers, too, were allowed to compound with two years' rent for their pardon, and, having resumed their seats, gave their preponderance also in the Upper House; but the majority of both Houses forgot that they were not in a situation to pay up the arrears of the army; and the resentment of Hollis seems not to have been averse to the injustice. Upwards of twelve months' pay was due, and it was proposed to allow only that of seven weeks, and reserve the remainder to be settled after their disbanding. The soldiers, who pro-

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Disagree-
ment be-
tween the
parliament
and army.

bably believed that the object was to preserve funds for the payment of another army, naturally conceived this to be gross injustice; they could not be ignorant of the difficulties with which individuals should contend for wages, after having laid down arms; and as an act of indemnity was refused, they saw themselves exposed to prosecution from the civil power for what they had performed as soldiers; but it was intended to send a large proportion of them for the reduction of Ireland, and they objected to the service unless they saw a disposition to grant the proper encouragement. They alleged that they had not entered into the service of the state as mere mercenaries, but as citizens, not only deeply interested in the safety of the Commonwealth, but zealously determined to defend it; and that, had they been pure mercenaries, yet that which the service demanded could not properly exceed the original terms, which were understood to be limited to the English war. They, however, declared their readiness to embark, provided their arrears were paid, disclaiming all thoughts of mutiny; but representing strongly that it would be hard indeed if, after having served the public so successfully, they should be sent back to those trades which they had renounced for the common good, not only without reward, but even without the ordinary wages to which, as mercenaries, they were fully entitled. They petitioned also for relief to orphans, widows, and the maimed. Their feelings were the more strongly excited by the suggestion that some in civil offices had accumulated large fortunes, and even by a suspicion that the party in parliament hostile to them, purposely withheld their pay, that, by obliging them to live at free quarters, they might render them generally odious to the community, so that all classes might unite in calling for the disbanding.

When the petition in which they represented their grievances was presented, Hollis, who had long before

laid his plans for dissolving this army, that he and his party might recover command of the sword, hastily drew up on his knee a resolution, which, at a late hour, and when the House was thin, he procured the adoption of—that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and the vote brought with it the evil which it was pretendedly calculated to avoid. The soldiers lamented that this rash vote deprived them of their rights as citizens merely because they had saved the republic by their valour as soldiers, and a deeper spirit of discontent rapidly spread through the ranks. That it is ever dangerous for soldiers to interfere with the civil power, is an indisputable principle; but before parliament had resolved to proceed with rigour against the army, it ought to have satisfied the just demands of the military.*

Certain commissioners—Dacres, Sir William Waller, Major-general Massey, and Sir John Clotworthy, were sent by both Houses to the army to make propositions for the Irish war; and the army, on its part, appointed deputies to transact for them. The deputies having alluded to their grievances, which the commissioners assured them either had been, or would be, redressed, next adverted to the officers under whom they were to serve in Ireland, intimating that they desired such as they could confide in for talent. The commissioners answered, that both Houses had fixed on General Skippon as commander-in-chief, and the army seemed satisfied with him; but they remarked, that if the other general officers whom they were attached to—meaning Fairfax and Cromwell—were appointed, they would all go to a man. It would appear that a great portion of the army engaged in this service, but that several of the

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 185 *et seq.*; Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 97 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 428 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 243 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. vi. chap. xiii.; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 560 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. iii. pp. 9 *et seq.*, 16 *et seq.*; Berkeley's *Mem.* p. 11 *et seq.*

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chief officers were active in preventing such a dismemberment of the military force, while certain deputies presented to the parliament a vindication from the late charge of being enemies to the state, declaring that they saw designs entertained against them, and many of the godly part of the kingdom. Still, eight hundred and upwards of one regiment consented to go upon the expedition, and an ordinance of indemnity against civil actions, at the instance of many who wished to ruin a body of men whom they could not overthrow in the field, was passed. Others followed the example, and a negotiation was going on with the rest, whom it was resolved to disband, if they obstinately declined the service. Had any of the distempers been confined to the army, it is evident from this that they might have been easily quashed; indeed, it could not be supposed that a military body, so limited in number, could have ventured to cut themselves off from the other classes of the community, without any proper head or civil government; and, had they done so, they must have been quickly reduced; but as the two parties in the state—Presbyterians and Independents—were nearly balanced, and each had regarded the military force as subservient to its own ascendancy, it was not likely that the Independents were to yield to the sinister motions of their adversaries. In every case of this kind there will always be a numerous body who, not entering into the views of either party, but steering a middle course, occasionally throw their strength into the one scale, and then into the other, and at this time there might be many of this description. By a narrow majority had the Self-denying Ordinance, or the New Model, been carried; and it would not have been strange that, jealous of an army which had been so victorious under leaders of such a determined character as Cromwell, they should have desired a succession of commanders; and consequently the dismemberment of this army, whose victories had given them confidence and

union, and the appointment of a new body of military, which, though inferior in discipline, would, now that the king's forces were disorganised, be sufficiently qualified to keep down fresh insurrections; while the men, lately drawn from their civil employments, would not acquire the habits necessarily engendered by such a brilliant career. But, on the other hand, success had, with the nation at large, and even with a great portion of the parliament, given such a character to the Independents, that, as has been said, we must account for their being outvoted, to the great accession of new members, from the West particularly, who joined the Presbyterians, to overpower a party that had overcome them in war. The return of peers, on paying a composition, produced a similar effect in the Upper House; but the country in general supported the Independents, who—as they perceived that the object of the Presbyterians was their ruin, and that they would, after the dissolution of this army, and the levying of another, be enabled, by coalescing with the Scots, to bear down all opposition—set every engine to work to stir up the army to second their views. The military, therefore, thus encouraged, regularly appointed from every troop deputies, or, as they were called, adjutators (a word which has been converted into agitators), and were prepared to capitulate in an organised, and consequently a most dangerous, form. Ireton was understood to be the man employed to embody the complaints in writing, and the papers do credit to his talents. The fanaticism ascribed to the soldiery nowhere appears in these productions; and it is extraordinary that the military do not object to the Presbyterian establishment, but merely to the intolerance which accompanied it. With a limited presbytery they would have been satisfied; but this did not suit the ambitious views of the opposite party; and it is not unlikely that many urged on the distinction between ecclesiastics in order to render the difference irreconcilable. The most

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implacable enemy to the Independents was Hollis, who soon forgot, in discomfiture, the views he set out with, while he stood near the head of the triumphant party.

Some remarks which fell from Cromwell at this time were afterwards supposed to indicate the views of aggrandisement which he subsequently realised. He observed to Ludlow how unfortunate it was for them to serve a parliament or public body, as the strictest integrity no more secured them from obloquy, than the most meritorious service gained them reward; but that a general could at once both appreciate and reward merit. When, too, one of the petitions from the army arrived, and produced great dissatisfaction in the House, he remarked, 'These fellows will never be quiet till the soldiers pull them out by the ears.' What with his interest in parliament, and the great abilities of Ireton, joined to his own, he had, in this troubled period, when Ireton had become the organ of the soldiers, obtained an ascendancy beyond that of Fairfax himself; but it does not appear that the latter ever objected to the measures, and the documents under his own hand distinctly establish that, whatever might be his sentiments afterwards, they at this time did not fall short of those of Cromwell. Though that individual, however, might possibly now begin to entertain very ambitious views, yet the construction afterwards put on insulated remarks was probably erroneous, and a man of integrity, in calling to mind past occurrences, may, in his anxiety to discover some proofs of a latent purpose, allow his prepossessions to give a turn to words which they would not have borne, and even unconsciously to modify the words themselves. Most certain it is, that neither the statesmen who acted with him, nor the very officers who were engaged in the present business, suspected his designs. It is alleged, too, by the Presbyterian party, that he affected the utmost grief and indignation at the present proceedings of the military; but he appears

to have, at this time, steadily adhered to his party—indeed he could not otherwise have kept his ground—and his party were averse to the disbanding, which was intended to transfer the sword to the Presbyterians. At the same time, it is not unlikely that he both expressed and felt indignation at the first symptoms of mutiny: he might even expect to be sent to Ireland; but, as the rash and violent proceedings instigated by Hollis roused the soldiery and their supporters, so a fresh plot against Cromwell himself necessarily taught both him and his party that they had no security but in preserving the army. Hollis and the Presbyterian party, who had long aimed at his destruction, secretly concerted, before the appointment of adjutators, to send him to the Tower on a general charge of instigating the troops to mutiny—though without the knowledge of any particular fact which could justify such a measure—in order that they might the more easily break the army during his confinement; and he, having received intelligence of it, immediately departed for the camp, when his enemies forbore to show an intention which they could not execute. Having taken refuge with the army, he naturally, both for his own safety and that of his friends and party, zealously cooperated with the military, and thus the secret plots of his enemy Hollis, a second time recoiled upon their author.*

Thus matters proceeded, and an order was issued to disband the army, allowing eight weeks' pay instead of fifty, which was due; but the soldiery were, at the same time, charged with an intention of conspiring with the king, and certain intercepted letters to him from Ashburnham seemed to confirm the idea. That individual also advised his majesty not to close with the parliament at this juncture; for that, as peace had been concluded between France and Spain, leisure would be afforded to

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 211; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 195 *et seq.*

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foreign states to pour in 50,000 troops for the recovery of his throne.*

When the mutinous state of the army became terrible to the parliament, and particularly to the Presbyterian party, a proposal was made by Massey to raise another army immediately, in order to disband the present troops by force; while petitions from various quarters for an immediate accommodation with the king were encouraged. Each party now evidently hoped, by a coalition with the monarch, to obtain ascendancy in the state; and as the military believed that, unless they prevented it by a decisive step, they should see him at the head of a fresh army, through a coalition between him, the Cavaliers, and the Presbyterians, they formed the resolution of frustrating such a purpose by taking possession of his person. According to this resolution, Cornet Joyce, with a party of 500, proceeded to Holdenby House and demanded his majesty from the commissioners. They, amazed at the demand, asked by whose authority it was made? Joyce and his brother officers replied, by the army, and insisted on being admitted to Charles. Access having been allowed, his majesty put the same question, and received a similar answer. He obtained an assurance, however, of personal protection, and then retired to rest. Next morning the king again demanded by what authority he was to be carried away; asking, at the same time, for Joyce's commission; Joyce pointed to his soldiers, and told him these were his commission: Charles smilingly remarked, 'that it was as well a written one as he had ever beheld—a company of handsome proper gentlemen as he had seen a great while.' Accompanied by the commissioners, he then proceeded to the army. The military excused themselves for this act by alleging that they had received intimation of a design to surprise the king, and declaring that they could not be contented with

Joyce
seizes upon
the king's
person and
carries him
to the
army. June
3, 1647.

* Rush. vol. vi. ch. xiii; Hollis's *Mem.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 428 *et seq.*; Ludlow; Hutchinson; Whitelocke, p. 248.

the payment of arrears, unless they were assured that their present enemies should not be their future judges. In the meantime a guard was put upon Charles by Colonel Whaley, for the purpose, as it was said, of preventing a new war.*

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The city of London having begun to raise a force for the purpose of opposing the army, the latter determined to march towards the metropolis; and a long petition, which struck directly at the authority of both Houses, was presented from Fairfax and his soldiers, to purge the parliament.

Matters had now arrived at such a crisis, that the army, supported by a great proportion of the community, began regularly to dictate to parliament in affairs of government—as, that the representation should be more equal; the present parliament quickly determined, and another appointed, while a biennial law should be passed to secure a frequent change. They also insisted that the Lower House should be purged of those malignant members who had opposed the parliament during the late war; and they brought a charge against eleven members, of an attempt to overthrow the rights of the people, and for that purpose unjustly to break the present army, and raise a fresh one. These were Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols. Hollis complains loudly of the general nature of the charge against him; but whoever dispassionately considers his conduct towards Cromwell will confess that he complained with a peculiarly ill grace. To meet the present storm, the Presbyterian party mustered all their force; and as the common council of London supported them, matters seemed to tend to a second war.

Charge by
the army
against the
eleven
members.

The proceedings of the army had been conducted with uncommon ability; and their moderation, in so far as

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 503 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 250 *et seq.*; Berkeley, pp. 11-13.

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moderation was compatible with their interference at all, was remarkable. Their professions for public liberty, too, were great; and, while their friends were numerous in all quarters, several counties, as Bucks, openly declared approbation of their conduct. They, therefore, advanced to St. Alban's, with a manifestation to approach to London itself; and though some of the impeached members were for meeting the issue, yet, as the rest insisted they should all retire, they complied. Far from attempting further opposition, the parliament proposed an act of oblivion; and the common council, abandoning their measures, addressed them in the character of arbitrators in the state. The new levies were laid aside, and fresh commissioners were sent to treat. By an ordinance of 4th May, the militia of London had been transferred from the Independent party, of whom the late lord mayor was one; but it was now restored to the former commissioners. Having been thus gratified, the army obeyed an order not to advance further. But, soon after, tumults were fomented, and a large body of the seditious having entered the Lower House, forced it to vote at their pleasure. The members of the Independent party now conceived themselves no longer safe; and the speakers of both Houses, attended with nineteen members of the higher, and a hundred of the lower, went to the army at Hounslow Heath to demand its protection. The military rent the air with acclamations, and gave to this body the respect due to both Houses of Parliament.

Tumults force a great party, with the speakers, to leave the houses of parliament, and take refuge in the army. July 26, 1647.

Proceedings in their absence.

The members who had not seceded now met in either House, conceiving that this was the time to carry those measures in which they had hitherto been frustrated by the Independent party. Mr. Pelham was elected speaker of the Lower House; Lord Willoughby of the Upper. The eleven members who had been forced to retire in consequence of the charge against them by the army were recalled; and with little opposition was it voted, that the king should come to his parliament with honour;

freedom, and safety ; and that the order which had passed on the 24th for putting all land forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax, gave him no power over the trained bands or garrisons. They appointed a committee of safety, in which were included the eleven members, with powers to grant commissions to commanders of horse and foot. They voted that the commanders of the city militia should be empowered to punish all who did not repair to their colours, and that the master and assistant of the Trinity House should arm all the seamen whom they could find. Massey was appointed general, and he immediately summoned all the reformadoes, &c. then fit for the occasion, measures having been taken to form them into regiments. Disposed to carry his new commission to its utmost height, he immediately attacked the inhabitants of Southwark, who petitioned to be put under separate command, as well as others who petitioned for composing matters, and wounded and killed several. But this tumult was short-lived : the army marched to the city, and resistance was abandoned. The common council likewise sent a message to Fairfax, that, as they understood the object was to restore the secluded members, they were ready to concur in the measure. The general answered, that a declaration lately published, wherein the soldiers were charged as the authors of the present confusion, should be recalled ; that the impeached members should be deserted, and the militia relinquished ; that the forts and line of communication, and other forts, should be delivered up ; that the new forces should be disbanded, and the other works demolished ; that the guard should be withdrawn from the parliament, and such a guard of horse and foot as he thought proper to appoint be received within the lines ; and lastly, that his army should be allowed to march through the city without interruption. These demands were not to be resisted ; and such was the excellent discipline of the army, that in its march through the city it did not offer an insult to an individual.

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The army
marches to
London
and re-
stores the
members,
&c. August
6, 1647.

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The two speakers and the seceding members were conducted with great pomp to Westminster, where they resumed their seats. Measures of a very opposite nature from those lately adopted were now taken. The proceedings of the army were ratified, and Fairfax appointed generalissimo, with power to place and displace officers at discretion, as well as to annihilate the London militia. But matters did not terminate there. He was nominated constable of the Tower, with authority to name his deputies, and empowered to appoint a guard for the parliament. Thus, in their anxiety to escape from one evil, did the two Houses expose themselves to another. Fairfax was invited to receive the thanks of both Houses; a committee was enjoined to discover the persons concerned in the late tumults, and the promoters of the association declared against by the House on the 24th of July. They were likewise instructed to inquire who had raised any force in maintenance of that engagement. All reformed soldiers and officers were commanded to depart from London, and ordered not to come within twenty miles of the town. The 12th of August was ordained to be kept as a thanksgiving day for restoring the members without the effusion of blood, and a month's pay given to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, as a gratuity for their meritorious services. Acts of indemnity were passed in favour of Southwark, and the forces in Hertfordshire and Kent; while thanks for joining Sir Thomas Fairfax's army were bestowed upon them. On the other hand, Sir John Maynard and Sir J. Glyn were dismissed the Lower House for being accessory to bringing the restraint upon it. Sir John Gayre, the lord mayor, one of the sheriffs, and four aldermen, were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, while impeachments for levying war upon the kingdom were also voted against the Earls of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Lincoln, and Lords Willoughby of Parham, and Huntingdon.*

* Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 330 *et seq.*, xvi. p. 70 *et seq.*; p. 724 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. Whitelocke, p. 240 *et seq.*, 260 *et*

During this time the king was not idle ; and could he have only been steady to any one principle, with a resolution to make certain concessions, he might have succeeded in recovering a considerable share of power. Far from wishing to suppress monarchy at this juncture, the army would have restored him on better terms than the Presbyterians. The utmost personal respect was paid to him ; he was allowed to indulge himself in the English ritual, which was so strongly denied before ; instead of the seclusion under which he was obliged to live in the Scottish army, he enjoyed at all times the free access of his friends, while the Independent party also recommended great moderation towards the Royalists,* and every regard to the king's pretensions which was compatible with general liberty. Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham, who had been despatched by the queen to promote a firm union with the army, not only returned to the king, but resided constantly with him. Cromwell and Ireton were both anxious for a speedy accommodation ; and, as the former freely resumed his place in parliament after the removal of his adversaries, both he and his son-in-law used their influence there, as well as in the army, to accomplish the object. As the negotiations proceeded, proposals to the following effect were drawn by Ireton, to be laid before the king for his approval, previously to their being transmitted to parliament :—That there should be a law for biennial parliaments, or in other words, for summoning a parliament every second year ; and that,

seq. In page 248 the reader will find the motives of Hollis and his friends fully developed, and also the line of policy pursued by Cromwell and his friends (Rush. vol. vii. p. 738 *et seq.* ; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 450 *et seq.*).

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 192 *et seq.* ; Berkeley's *Mem.* p. 3 *et seq.* ; Hutchinson's *Mem.* vol. ii. p. 112 ; Herbert, p. 25 *et seq.* ; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. 441 *et seq.* Though a guard was put upon Charles, the reader must not suppose that he ever was, either at

Newcastle, Holdenby, or now, confined to any house. He was not only allowed the various amusements and exercises of bowling and the like, but rode about at his pleasure, while the guard kept at a respectful distance. 'Sir Robert Pye, a colouel in the army, now supplied the place of equerry, riding bare before him whenever he rode abroad' (Ludlow, vol. i. p. 193). He hunted too (Whitelocke, p. 267).

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after it had sat fourteen days, it should be adjournable or dissoluble at the royal pleasure ; but that a better appropriation of members to the numbers of the community should be adopted, and the freedom of elections fully provided for : that a council of state should be immediately appointed for such a term, not exceeding seven years, as should be agreed upon ; and that during their appointment the members should not be removable except for malversation ; that the king might, authorised by the advice of his council, summon a parliament betwixt the biennial parliaments, provided it did not disturb the course of biennial elections ; but that the biennial parliaments were to appoint committees, which should manage such business as might be committed by one parliament, at its rising, till the assembling of another. These proposals also vindicated the House of Commons from any proceedings against them by the Peers, and provided perfect immunity from any censure for what passed in the House : there was a provision, too, regarding the judicial power of the Houses, and that no pardon, after judgment, should be granted by the king without the consent of parliament. It was provided also that grand jurymen should be appointed according to a division of the counties, instead of being eligible at the discretion of under-sheriffs. That the militia, with the power of raising money for its support, and everything regarding it, should be under the power of parliament for ten years, and that, in the meantime, a sufficient fund for the support of the present establishment should be provided, and commanders be immediately nominated : that the great officers of state should be nominated by the first biennial parliament, and should continue under the nomination of parliaments for the next ten years, after which, on any vacancy, three should be named, of whom his majesty should choose one. But it was particularly provided that none of the Cavaliers, or such as had borne arms against the parliament, should be eligible for five years : that all declara-

tions against the Parliamentary party should be recalled ; and that grants of peerage since May, 1642, should be made void, while no peer should be thereafter created without the consent of both Houses. The ordinance for taking away wards was to be confirmed ; the cessation with Ireland declared null ; and the prosecution of the war transferred to both Houses. All coercive power and jurisdiction were to be withdrawn from the ecclesiastical courts, as well as the authority of bishops ; and ministers paid by a mode less oppressive than by tithes. But episcopal government did not seem to be altogether objected to, and it was provided that the Covenant should not be enforced. There were some minor provisions stipulated for ; but the number of persons excepted from pardon was reduced to seven, unnamed, and that more with a desire to imply the justice of the cause, than to inflict punishment on their opponents.*

These propositions were much milder than those which had been tendered to Charles before the commencement of the war ; when Denzil Hollis, who now denounced the Independent party as anti-monarchical, as levellers of ranks, and subverters of every constitutional principle, was not only active in promoting the harshest terms, but declared that he abhorred the very word accommodation. Never, it has been well remarked, were terms so mild proposed to a conquered prince, and (though it is easy to conceive that the military commanders might abuse their trust) nothing short of them could have secured the safety of those who so lately opposed him.†

But, far from yielding to these terms, Charles only meditated a fresh war upon his people. Different parties courted him, and he flattered himself always that, while he ran no risk either in his person or regal dignity, he might, with the assistance of one, subdue the rest, and

* Berkeley's *Mem.* p. 32 *et seq.* ; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 737
Rush. vol. vii. p. 731 *et seq.* ; *Old et seq.* ; Whitelocke, p. 269.
Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 210 *et seq.* ; † Berkeley's *Mem.* pp. 29-32.

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rise on the wreck of all. The Presbyterians, dreadfully alarmed that peace should be concluded by any party but themselves, were busily intriguing with him, while the Scottish commissioners, to gain him, secretly promised great assistance. And at this time, according to Clarendon, was laid the foundation of the famous Engagement.* Nor was Ireland overlooked. Great had been the changes and events in that unhappy isle. The Marquis of Ormond had been constrained to abdicate the government to the two Houses ; but he had not done so without preparing the grounds of his return as king's lieutenant, and having now visited England by permission of parliament, and obtained access to Charles, he readily entered into the royal designs, promising mighty Catholic aid from his resumption of the high place he had resigned. Lord Capel was instructed by Charles that, as war was probable between England and Scotland, he must be on the watch to raise the Royalists for the vindication of that pure unmixed cause for which hostilities had been first commenced.† His prospects seemed now better than ever : the army itself was ready to fall into pieces ; but his own multiplied intrigues lost all.

Charles himself, finding that he was courted by all parties, and being misled, on the one hand, by the suggestions of Ashburnham, and on the other by the representations of the Presbyterians, who, alleging that they could soon break the army, pretended to despise it, not only rejected the proposals, but personally offended the officers. In vain had Berkeley urged that never was a crown so near lost offered to be restored on such easy terms ; that with regard to the exception from pardon of seven unnamed individuals, it ought not to form an objection, since his majesty could at least make their situation com-

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. v. p. 478 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* pp. 475 *et seq.*, 521 *et seq.* ; and compare with what he says on Ormond's own authority in the year 1653, in a short view of the

state of Ireland, p. 64 *et seq.* The misstatement in the last is decidedly contradicted by that in the first, doubtless on fuller information.

fortable beyond seas; and that he ought to esteem it an important matter, that the army had not positively insisted on the abolition of episcopacy, since the late ordinance, unratified by him on a conclusion of the treaty, would fall, and the old law of itself restore the hierarchy.

When the proposals were formally tendered to him for his approbation, before they were transmitted to parliament, he, not only to the amazement of Ireton and the rest, but even of Berkeley, to whom we are indebted for the information, 'entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses,' saying that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, as he repented of nothing so much as of his consent to the bill against Strafford, and that he must have a special article in favour of episcopacy, or of the church as it had been established by law. With the first they were sufficiently displeased, and as for the latter, they answered that it was not their province to propose the re-establishment of the hierarchy; that it was enough for them to wave that point, and they hoped it was enough for his majesty, who had waved it in Scotland. He replied, that 'he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and *repeated often*, you cannot do without me, you fall to ruin if I do not sustain you.' They looked with astonishment on Ashburnham and Berkeley, and the latter, as much as he durst, on the king, to check this imprudent conduct; but the infatuated prince would take no notice of it, 'until,' says Berkeley, 'I was forced to step up to him, and whisper in his ear, "Sir, your majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of, and since your majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it also from those men too."' Charles then changed his tone; but it was too late: Rainsborough and others, who were the coldest in the negotiation, stole away from the meeting, and inflamed the army with the intelligence. 'Sir,' said Ireton to him on another occasion, 'you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean

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to be so between you and the parliament.' The king afterwards remarked, 'I shall play my game as well as I can.' The other replied, 'If your majesty have a *game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.'

It is extraordinary that no experience could teach Charles and his advisers the great truth, that the leaders of a party are merely the organs for expressing its sentiments. But the mistake is the less to be admired in them, from the general adoption of it by historians. Ashburnham refused to treat with the adjutators, calling them senseless fellows, and declaring it as his opinion that, provided the leaders were gained, the army must follow.*

Hollis and his friends, whose eagerness to crush Cromwell previous to the Self-denying Ordinance had obliged him to push on a change in the military establishment with the utmost resolution, again fell into the same fault. Imagining that, could they sever him from the army, they might easily reduce it, and consequently overwhelm him, they secretly concerted to send him, by a vote of the House, to the Tower, upon a general charge of exciting mutiny in the army:† and it is rather amusing to observe the language of Hollis in regard to the general charge against himself at the instance of the army, when he would have thus proceeded against Cromwell, without proof of any particular which could warrant the measure. Finding that, in the present posture of the Lower House, he had no security there, Cromwell secretly went to the army, which he most heartily joined for his own safety. To save themselves and their party, Ireton and he were exceedingly anxious for accommodation with the king; yet so cautiously did they proceed, that the military, who also desired an agreement with Charles, were offended at their slowness in the business, and, on that account, even suspected them of want of sincerity in the negotiation. Never had the misguided monarch a better

* Berkeley's *Mem.* pp. 14-29 *et seq.*

† Ludlow's *Mem.* vol. i. p. 195 *et seq.*; Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 111.

opportunity to recover his throne ; but as nothing short of unconditional restoration to power would satisfy him, he soon perceived that Cromwell and Ireton were unapt instruments for such a project. He had no confidence either in them or the other officers, except Major Huntingdon, who had been a creature of Cromwell's, because they showed a backwardness in accepting of favours from him,* and was displeas'd that though Fairfax kissed his hand, neither Cromwell nor Ireton, whose carriage was respectful but distant, seem'd disposed to that mark of loyalty.† Yet, as they still negotiated with him, after the disgust taken by Rainsborough and his friends, and earnestly, as members of the Commons, urg'd the House to accede to the monarch's desire of a personal treaty on the proposals of the army, after he had rejected the propositions of parliament, they fell under a violent suspicion of a design to compromise the general cause for their own selfish ends. The famous John Lilburn, now lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, having been committed to Newgate for publishing a seditious book, was confin'd in the same cell with Sir Lewis Dives, the brother-in-law of Digby, who, conceiving it to be for the king's advantage to sever Cromwell from both parliament and army, zealously infused into the mind of his fellow-prisoner suspicions of his having been bought over, as if he had received his intelligence from his friends about the king ; and Lilburn daily published pamphlets on the subject. As nothing could be more fatal to the ambitious hopes of the Presbyterians than an agreement between the king and the army, they most eagerly inculcated the charge ; and Cromwell himself told Berkeley that he had traced a story to the Countess of Carlisle, a Presbyterian—that he had been promised the vacant title of Earl of Essex, and the post of commander of the guard ; and that her ladyship had

* This, which rests on the authority of Berkeley, appears to me decisive ; and we may easily judge what credit is due to the charge of

Huntingdon against Cromwell, and his statement after the Restoration (Berkeley, p. 17).

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 52.

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alleged she had received her intelligence from Berkeley himself. By Berkeley we are assured of the groundlessness of the story; but it answered the full object of the inventors, in inflaming the public mind against Cromwell, and also against his son-in-law, Ireton, who was likewise alleged to have been bribed, by a promise of the lieutenancy of Ireland.

While they had thus fallen under a general suspicion of betraying the cause, they discovered that Charles was himself intriguing for their destruction, as well as to involve the nation again in blood. 'Cromwell himself,' says Clarendon, 'expostulated with Ashburnham, that *the king could not be trusted*; that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the Presbyterians of the city to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation again in blood, and therefore he would not be answerable if anything fell out amiss.* It is remarkable that Clarendon, far from denying this charge against his master, confirms it by his own relation of affairs. According to Ashburnham himself, both Cromwell and Ireton told him all this, affirming that they had both the king's and the queen's letters to establish the facts, 'which were grate allayes to their thoughts of saving him, and did verie much justifie

* That Cromwell and Ireton, as well as Fairfax, seriously desired accommodation till they saw through the king's treachery, cannot, I think, be doubted; but I conceive that it is sufficiently clear, from this and other matters, that Cromwell was true to his principles at this time; and that Mrs. Hutchinson's account, that he would not stoop to dissimulation at this juncture, is quite correct. Even Berkeley informs us that the story of the earldom was an invention. Indeed, the parliament had passed an ordinance for making him a baron, with

2,500*l.* a-year; while Fairfax's father was to be created an earl. Clarendon's testimony is in unison with Berkeley's in this respect. Denzil Hollis only refers in support of his to an anonymous pamphlet, and probably the production of Lilburn, who was purposely misled by Dives (Berkeley, p. 39 *et seq.*). Baillie, the divine, writes on 13th July, 1647, to his kinsman, that 'no human hope remains but in the king's unparalleled wilfulness and the army's immeasurable pride' (Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 483 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 258).

the generall misfortune he lived under, of having the reputation of little faith in his dealings.'

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Mutiny in
the army.

In the meantime, the suspicion against Cromwell and Ireton, who had been a little before accused of slowness by the army, was now so violent, and the indignation of the soldiers at the king's intrigues so great, that a spirit of mutiny, and desire of a republican form of government, rapidly spread through the ranks; and part conceived the idea of carrying through their designs without either king or parliament. These were called Levellers; but though their enemies industriously tried to impute the absurd project of equalising property, all that they ever proposed was to withdraw the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy, particularly in legal proceedings. They, however, desired, as an inherent right of the people, that the parliament should end in September next, and the first biennial parliament begin; that the representatives of the people, whose power should only be subordinate to that of their constituents, should be equally chosen, according to a fair arrangement of the population, and have full authority in all matters of legislation, peace, and war; but that they should have no power over the consciences of men, or to impress any individual into the service of the state. Whatever, in the abstract, might be said of the propositions thus drawn down, either in whole or in part, the mode in which that portion of the army which entertained them was disposed to act, threatened that ruin to the army which Charles had relied upon. By a coalition with the king, the army might, acting with a party in parliament, have forced the remainder into compliance, as, by the support of the parliament, they could subdue the king; but the idea of standing alone, without the support of either, or even of any considerable portion of the people, could not fail to prove fatal. Besides this, however, the greater part of the army, though it might be poisoned with the notion of Cromwell and Ireton's treachery, was disposed to adhere to the

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parliament; and, therefore, the other portion, had the soldiers concurred with the adjutators, which, generally speaking, they did not (for the adjutators spoke their own language rather than that of their constituents), must soon have been obliged to succumb. The madness, too, with which Lilburn's regiment had proceeded, prognosticated general dissolution. The soldiers had driven away all their officers above a lieutenant, except a Captain-Lieutenant Bray.—This insurrection dreadfully alarmed Cromwell and his party, who perceived the ruin with which it was pregnant; and he who had the greatest reason to suppress it, as it had arisen from a jealousy of himself, went down, at the desire of the Commons, to quell it. The general (Fairfax) and his council of officers ordered a rendezvous of a division of the army between Hertford and Ware: the regiments ordered were, of horse, the general's, Colonel Fleetwood's, Colonel Rich's, and Colonel Twisleton's; of foot, the general's, Colonel Hammond's, and Colonel Pride's. But, besides these, there appeared, contrary to orders, but by the seduction of the adjutators, Colonel Harison's and Colonel Lilburn's.

Mutiny
quelled at
the rendez-
vous.

When Fairfax and his staff entered the field, they observed Colonel Eyre and Major Scott to be extremely busy in stirring up the soldiers against the general. But he having 'expressed himself very gallantly at the head of every regiment, to live and die with them *for those particulars which were contained in a remonstrance read to every regiment*, they, notwithstanding the endeavours of Major Scott and others to animate the soldiers to stand to a paper, called the agreement of the people, generally, by many acclamations, declared their affections, and resolutions to adhere to the general; and as many as could, in the short time they had allowed, signed an agreement drawn up for that purpose, concerning their being ready from time to time to observe such orders as they should receive from the general and council of the army.' Eyre and Scott were then committed; and the latter, as a

member of the Commons, sent up to parliament: some inferior persons were also apprehended. But what had yet been done, appears to have regarded the regiments summoned to the rendezvous; and it was necessary to subdue the other two, of which each soldier had a motto in his hat, 'England's freedom, and Soldiers' rights.' Harrison's, after a stern rebuke by the general, owned their fault, tore the mottoes, and, with the rest, declared their resolution to adhere to him. The majority of Lilburn's, which had driven away their officers, also testified their contrition, and followed the example set them by the other; but a few refused compliance, and as an example in a regiment so mutinous was wished, three of them were pulled from the ranks (no difficult matter, when all the other regiments had come under such an engagement, and the majority of this had followed the example), and having been tried by court-martial in the field, were condemned to be shot. As one example, however, was at this time deemed sufficient, the three cast lots, and the individual on whom it fell to suffer was instantly shot at the head of the regiment. Several others were afterwards secured for trial to enforce greater awe.*

Charles was extremely anxious to await the result of this rendezvous, expecting that, in the general confusion, he might be joined by one party; but, when he found his intrigues all detected, and, in consequence, his followers restrained, and additional guards put upon himself, he determined to effect his escape—a proceeding which had

* Rush, vol. vii. p. 875 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 278; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 791; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 333 *et seq.* The far-famed exploit of Cromwell, as recorded by Clarendon, whose misrepresentations on this subject are extremely gross (*Hist.* vol. v. pp. 486 *et seq.*, 503 *et seq.*), dwindles down to little when the facts are stated; and it is

rather amusing to observe the remarks of Laing on this subject. One would imagine from them that the miraculous powers of Cromwell, who was not even general, could have forced the army not only against its own will, but in opposition to the commanders, the parliament, and all, into anything.

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been earnestly recommended by some of his advisers—that he might be ready to set himself at the head of the Scots, the Irish auxiliaries, and the Cavaliers whom he expected to rise in England. But it was a matter of deep consideration whither he was to proceed in the meantime. The Scottish commissioners had indeed made him promises, which, under certain circumstances, he confidently expected the fulfilment of; but he was perfectly aware that, however they might be disposed to restore him to power without any other condition than that of their own advancement, yet the great body of the people would, in the event of his taking sanctuary amongst them, immediately recur to the propositions which he had formerly refused, and which were infinitely harder than those tendered to him by the army. His hope of Scottish assistance depended upon their hatred of the Puritans, and their expectation of recovering more than their former influence in England; so that while the parties were mutually destroying each other, he might step in upon an exhausted country, and regain everything he had lost. He even at one time thought of going to London; and a vessel, which, however, did not appear, is said to have been expected upon the coast to afford him an opportunity of either proceeding to Ireland to set himself at the head of the Catholics, or of retiring to the Continent till the factions in Britain were mutually exhausted. He at last, however, determined on taking refuge in the Isle of Wight. Having resolved upon flight, he ordered relays of horses, and, on the evening of the 11th of November, 1647, escaped in company with John Ashburnham and Legge. In passing through Windsor Forest, in the evening, which was dark and tempestuous, they lost their way, and with difficulty recovered it; but having arrived next morning at the seat of the Earl of Southampton, Ashburnham and Berkeley, who had joined them, were dispatched to the Isle of Wight to intimate to Hammond, the governor, his majesty's resolution. Ham-

King escapes from Hampton Court, November 11, 1647.

mond was a confidant of Cromwell, having, through his interest, married the daughter of Hampden; and when the intelligence was communicated to him, his colour went, and a violent trembling shook his frame, while he exclaimed, in agony, ‘Oh, gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into this island, if you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come; for what between my duty to him, and gratitude for this fresh obligation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I shall be confounded.’ Berkeley, justly alarmed, wished to recede from their purpose while it was yet in their power; but Ashburnham, more sanguine, determined to persist; and they, therefore, endeavoured to prevail on Hammond to enter into an engagement, but he declined anything more explicit than the following: ‘That he was subject to the command of his superiors, but that he believed the king relied upon him as a person of honour; and he engaged to conduct himself as such.’ Charles had himself instructed his two servants to insist upon an engagement not to deliver either himself or his attendants up to parliament; and Ashburnham and Berkeley ought instantly to have left Hammond and returned to the king with the intelligence; but, instead of this, they agreed to carry Hammond to him. When they returned to Charles, and told him what had passed, as well as that Hammond was in attendance, he struck his hand upon his breast, and exclaimed, ‘Oh, you have undone me: I am now made fast for ever.’ Ashburnham now perceiving his mistake, burst out into passionate but vain lamentations, and proposed instantly to assassinate Hammond, who had not come unattended with military force. But, upon this, the king put a decided negative, remarking, that ‘the world would say that he had trepanned and taken the life of a man who had come upon his invitation to do him service.’ Hammond was therefore admitted; but he would do no more than repeat his general engagement to act honourably in the discharge

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of his duty; and Charles accompanied him to the Isle of Wight.

Measures
of the par-
liament on
hearing of
the king's
escape, &c.

The royal flight spread general consternation; and parliament immediately passed an ordinance threatening all as traitors, with loss of life and confiscation of goods, who harboured his person, without immediately revealing the circumstance to the two Houses; commanding the dwellings of all who had been engaged in the late riots, or who had shown hostility to the army, to be immediately searched, and all who had borne arms against the parliament to retire to the distance of twenty miles from London; and ordering, at the same time, all the ports to be shut. Letters from Hammond restored tranquillity; but a vote was immediately passed for confining the king's person in Carisbrook Castle.*

It was not the intention of Charles by his flight to break off correspondence with Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton, while he continued his negotiation with the Scottish commissioners, who were admitted to his presence. Sir John Berkeley was dispatched to the general and the other two, with letters from the king, and also from Hammond; but he soon perceived that nothing was to be

* Ashburnham's *Narrative*; Berkeley's *Mem.* p. 48 *et seq.*; Herbert, p. 36 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 488; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 214 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 324 *et seq.*; Cobb. vol. iii. p. 785 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, pp. 278, 279; Hutchinson, vol. ii. pp. 117, 118; Rush. vol. vii. p. 871 *et seq.* Peck, in his *Desider. Curios.*, has given, from a manuscript in Mr. Oudart's handwriting, a copy of a letter as from Col. Whalley to Lenthall, the Speaker, regarding the escape of Charles; in which a charge is made against Cromwell for having frightened Charles by a letter, which he desired Whalley to show the king, regarding some secret design which Cromwell had discovered for the assassination of his majesty; but we are not informed how Oudart got access to such a paper, which, though

intended for the House, was never read or alluded to there; and, as a charge of this kind was loudly made against Cromwell, and as stoutly denied as an impudent fabrication, it is quite clear that no such document ever existed, since it would have been triumphantly referred to at once by the enemies of Cromwell, whom the circumstance, along with Huntingdon's narrative, would have crushed. In vain, too, is it to allege that the Royalists had, at this time, no access to the document; for the Presbyterians so shortly afterwards received the preponderance in the Lower House, and in their anxiety to destroy Cromwell must have got hold of such a precious document. Besides, what became of the original? It must have been preserved to enable Oudart to copy it.

expected from that quarter. Fairfax, in a full assembly of officers, told him, that it did not become them to decide on such a business; but that the letters should be transmitted to the parliament, to which matters of that kind exclusively belonged. Cromwell and Ireton likewise gave him a cold reception, and treated the letters from Hammond with contempt. Berkeley informs us, that he retired to his lodgings full of mortification; but about midnight he received notice from a general officer, probably Watson, the scoutmaster-general, that Cromwell and Ireton were reconciled with the army, through the mediation of the famous Hugh Peters; that all idea of accommodation with Charles was dropt; and that there was even an intention to bring the king to trial.*

* We shall not withhold the information Berkeley says he obtained,—though there is every reason to believe either that he had been deceived, or that, as his *Memoirs* were drawn up for a purpose, he, whose faculty at invention was considerable, had embellished,—that the army was so indignant at the king, that a resolution was formed to bring him to trial, and that it was not even in Cromwell's power to save him; that, no doubt, at the late rendezvous, Cromwell had appeared triumphant, and that an opinion had thence been formed that the disaffection of the troops was quelled; but that this had entirely arisen from the decision with which Fairfax and he had acted, in taking the soldiers by surprise; that they themselves were not aware of the posture of things, as they imagined that the mutinous spirit was confined to a small portion; but that, as they had since discovered that two-thirds of the army were determined against a treaty with the king, Cromwell argued that the army would divide, when a portion would join with the Presbyterians, which would prove his ruin; and that, as his only chance of recovering his influence and popularity was by yielding to the current, directing what he

could not restrain, he immediately ordered the mutineers to be released from confinement, and, confessing that he had been misled by worldly views, declared that the Lord had now opened his eyes, and had, with the assistance of the famous Hugh Peters, made his peace. Herbert says that his informer conjectured the motives of Cromwell! (p. 69 *et seq.*) That Cromwell could not act without the army, and therefore depended on his popularity with the troops, is an unquestionable truth: but he had also discovered the intrigues of the king for renewing the war, and it was fortunate for him that the spirit of the army having taken this turn, enabled him to act against the king on higher ground, when he discovered that it was impossible to bind him to conditions. The propositions drawn by Ireton had accorded with the feelings of the bulk of the military; and it is evident from Berkeley's own statement that Cromwell had never agreed to any other. His character had indeed been aspersed with the charge of betraying his trust for his own promotion; and it was necessary to remove that imputation, which possibly Peters assisted in doing. This had arisen from his treating too long;

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The intelligence received by Berkeley did not deter him from sending a message to Cromwell, requesting an interview, as he had particular letters and instructions for him; but Cromwell declined a meeting, and it is alleged that he remarked he would willingly serve his majesty so far only as was consistent with his own safety.*

Berkeley having thus sounded the parties, immediately acquainted Charles that he ought now to take advantage of the freedom allowed him by Hammond to effect his escape; but the other, not presuming that his life was in the least hazard, disregarded the advice; and while he began a treaty with the parliament, he completed his engagement with the Scotch commissioners. To both Houses he proposed a personal treaty, offering to restrain the power of the bishops, and to resign the militia during his reign; to transfer to the parliament the appointment of the great officers of state; to take away for a valuable consideration the courts of wards and liveries; to pass an act of oblivion, and to pay up the arrears of the army: but his great object was a personal treaty. Upon this the parliament sent four propositions, with notice that, upon his agreeing to these, he should be admitted to the personal treaty he desired. By the first of these

Treaty
for peace.

but he had now discovered the intrigues of Charles, and he would most likely assign his credulity as the cause of having so long continued the negotiation. Had he avowed other ends, he could not afterwards have been trusted; and the fact would have been handed down to us on indisputable authority. Ludlow, who was sufficiently inflamed against that individual, takes up the story from Berkeley, with the history of whose memoir he was unacquainted. But had it been true, Ludlow must have learnt it elsewhere; and Hutchinson and others, whose accounts contradict it, must have been aware of it. When the royal artifices were seen through, such as had never wished accommodation would now

have taken the lead in the present temper of the soldiery had Cromwell attempted to coalesce unjustly with Charles. Berkeley and Ashburnham followed different interests, instead of co-operating; and stories were industriously circulated against the first that he was a Presbyterian, in order to produce alienation from him in the army (*Id.* p. 19.; see *Clar. Hist.* vol. v. pp. 446 *et seq.*, 489 *et seq.*; see an account of Berkeley's *Mem.* p. 82.) They were written expressly to be handed about among his friends. Ashburnham wrote a narrative also (*Ib.*; see character of Berkeley in Supplement to 3rd vol. of the *Clar. Papers*, p. 74; see also Ashburnham's *Narrative*).

* Berkeley's *Memoirs*, pp. 75, 76.

propositions, the militia was to be vested in parliament for twenty years, with the power even after that of resuming it whenever they conceived it necessary for the public good. By the second, the king was to recall all proclamations against the parliament, and acknowledge that it had resorted to arms on just and necessary grounds. By the third, he was to annul all acts, as well as patents of peerage, from the time the seal was taken away from London. And, by the last, parliament was to have the full power to adjourn at pleasure. It is singular that these terms were more severe than those which had been tendered by the army, and more lenient than such as had been offered by both kingdoms during the king's residence at Newcastle; and yet that, during his stay at Newcastle, the Presbyterians had taken the lead in the negotiation. The republican party, as it was afterwards styled, were anxious that he should reject the terms; for they dreaded, that if once restored to his place, he would burst every fetter, and, having regained that power which he formerly usurped, glut his vengeance with the ruin of his present conquerors. They were not mistaken in his character, considering what passed at the very moment with the Scotch commissioners. In conjunction with them, who protested against the terms as inconsistent with the Covenant, he, to gain time, affected to change the propositions, and substitute others; and particularly proposed that his acknowledgment of the justice of the parliament's cause should only be effectual in the event of the treaty being successful. His contract with the Scotch commissioners, in the meantime, was reduced to writing, and having been wrapped up in a sheet of lead, was buried by the king in the garden, for it was suspected that the commissioners might be searched on their departure from his majesty—that it might on their return to London be conveyed to them. By this contract, commonly known by the name of the Engagement, he agreed to confirm the Covenant; to establish the Presbyterian church govern-

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ment for three years, till it should be either revised, or another prepared by an assembly of divines; to concur with them in extirpating the sectaries, and in consequence the present army; and to give to Scotland the advantages of England in a commercial view, while he admitted them to share in the honours of his English subjects. These terms, it was supposed, would so reconcile the Scots, that an army might be raised; but it was fully understood that there was no purpose to keep the conditions: the understanding was, that Ormond should, availing himself of circumstances, return to Ireland—which had been the scene of great events—and having concluded a peace with the Romanists, bring the Catholic resources to the aid of his master, while Mouru should return with the Scottish forces still in that country, and the Royalists in all quarters fly to arms. In such a predicament it was hoped that the army might be modelled according to the royal directions, and the sword once again fairly transferred to his own person, thus enabling him to resume the power he had lost.*

Charles determined on an escape from the Isle of Wight, in hopes, according to Ashburnham, of getting to France, where he might wait advantageously the promised army from Scotland—in other words, be ready at the fit juncture to set himself at the head of his force. Availing himself of the liberty allowed him to ride about at pleasure, he was prepared to embark in a small vessel properly stationed for the purpose of transporting him to France. But the wind shifted suddenly, and continued adverse so long—six days—as to render the measures impracticable. To conceal his purpose and delude the commissioners from the parliament, he delivered his answer to both Houses sealed up; but they refused to receive an

* Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 324 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 526 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 32 *et seq.*; see also immediately

preceding letter, p. 24 *et seq.*, and several subsequent ones from p. 42; Berkeley's *Mem.* p. 80 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 230.

answer in such a manner, and they saw through his latent purpose. After some contention, Charles disclosed the purport of his answer, and they abruptly departed. An attempt was made at this time to rescue him by open mutiny, but, as it failed, it only revealed the designs meditated: the chief mutineer, Captain Burley, was arrested; the guards upon the king redoubled, and many of his attendants soon dismissed; while Colonel Rainsborough, now appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, was ordered to station his ships near the island, to block up all access by sea.*

It is impossible to excuse the conduct of Charles on this occasion. His arbitrary government had inflicted the utmost misery on his kingdoms, and driven the people to arms in defence of their privileges. The appeal had been decided in favour of the parliament, and yet again did he determine to plunge the nations into all the horrors of civil war. It is indeed extraordinary that any historian should perceive magnanimity in such conduct. Nor is it enough to say, that the unfortunate Charles was reduced to a situation so much more humiliating than that of his predecessors, since his own conduct, in open attempts to overturn all law, had rendered restraints upon his prerogative, which the welfare of the state in former ages had not required, now absolutely necessary; and after being defeated with the loss of so much blood in his illegal projects, he ought to have considered restoration to his throne, on any terms, a proof of moderation. The historian to whom we have so often alluded, has ventured to represent the custody of Charles as of the severest and most uncalled-for kind, and the conduct of the governor as insolent and overbearing, while he has accused the parliament of having deceived the people as to his treatment and his cheerfulness. But we learn, even from Herbert, his

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 347 *et seq.*; *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 799 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 278 *et seq.*; *Clar. Hist.* vol. v. p. 510 *et seq.*; *Herbert*, p. 39 *et seq.* See *Ashburnham's Narrative*, in addition.

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attendant, and who, as one of the keenest Royalists, published an account of matters during this period, that every means were adopted to render his restraint as comfortable as was consistent with securing his person; that, till the month of February, he had full liberty to ride about at his pleasure,* while his attendants were freely admitted; that, about the middle of February, long after the vote of no more addresses, and after some attempts at an escape, many of his attendants, as Legge, who had been engaged in the army-plots, and Ashburnham, who had been planning the means for the king's escape, were, along with the royal chaplains, ordered to leave the island; that, after this, he was not allowed to go beyond the lines, which were very extensive, 'and sufficiently large and convenient for his walking and having good air,'—but that a neat summer-house, which commanded a most beautiful prospect, was erected; that a large garden was converted into a bowling-green for his amusement, Hammond himself having almost daily waited on him to join in the recreation; and that, in consequence of this individual's unremitting respect and attention, his own fidelity to his employers began to be suspected.† The grand charge against him by Royalist writers was that he would not betray his trust by conniving at the king's escape.‡ To Ludlow we are indebted for an anecdote of what occurred at this time, descriptive of Charles's character:—that he one day was observed to take great delight in throwing a bone to two dogs—that, in their struggle for it, he might typify the contention of parties for himself.§

* Ashburnham's *Narrative* fully supports this, p. 120.

† Herbert, p. 39 *et seq.* Hammond was the nephew of the king's chaplain, Dr. Hammond (Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 490).

‡ See Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 489 *et seq.* Major Huntingdon, forsooth, did affirm, after the Restoration, that

Mr. Ashburnham did intend the king should go to the Isle of Wight before he left Hampton Court (*Id.* p. 495); but though the major could be believed as against Cromwell, he obtained little or no credit in this instance. Ashburnham's memory is now so far completely vindicated.

§ Ludlow, vol. i. p. 232.

No sooner was it understood in parliament that the clandestine treaty had been concluded with the Scots, and that Charles had attempted to escape in order to set himself at the head of another army, than many of those who had hitherto been anxious for accommodation no longer supported him : a resolution was therefore taken to send no further addresses to him ; and a declaration against him, detailing the various miscarriages of his reign, was drawn up. It sets out with the secret treaty with Spain, and then narrates what had occurred relative to the prosecution of Buckingham on the charge of having given the late king a posset, &c., which caused his death. In regard to this, the charge is given exactly in the original words : the simple fact is stated, that Charles proposed, by his own testimony, to vindicate the character of his servant ; and that, upon parliament's persisting in their purpose of impeachment, the king, to frustrate the object, dissolved the parliament ; when Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot were, for managing the impeachment, imprisoned in the Tower. After this simple statement of facts follows this concise remark : ' We leave the world now to judge where the guilt of this remains.' We have already delivered our sentiments on this subject ; and we shall only remark here, that though we believe Charles to have been innocent, yet, that his conduct in regard to Buckingham was throughout so like absolute infatuation, that he had little cause to complain of conclusions against himself, when he so pertinaciously denied inquiry into a charge stated with the utmost circumstantiality. The declaration also adverts to the miscarriages at the Isle of Rhee and at Rochelle ; the blood shed in England and Scotland to enforce Popish ceremonies, if not to introduce Catholicism itself ; the instructions to Cochran to make gross misstatements to the court of Denmark, in which he, with the utmost indelicacy, falsely accuses the parliament of an intention to impeach his mother's chastity (a thing of which they never dreamt),

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Vote of no more addresses, January 4, and declaration, February 11, 1648.

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that they might disinherit her offspring—all done for the purpose of engaging that kingdom to assist him with arms to prosecute a civil war. The plots against the parliament, the Irish rebellion, &c., were all enumerated, as well as his various acts of dissimulation; which last we particularly mention, as it alone ought to have prevented Mr. Hume from stating that the charge of insincerity against this monarch was brought after his death. To this declaration Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, published an answer in the name of Charles without authority. But it was subsequently approved of by the monarch.

The army seemed now to enter heartily into the principle of supporting parliament to change the government; and petitions to the same effect were received from various quarters; but, in the meantime, the adherents of Charles were not idle in preparing their party to rise in different quarters, that they might join the Scots and Irish.*

Scottish
affairs pre-
paratory to
the inva-
sion of
England
under Ha-
milton.

The people of Scotland, predisposed against the English parliament, impatiently awaited the arrival of their commissioners, who had, it was believed, though they were not authorised to treat, at last induced the monarch to agree to terms consistent with their principles and the

* *Clar. Life*, vol. i. p. 244 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 483 *et seq.*; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 831 *et seq.*; *Ludlow*, vol. i. p. 231 *et seq.* Clarendon says 'that Cromwell, before this vote, declared the king was a man of great parts and understanding, faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without; but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted. And thereupon repeated many particulars whilst he was in the army, that his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: that whilst he professed, with all solemnity, that he referred himself wholly to the par-

liament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament' (*Hist.* vol. v. p. 519 *et seq.*). From Clarendon himself we learn that the charge was true; and yet the imputation of insincerity against Charles was of a later growth than his own age. But Clarendon does not defend him against it. No; because he acknowledges its truth. Other charges, he says, of such abominable actions as had never been heard of were brought forward (*Ib.*).

supposed benefit of their country. The commissioners were, themselves, men admirably calculated for the royal designs. Lauderdale, the chief of them, had commenced a keen covenanter, but Charles had succeeded in his conversion. His temper was dark, gloomy, sycophantish, and violent; his designs, the offspring mainly of unprincipled ambition. Lanerick, like his brother the Marquis of Hamilton, veered about from one principle to another, steadily influenced by a desire of self-aggrandisement alone; while Loudon, the chancellor, plunged in pecuniary difficulties, was easily seduced from his integrity by a bribe.

But, before proceeding further, it may be necessary to present a picture of the state of parties at this time in Scotland. There were three, which were known under the names of the Rigid Presbyterians, the Moderate Presbyterians, and the Royalists. The first, who were headed by Argyle, were supposed to incline to a republic, and were at all events determined never to restore monarchy, except on certain conditions; while a great proportion of them approved of bringing Charles to the scaffold, though they abhorred the sectarian instruments by which it was accomplished.* This party embraced a small portion of the chief aristocracy (Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, Lothian, Arbutnot, Torphichen, Ross, Balmerinoch, Cupar, Burreigh, Balcarres, and it soon obtained the accession of Loudon, the chancellor, who, disgusted at the violence of the Hamiltons, returned to his principles, and others followed), the far greater part of the clergy, and the majority of the middling and lower ranks, particularly in the western counties. The second, headed by the Hamiltons, did not nominally differ much from the first, except as to the last point; for they affected to adhere to the Covenant, which necessarily denied authority to the monarch till he complied with the terms prescribed for his readmission; but as the party was chiefly composed of the aristocratical

* Baillie's *Lct.* vol. iii. p. 114.

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portion of the community, of whom many had been actuated by the hope of places in England, they were now willing to restore the monarch unconditionally, from the prospect of sharing the favours which they presumed would be due to those who rendered so acceptable a service, while they conceived that they might themselves, in reality, preserve much of the power which they pretended to recover for him. The third party were the Royalists, who avowed the purpose of restoring Charles to unmixed despotism, and were now headed by Traquair and Callendar.*

In the first triennial parliament, all the influence of the Hamiltons failed to accomplish their object of receiving Charles into Scotland unshackled. But, when that unhappy prince was seized by the army, and the friends of the Presbyterians, of the Scottish particularly (Hollis and others), were driven from the parliament, and the fear was that the sectaries would either agree with the king, or dethrone him, and in either case establish themselves in power, the Marquis of Argyle, who adhered to Vane, sank in influence, and afforded his enemies an opportunity of depressing him still more, by charging him with a purpose to raise himself to the chief magistracy. Other circumstances strengthened the impression, and as elections for the second triennial parliament approached, the Hamilton interest, which was supposed at the time to be more favourable to the hope of constitutional monarchy, rose to that height, that their friends prevailed so much in elections as to obtain a preponderance. This parliament first met on the 11th of March, 1648.†

When the English commissioners returned to Scotland, the bulk of the people, entertaining the idea that the sectaries might be subdued, and the king restored accord-

* Burnet's *Mem. of the Hamiltons*, p. 336; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 73-4; Baillie's *Lct.* vol. iii. pp. 9 *et seq.*, 13, 23, 24 *et seq.*, 32 *et seq.*, 42 *et seq.*

† Baillie's *Lct.* vol. iii. pp. 9 *et seq.*,

13, 23, 24 *et seq.*, 32 *et seq.*, 42 *et seq.*; *Scots Acts*, lately published, vol. vi. p. 289; Walker's *Appendix to Independency*, p. 8; Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 526 *et seq.*

ing to the Covenant, eagerly inquired into the terms of the Engagement; but the discerning at once perceived how treacherously the commissioners had acted. They declared that the king had given satisfaction, yet refused to disclose the terms, alleging that they had come under an oath of secrecy; but though this succeeded with a parliament so well selected for the object, it did not with the population at large. Argyle's party, particularly the clergy, foresaw the consequences:—That, as the terms could only be concealed because they were either in themselves hostile to the Covenant, or were never intended to be observed; so the king, who had refused to make the requisite concessions to the Presbyterian government in his lowest fortune, would never yield to the conditions in the hour of triumph, unless the army were composed of men that could be relied on, as resolved to force him into their measures, or substitute another who would be obedient. But that, as the old Earl of Leven was, by ill usage, obliged to renounce his place, that Hamilton might have the chief command, and the Royalists were to join him; while the subordinate commands were generally bestowed on those who would not deem the Presbyterian government a primary object, the army could easily be modified to the royal wish, when all the laws enacted for the security of the subject would be abrogated as extorted, episcopacy re-established, and the Presbyterians, with their leaders and clergy, exposed to the monarch's vengeance.

The clergy therefore, in their assembly, opposed the Engagement, and the pulpits resounded with anathemas against its authors and abettors; but the parliament passed bloody laws against those who should attempt to frustrate their intended invasion of England, and provided for the impressment of troops. On the one hand, the poor people were threatened with terrible temporal penalties for disobeying the parliament; on the other, with eternal damnation if, by obedience, they violated the

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Covenant. But the clergy soon found, to their grief and mortification, that an army could be raised without them: yet a part of the soldiers were impressed into the service; and not only were insurrections raised against the present proceedings, but Argyle was prepared to take the field on the absence of the new levied army. To obtain the advantage of some experienced commanders, and give character to the expedition, it was proposed to bestow a command on David Leslie, and some other great officers; but though they were at first disposed to accept of the places assigned, they afterwards yielded to the persuasions of the clergy to renounce all part in such an expedition. They were probably not a little moved by the chief command having been obtained by Hamilton.*

When a nation is determined on war, it never fails in a pretext. A vote was passed in a committee of danger, as it was called, which had been appointed by the parliament, to seize Carlisle and Berwick; but the protest of Argyle and his friends in parliament, and the interposition of the church, stopped the measure till a pretext for the act was obtained. The two English Royalists, Langdale and Musgrave, concerted with them to seize Carlisle and Berwick, and it was immediately alleged that the vicinity of these Malignants rendered the general levy necessary. According to the pacification, neither country was to begin war against the other without due premonition, and full time for explanation or redress; and, in compliance with this, Hamilton and his party made three requisitions to the English parliament: that the sectaries should be suppressed, the king recalled, and the army disbanded. To requisitions so extraordinary, nothing but

* Baillie's *Let.* vol. iii. pp. 9 *et seq.*, 13, 23, 24 *et seq.*, 32 *et seq.*, 42 *et seq.*; Burnet's *Memorials*, p. 336 *et seq.*; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 44 *et seq.*; Guthry, p. 209. It would appear that several of Argyle's party, or Argilians, as they were called,

were turned out of parliament, as having been elected by faction, &c., and the Royalists, who had been candidates, substituted as the duly elected (Guthry, p. 213). This arose from the peers sitting in the same house with the other estates.

a refusal was expected, and fifteen days only were allowed for explanation; after which the estates publicly declared that they meant to restore the king according to the Covenant, and adjourned. Part of the army was recalled from Ireland, under the younger Monro, now Sir George, but levies were vigorously opposed by the church, and there were even risings to oppose them; but these were soon quelled; and as the soldiers were drawn out by force, it was evident that they either must be inefficient in war, or become the tools of a few leading men. But even the officers were jealous, lest the success of the English Royalists should give them the ascendancy, and therefore slackened the preparations, that they might be of more importance when the others began to sink under the war. The retardment would have been pregnant with the ruin of the cause, had there otherwise been a great chance of success, as the English insurrections were almost quelled before the Scottish army could take the field.*

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In South Wales the great body of the people knew nothing of the English tongue; and as the gentry, under whose influence they were, inclined to the royal side, a considerable army was speedily raised to oppose the parliament, but it was soon defeated by Colonel Horton. In order to prevent Cromwell, whose genius was dreaded equally by the Royalist and Presbyterian parties, from having a command, his former creature, Major Huntingdon, whom of all the officers Charles reposed greatest confidence in, because he accepted of his favours, laid down his commission, assigning as his reason, that Cromwell had offered to the king to destroy the parliament, and join with any party to support him; and that he had latterly changed his policy for the same purpose of exalt-

Insurrec-
tion in
England,
&c.

Charge
against
Cromwell
by Hun-
tingdon.

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. : *Burnet's Mem.* p. 339 *et seq.* ; *Baillie's Let.* vol. iii. p. 283 *et seq.* · *Scots Act* lately pub-

lished, vol. vi. ; *Rushworth.* vol. vii. p. 1005-47 ; *Guthry,* p. 214 *et seq.*

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ing himself, while he had professed principles absolutely hostile to the parliament. But though this charge was zealously taken up by Hollis and his party, after their return to the Lower House, (Cromwell was alleged to have said that he conceived himself as fully qualified to govern affairs as either Hollis or Stapleton,) it was so vigorously opposed by the Independents, including many who entertained no favourable opinion of him, that it was overborne.* His first measures were directed against Poyer and Langhorn. Poyer had been in the parliament service, and, as one of their officers, entrusted with the custody of Pembroke Castle, which he now declared his resolution to hold for the king. Of a dissipated character, he, while sober in the morning, expressed the utmost penitence towards the parliament; but, inebriated in the evening, he was full of plots in favour of the opposite party. Some of Langhorn's regiment had joined Poyer; and Langhorn, shortly after his defeat by Horton, followed himself. But they were speedily shut up there by Cromwell, who determined to reduce the place.†

Lord Goring, now created Earl of Norwich, had gone to Blackheath, expecting to be joined by a great party from London; but a tumult in the metropolis having been

Earl of
Norwich's
insurrec-
tion.

* See Huntingdon's charge in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 94; also in *Parl. Hist.* See also his relation made to Dugdale after the Restoration, published with Herbert's *Memoirs*. That both contain much truth, there can be no doubt: but that there is an immense mixture of falsehood, may easily be ascertained by collating the two, and comparing them with Berkeley's *Memoirs*, &c. (See Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 253, 254; see a former note about the small credit given after the Restoration to a charge by Huntingdon against Ashburnham). Cromwell, some little time before this, at a secret meeting, declared that he was

not resolved against monarchy, and that that form of government, or an aristocratical or democratical one, might be good in themselves. It was at this meeting, where nothing was determined or spoken of against the king's person, that he threw the cushion at Ludlow's head (Ludlow, pp. 238-40). The statement by Clarendon regarding a council held at Windsor a few days after the king's flight from the army, where he alleges it was determined to bring him to trial, must therefore be unfounded (vol. v. p. 514 *et seq.*).

† Rush. vol. vii. pp. 2017, 2033, 2034 *et seq.*, 1110 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 293 *et seq.*

suppressed, those in the city who had undertaken to join him durst not venture out; and he, with about five hundred of his principal men, escaped to the opposite side of the Thames. Disappointed in Kent, he yet raised a considerable party in Essex; but the parliament having offered an indemnity to deserters, while they thundered penalties against those who continued obstinate, thinned his ranks; and though he still retained four thousand soldiers, he was defeated, and soon shut up in Colchester. Fresh troops were drawn out by the parliament from various shires, and sent in different directions. Fairfax was dispatched against this party. He was at the time so ill of the gout as to require one of his feet to be bandaged; but his buoyant spirit was as little inclined to yield to the indisposition of the body, as his dauntless resolution was to be dismayed by danger; and while he was ready to bear all the fatigues of a campaign, he always exposed himself in the hottest of the fight. Wherever he went he was victorious, and he now sent a trumpet to Colchester, to summons the Earl of Norwich and his associates to surrender; but that individual and his chief officers replied by a trumpet, that they would cure him of the gout, and all his other diseases—an insult which equally enraged the soldiery and the general, and for which the others dearly suffered.* But before we give an account of the siege of Colchester, we shall take a review of proceedings in other quarters. The Earl of Holland, who, with that inconstancy of temper that distinguished his public conduct, had raised another body against the parliament, was defeated by Scroop, and obliged to surrender on the bare condition of being safe from military execution.† In Lancashire, Colonel Robert

Earl of
Holland's
insurrec-
tion, &c.

* Rush. vol. vii. pp. 976, 1055, 1113, 1128 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 308 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 50 *et seq.*

† Whitelocke, pp. 317–320; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 5 *et seq.*, 39 *et seq.*, 95 *et seq.*; Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1187.

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Lilburn, the brother of John, had with six hundred engaged one thousand, headed by Sir Richard Tempest, and either taken or destroyed them, without the loss of a man.* Another party was defeated by Colonel Rositer, near Pontefract, and one thousand horse, nearly their whole body, with all their bag and baggage, taken.† Lambert, who was sent to meet Hamilton, as well as to suppress Langdale and the others, gained considerable success over the latter; ‡ while Cromwell, having reduced Pembroke Castle, where we left him, dispatched some of his troops to join Lambert, and prepared to follow himself.

Hamilton's
invasion
from Scot-
land.

For the command of an army Hamilton appears to have been totally unqualified. Monro, who had been recalled from Ireland with three thousand men, followed at a great distance, lest he should be under the command of the Earl of Callendar; and Hamilton himself did not form a junction with Langdale, either through jealousy of him, or fear of disgusting his own men. An army thus disjointed, derived little advantage from numbers. So defective was Hamilton's intelligence, that Cromwell fell upon Langdale at Preston, before he (Hamilton) suspected the approach of more than a detachment; and in a short time the whole army was put to a disorderly rout by forces scarcely a third of their number. This victory was followed with fresh success, which, however, was accompanied by the death of a parliamentary officer, Colonel Thornhaugh, one of the most gallant men of the age. Finding himself mortally wounded, he felt only interest in the overthrow of the enemy, and expired with joy when victory was announced. After this defeat Hamilton retreated; but Cromwell, still following up the blow, utterly dispersed the army at Warrington, where Hamilton, with many

Defeated
at Preston,
August 17,
1648.

* Rush. p. 1175; Whitelocke, p. 317.

† Whitelocke, p. 318; Rush. vol. vii. p. 1182 *et seq.*

‡ Rush. vol. vii. p. 1148 *et seq.*

thousand prisoners, fell into his hands. The fugitives met with little quarter from the country people, in consequence of the atrocities of which they had been guilty; children having even been forced from their parents, that money might be extorted for their redemption. Sir George Monro, who had been behind, and kept his force together, had resolved on firing the coal-pits on his retreat; but news having arrived that Argyle with Leslie had raised an army of from six to ten thousand in support of the Covenant, and consequently against the interest he espoused, he hastened back to Scotland, carrying everything he could before him.*

Cromwell marched to Scotland, and knowing how to act his part, immediately joined with Argyle, and affected all moderation: he renewed the Solemn League and Covenant, and easily got the Engagement rescinded. Now was the time for the Scottish clergy to triumph in turn. How contrary to their views the Engagement had been entered into, and the army raised, we have already related; and it was not to be expected that they should allow the present opportunity of humbling their adversaries to slip. Though the chancellor, Loudon, disgusted by the violence of Hamilton, had previously abandoned the Engagement, his early repentance did not satisfy the church any more than it did his own lady, who being a zealous Presbyterian, and having a great ascendancy over him in consequence of having brought him the estate, threatened to divorce him for his manifold adulteries unless he submitted to the penance enjoined him by the clergy. Placed upon the repenting stool, in his own parish church, he received a rebuke in the face of the whole congregation, and the scene is represented as having been a most affecting one.

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Cromwell
enters
Scotland,
&c.

* Burnet's *Mém. of the Hamiltons*, p. 354 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. vii. p. 1193 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 321 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 71 *et seq.* (about

Monro, pp. 50 and 89); Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 159 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Lct.* vol. iii. p. 50 *et seq.*; Guthry, p. 235 *et seq.*

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With many bitter tears he deplored his departure from the Covenant, and solicited the prayers of the congregation in his behalf. The whole people, at such a refreshing sight, were dissolved in tears of joy.*

Revolt of
part of the
fleet from
the parlia-
ment.

Colonel Rainsborough, whose father had been an eminent naval commander, and who was himself bred to that line, having been appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, was set on shore by the mutinous sailors: and many of the ships revolted from the parliament, but several of them were afterwards brought back by the Earl of Warwick; and the vigorous measures of the parliament soon made up the deficiency of those which were not recovered. It is strange, that no sooner had the Cavaliers obtained these ships, which the Prince of Wales and Rupert entered, than they broke out into the most ruinous contentions for superiority.† The known principles of Rainsborough excited such a rancorous spirit of revenge in the Cavaliers, that though defeated in one dastardly attempt at his

Assassina-
tion of
Rains-
borough.

* The feelings of the moderate Scottish clergy are exemplified in the following letter by Baillie, dated August 23, 1648. After showing that there was a probability of the army under Fairfax being destroyed, he proceeds thus: 'That the cursed army of sectaries should evanish in smoke, and their friends in the houses, city, and country, be brought to their well-deserved ruine; that the king and his family should be at last in some neerness to be restored to their dignity and former condition, I am very glad; but my fear is great, that his restitution shall come by these hands' (the Hamiltons, &c.), 'and be so ill prepared, that the glorious Reformation we have suffered so much for, shall be much endangered, and the most that shall be obtained be but ane Erastian weak Presbyterie, with a tolleration of Poperie and Episcopacie at court, and of diverse sects elsewhere' (Baillie's *Lett.* vol. iii. p. 51

et seq.; see Hamilton's *Mem.* p. 367 *et seq.*). N.B. The word Whig, as designating a party, arose from the west country men who joined Argyle, called Whigamores (Guthry's *Mem.* p. 238 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 339 *et seq.*; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 91 *et seq.*, 26 *et seq.*; Scot of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State of Scotch Statesmen*; Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 171 *et seq.*). In a manuscript of Wodrow's which I have seen, giving a violent history of Archbishop Sharpe during his life, it is said that he was at first for the Engagement; but finding that it was not a politic game, he furiously brought all his parishioners to the repenting stool, who had in the least inclined that way. Ludlow (p. 253) shows great knowledge of Scottish affairs.

† *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 23 *et seq.*; *Rush.* vol. vii. pp. 943-944, 952, 1131; Whitelocke, p. 308; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 896.

assassination, they soon afterwards succeeded in another no less cowardly and unprincipled.* In the South the Royalists had been equally unsuccessful. Colchester, after a gallant defence, surrendered on the 27th of August. Quarter was allowed to the privates, and officers under the rank of captain; but the rest surrendered at the mercy of the general. Three of the prisoners—Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Charles Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne—were tried almost immediately by court-martial, and condemned to be shot; but the sentence was only executed on the two first. Lucas, who was at the outset much dismayed, urged that this was without precedent; ‘but a parliament soldier standing by, told him he had put to death with his own hand some of the parliament soldiers in cold blood.’ When he engaged in this insurrection, he was a prisoner on parole, and Fairfax had, in the beginning of the siege, bitterly reproached him, when he proposed an exchange of prisoners, for such a dishonourable breach of faith. Whitlocke, however, informs us, that these rigorous proceedings were in no small degree imputed to the message about curing the general of the gout, and all his other diseases.† Lucas finding his fate inevitable, strung his nerves for the occasion, and met it with intrepidity. He had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, according to Clarendon, and was brave in his person, gallant in action, but of a poor understanding, and so rough, proud, and morose as not to be lived with. During this very siege, as the noble historian informs us, he rendered himself more intolerable than any evil they either felt or had reason to apprehend. He suffered first; then Lisle, whose education had been the same, and whose gallantry was no less conspicuous, but whose manners formed an absolute

* Rush. vol. v. pp. 1279, 1315. Mrs. McAuly remarks, that Clarendon, to his eternal infamy, applauds every circumstance of the foul unmanly

deed (vol. iv. p. 402; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 119 *et seq.*).

† Whitlocke, p. 312.

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contrast. Having kissed the dead body of Lucas, ex-
posed to no purpose with the general, and had much
conversation with one of Lord Norwich's chaplains, Lisle
died with equal resolution. The other prisoners of rank
were reserved for the justice of the parliament.* This
siege, which had tied down Fairfax, and was on that
account greatly calculated on by the Royalists, being
finished, he proceeded to other quarters to quell the in-
surgents.

State of the
parlia-
ment.

As many officers of the army had in the late elections
become members of the Lower House, their absence on
duty during these disturbances so weakened their party
in parliament, that their adversaries took advantage of
the opportunity to attempt a recovery of their authority.
The impeachments against the peers and the members of
the Commons were dropt, and the secluded members
restored.

Policy of
Charles.

The object now was to conclude a hasty treaty with
the king, that, with the name of parliament joined to the
royal authority, they might regain the ascendancy; and
so feasible was the plan, that, could Charles have for
once determined to act ingenuously, and have made the
requisite concessions, it is not impossible that he might

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 101 *et seq.* (ac-
cording to the real text as corrected
by the notes below, but see on whole
subject p. 99 *et seq.*). The proceed-
ing against Lucas and Lisle, accord-
ing to Clarendon, 'was generally
imputed to Ireton, who swayed the
general, and was upon all occasions
of an unmerciful and bloody nature.'
The injustice of the charge here
affords an example of the injurious
imputations against Ireton's mem-
ory. Whitelocke ascribes the mea-
sure to the revenge of Fairfax him-
self; and he (Fairfax) not only
justified it in a letter to the parlia-
ment, but in his own memoirs.
Hume says, 'Fairfax, instigated by

Ireton, to whom Cromwell, in his
absence, had consigned over the
government of the passive general,
&c.' Fairfax assisted in the Resto-
ration, and that was an excuse for
all his previous faults: but his de-
fenders, as Clarendon, Hume, and
others, certainly adopt a notable
mode of vindicating his memory, by
making him (who was a man of
eminent talent) the passive tool of
others in anything they stigmatise
as atrocious. Such a being could
have no more moral character than
an unhappy inmate of a lunatic asy-
lum (Whitelocke, p. 312 *et seq.*;
Rush. vol. vii. p. 1152 *et seq.*; *Old
Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 430 *et seq.*).

have saved his life and recovered his throne; but a naturally obstinate temper had become riveted to his purpose by adversity, and as he still apprehended no danger to his person, he yet expected by force of arms to restore himself to absolute power. In vain was it urged, that, before the overthrow of Hamilton and the Cavaliers, was his time for accommodation; that great part of the Parliamentary army, if they were not absolutely brought over, might be neutralised by such an event, while throughout England the people would oppose a force that must nominally at least fight against king and parliament. He fondly flattered himself that the Scottish army, joined to the Cavaliers, would be triumphant; and, under pretext of desiring a negotiation, he determined against concluding a treaty till he saw the result. Even then his prospects were not closed, as, independently of hopes from the conflict of parties that had opposed him, he had formed the idea of escaping to Ireland, and setting himself at the head of the Irish insurgents. During his stay at Newcastle, all the entreaties of the queen and his lay advisers to yield to the Presbyterian establishment had utterly failed, and nothing could move him to accede to the less rigorous propositions of the army; but he had now become surrounded with advisers who approved of his resolution. These were ecclesiastics (Sheldon, Hammond, and others), who, having lost their livings, were hostile to any arrangement that should for ever exclude them from power. Lord Clarendon, too, encouraged him by letters to the same course. Exempted himself from pardon by all the propositions, he founded all his hopes of being restored to his country, and rewarded by the crown, on a steady refusal of accommodation, which, however fatal it might prove to his present master, would, he flattered himself, ultimately be triumphant in the person of the prince. It therefore appears, by his private correspondence, that he deemed it better that the king

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should fall a victim to his principles than yield to his enemies. In the clash of parties he expected that the successor would be recalled unshackled, but thought that if what he supposed the best jewels of the crown were once renounced, they might never be recovered.*

Treaty of
Newport.

Though Charles had resolved against complying with the propositions tendered to him, he was too deep a politician not to pretend to entertain them. Three bills were tendered to him preparatory to a treaty—to settle church-government and the militia, and recall all proclamations and declarations against the parliament. These occupied much time; and Charles agreed to the latter, by which he owned the justice of the war against him, but he did so with equivocation, and likewise under a protest that it should only be obligatory in the event of the treaty being completed in other respects. This wasted much time, and a treaty was afterwards ordained to be held at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, whither Charles was removed; but it did not begin till about the end of September, when commissioners from the parliament went down. The treaty embraced the old points of the militia, the church, and Ireland. With regard to the first, he affected an inclination to proceed further than could have been anticipated. The parliament demanded it for twenty years, and he proposed to allow it for ten; but in a short time he even agreed to renounce it for twenty, and this point was voted to be satisfactory. He also agreed to allow the parliament the power of nominating the great officers, first for ten years, and afterwards even for twenty. But, as we shall soon find, the object was not to conclude a treaty on such conditions, but to spin out the time, and so to overreach the adverse party, that they might relax their vigilance in guarding him, and thus afford him an opportunity to escape. Assured that he could break off

* *Clar. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 341 *et seq.*, particularly p. 411.

the treaty on the religious grounds, he was anxious, too, by such apparent concessions, to inculcate the idea that he was restrained from accommodation by conscientious motives, and not by a desire of power. Regarding religion, he proposed to pass an act confirming the sitting of the assembly of divines, and establishing the directory of worship, together with the Presbyterian government, for three years, provided neither himself nor those of his judgment should be obliged to conform; but that, in the meantime, the assembly of divines, to whose number he insisted on adding twenty, should determine upon the future government of the church, and the form of worship. He afterwards agreed to give up archbishops, deans, and chapters, but not bishops. Parliament had sold the bishops' lands to defray the expenses of the war, as well as to prevent the recurrence of that species of establishment; but he positively refused to confirm the sale, though, as some satisfaction to the purchasers, he agreed to grant leases on lives, or for ninety-nine years, at the old rents. It is not so wonderful that he should have refused to take the Covenant, and have hesitated at exceptions from indemnity. But as the Presbyterian party, in point of church-government, were so extremely rigorous that they even still denied toleration, there was, on this head, no hope of concluding a treaty. With regard to Ireland, he indeed proposed to annul the peace concluded by Ormond, and said that, after advising with his two Houses, he would leave the prosecution of the business to their determination; but when pressed to disavow the acts of his lieutenant in that kingdom, he gave such evasive answers, that they were pronounced unsatisfactory.*

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. pp. 892, 893 *et seq.*; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 904 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 316 *et seq.*; *Herbert*, p. 69 *et seq.*; *Sir Edward Walker*, p. 7; perfect copies

of all Votes, &c., relating to the Treaty at Newport; *Peck's Desider.* &c. ix. p. i. *et seq.*; *Ludlow*, vol. i. p. 254 *et seq.*

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In the concessions, including those to the three propositions which Charles had made, he was insincere, his object being twofold: to amuse the parliament, till he should ascertain the fate of his military projects both in Scotland and England; and to induce the parliament, in confidence of an accommodation, to be so negligent about guarding him, that he might effect his escape. He therefore writes to Ormond, that though he were engaged in a treaty, yet, lest Ormond might be misled by false rumours, he apprised him that there was no chance of an accommodation. 'Wherefore,' says he, 'I must command you two things: first, to obey all my wife's commands; then, not to obey any public command of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for they will come to nothing.' We may in passing remark, in regard to this letter, that it fully proves the continuance of that principle which, he said, during his residence at Newcastle, he had learned from divines—that no promise by a man under restraint was obligatory; and it may just be asked, Upon what principle any agreement with the parliament could be in a better predicament? He had formerly, according to his noble advocate, passed bills on the ground that a fatal nullity attached to them in consequence of the parliament not being altogether free when they were voted (a resolution which, though Clarendon could not defend, Mr. Hume does), but assuredly the objection applied with tenfold force now. The letter just quoted was dated on the 10th October (1648); and on the 28th of that month he fully confirms it, and proceeds thus: 'This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you; likewise to command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall, under my own hand, give you other commands. And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely

to be concluded, yet believe it not, but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all my friends, but not in a public way, because it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin.* He, in the meantime, carried on a correspondence with Sir William Hopkins, regarding a ship to convey him from the island; and his letters to that individual fully prove the want of candour with which he was negotiating with the parliament. 'To deal freely with you,' says he in one of his letters to Hopkins, 'the great concession I made to-day was merely in order to my escape, of which, if I had not hopes, I had not done. For then I could return to my straight prison without reluctance, but I now confess it will break my heart, having done that which nothing but an escape can justify.'† Yet Charles had given his parole not to leave the place.

* Append. to Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. ii. p. 17.

† Ashburnham's *Narrative*; Letters subjoined to Wagstaff's *Vindication*, 3rd ed. pp. 142-161, 9th Oct. Hopkins resided opposite to Newport. Hume, upon the authority of Colonel Cooke's *Memoirs*, states that, so extremely honourable was Charles, that though he might have effected his escape, he would not so far violate his word. The letters quoted show the utter groundlessness of the statement, and set the character of this unhappy prince in a very different light. But what shall we say to another statement of Hume, that all Charles's attendants were excluded from his presence when he negotiated with the commissioners, and yet that such were his transcendent abilities, that he fully matched all his antagonists? It is true that, according to Clarendon, Hume's own authority, the parliamentary commissioners did insist, as a matter of form, on their exclusion; but it is as true, according to the

same authority, that the king was attended by the most eminent divines, as well as great lawyers; that it was arranged with the parliamentary commissioners, that these should be placed behind a curtain, that, though absent in point of form, they might fully hear the whole debate, and that the king on every difficulty might retire to consult with them (*Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 156 *et seq.*). Even this, however, was a mistake, for both Herbert and Warwick, who were present, inform us that they stood behind his majesty's chair. The latter says they were not allowed to speak. The former, in one page, gives us to understand the same thing, and mentions that Charles answered all the commissioners, who were many, without any discomposure. But from what he says in the preceding page (*N.B.* See Walker's Notes at the end of his discourse: there had been a vote against Hammond and Sheldon, 28th June, 1647, but it must have been now silently allowed to fall), I con-

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Hollis and some others, upon their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, besought him to comply while it was yet time; but they did it in vain. When matters disappointed his hopes in England, he fixed them steadily on Ireland, where Inchiquin, having revolted from the parliament, had reared a standard for the king, and the Catholics, notwithstanding a severe defeat by Jones, the parliamentary general, were still powerful. The unhappy monarch had involved himself in so many intrigues, that he could not move a single step without perfidy, and thus convincing all who were acquainted with his measures of the utter insecurity of any agreement with him. To Glamorgan and the pope's nuncio he had, in the most solemn manner, imprecating the divine vengeance if he failed, pledged himself to pursue certain measures. Yet the concessions even proposed by himself in the present treaty not only involved a complete departure from all those engagements, but would necessarily have exposed the Catholics to the utmost perils for having relied on his promises.

In the meantime all England was subdued, and Cromwell, after his success in Scotland, was on his return to the South.

By not complying in time, Charles sealed his own doom. No party now could trust him, and that which had gained the ascendancy could only secure its own safety

Situation of Charles, and views of the Independent party.

ceive that he wished to magnify the king's talent by a small pious fraud. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsay, and several others of the nobility, attended him. Of the clergy there were Drs. Hammond, Duppel, Sheldon, (see what Clarendon says about Sheldon being 'clerk of his closet,' *Life*, vol. i. p. 243,) Juxon, Holdsworth, Sanderson, Turner. Of lawyers, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Vaughan, &c. (Herbert, pp. 70, 71; see pp. 72, 73; Warwick,

p. 332). Even Warwick says that Charles retired to consult, either when he wished assistance himself, or any of his attendants desired to suggest or debate anything. The papers in the royal name have been supposed by Laing the king's production, though Charles had so many able advisers about him, and Herbert expressly gives us to understand that every paper was drawn by them. The verses in Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, alleged to have been written by Charles in Carisbrook Castle, are a palpable forgery.

by his removal. An idea had been entertained by some, that if the inferior offenders were brought to the scaffold, the grand delinquent should not be permitted to escape; and the principle of self-preservation recommended the notion, not only to the party which had, by this fresh conquest, obtained the reins of government, but even to another, provided it should be equally successful. Yet, Ireton and some others then argued only for deposing Charles, and placing the crown on the Duke of York, who had not been, like his elder brother, so conspicuously in arms against the parliament. This moderate course, however, was soon abandoned. From what they had already seen and suffered, they could not but anticipate fresh insurrections in his favour, even though they should confine him strictly to a prison. It was conceived that the act of holding out to the people at large, that no misdeeds of his could bring his existence into hazard, inspired that train of thinking which was just calculated to recommend him in fresh adventures for the recovery of power; and it was fully believed, that, impose upon him what conditions they might, they could not effectually bind him, since he had fully evinced by his past conduct, that by no ties was he to be restrained; and, in the present unsettled state of the nation, he could never find difficulty in raising up a body to take a perfidious advantage of the false security of those with whom he had entered into an accommodation. But this idea became still stronger, from a somewhat prevalent conviction that Hollis and his party were now determined to break the army with almost any sacrifice, even that of the principles on which they had undertaken the war. The question then appeared to them to be—Were all those who had successfully waged the war, and suffered so many privations on their account, to be exposed as victims of regal fury, through the treachery of part of that assembly that ought to be the guardian of public rights? Was every principle on which the war was undertaken to be

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renounced, and, in observance of the form of the legislature, the substance to be for ever lost? Thus the re-admission of the excluded members, and the spirit which they showed in favour of the king now, so very different from what they formerly both expressed and acted upon, proved fatal to him, and led to that violence upon the parliament which created so great a revolution in the state. That many of the great actors in this business were men of upright characters and patriotic views, cannot be justly questioned; and it is not easy to determine how men under such circumstances ought to have acted; but, on the other hand, it is evident that the army, being thus used as an engine of government, was, in the most alarming degree, taught its own superiority. The parliament was, indeed, entrusted for the public good, but the army was employed by it; and when it was brought forward to act in opposition to the power that raised it, the civil government seemed ready to pass over to the military.

Ludlow tells us, that, in this exigency, he went directly to the general, and insisted on his interposition; but he (Fairfax), though he acknowledged the justice of Ludlow's representation, as to the sinister motives of many members; the utter impossibility of treating with the king, as he would not conceive himself bound by any conditions; and the necessity of coercing the parliament, if it dared to conclude a treaty—was irresolute; and Ludlow applied to the general's great friend Ireton, (Cromwell was not yet returned from Scotland,) to use his influence over him. Ireton agreed with Ludlow regarding the necessity of such a proceeding, provided the parliament should conclude a treaty with the king: but he expressed a wish to afford them an opportunity to testify such a barefaced breach of trust as he conceived that to be. Ludlow argued, on the other hand, that were the peace once concluded, the country might be deceived by the cry, that the army obstructed a settle-

ment to preserve their own power, and Ireton was sensibly moved by his representation.* Nothing forcible, however, was yet resorted to; but a large remonstrance was presented from the army, not only signed by Fairfax himself, but accompanied with a letter by him to the Speaker, in which he declares it to contain his own opinion as well as that of the council of officers. In this remonstrance the various miscarriages and crimes of the king, many of which had been judged capital in his predecessors, and the fruitlessness of the treaties, are detailed: his fraud, hypocrisy, and revenge are dwelt on; and the impossibility of binding him by any conditions, fully stated: whence it is inferred, that accommodation with him would be destructive, that parliament had sufficient cause to resume the vote of non-addresses, and at once refuse the king liberty to return to London, or right to have any share in the government: it was insisted on that delinquents should no more be bargained with, or partially dealt with, and that they, though the penalties upon them might be moderated on submission, should neither be protected nor pardoned by any power whatever. They at great length show the necessity of bringing the king, as the prime cause of the innocent blood, rapine, mischief and spoil of the kingdom, to justice. ‘How far,’ say they, ‘the public justice of the kingdom can be satisfied, the blood, rapine, &c., avenged or expiated, and the wrath of God for the same appeased, without judgment executed against him—and, consequently, how far an accommodation with him, implying a restitution of him, when God hath given him so clearly into your power to do justice, can be just before God or good men (without so much as a judicial trial, or evident remorse appearing in him proportionable to the offence)—we thus recommend to your saddest and most serious consideration, who must one day be accountable

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Remonstrance of
the army,
&c.

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 262 *et seq.*

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for your judgments here on earth, to that which is highest and most just.' They therefore propose 'that the capital and grand author of our troubles, the person of the king, by whose commissions, commands, or procurement, and in whose behalf, and for whose interest only, of will and power, all our woes and troubles have been, with all the miseries attending them, may be speedily brought to justice, for the treason, blood, and mischief he is therein guilty of.' Secondly, That a day should be set for the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, (the duke had lately, through a contrivance of the king's, escaped from his keepers,) to come in, when they might either be pardoned or proceeded against, as they gave satisfaction. Thirdly, That public justice might be executed against some capital promoters of the war. Fourthly, That the rest, upon submission, should have mercy for their lives. Fifthly, That the soldiers might have arrears paid them out of delinquents' estates. Sixthly, That a period should be set to this parliament, and a more equal representation be made in the new; that the representatives of the people having been elected according to rules which they projected, should be the supreme power; and that no king should thereafter be admitted but upon election by the representative, and in trust for the people; that the government should be established by the present parliament, as the general contract and agreement of the people, whose subscriptions should be appended, while neither king nor any other person should be admitted to power without subscribing. These things the army pressed as beneficial for this and the other kingdoms, trusting that the parliament would not take it amiss as proceeding from their servants, since they ought to remember that they are themselves only servants and trustees for the public.*

* No one will pretend that all who assented to this remonstrance fully at this time meditated the king's

death, and force on the parliament, and that they approved of what had been formerly done in regard to the

The remonstrance excited great agitation in the House: some inveighed sharply against it, as the height of insolence in their servants; many were silent from fear of the army; others palliated and excused it; and some, again, openly justified it. Some of the commissioners most

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parliament. But it has been commonly asserted, as undoubted, that the generous Fairfax condemned all such proceedings, and in the *Memoirs* published as his, and which are doubtless genuine to a certain extent—though one would wish to believe that what is just to be quoted is an interpolation by his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham, or other relation—there occurs the following passage: ‘I say, from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triploh Heath, I never gave my free consent to anything they did, but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all the papers, whether I consented or not, and to such failings are all authorities subject’ (see his *Memoirs* in Scot’s edition of Somers’ *Tracts*, vol. v.). This has been held as evidence in his favour; but I would ask whether his name were, or could be, set to the following letter which he sent to the Speaker of the Commons, along with the above remonstrance?

‘Mr. Speaker,—The general council of officers, at their late meeting here, *unanimously* agreed on a remonstrance to be presented to you, which is herewith sent by the hands of Colonel Ewer and the officers; and, in regard it concerns matters of highest and present importance to yourself and to us, and the whole kingdom, I do, at the desire of the officers, and in behalf of them *and myself*, humbly and earnestly intreat that it may have a present reading, and the things propounded be timely considered, and that no failing in circumstance or expressions may prejudice either the reason or justice of what is here tendered, or their intentions, of whose good affections

and constancy you have had so long experience.

‘I remain, &c.

‘FAIRFAX.’

St. Alban’s, November 16th.

N.B.—His father died the preceding summer.

It is needless to make any comments on this; and human effrontery, one would think, could scarcely pen his alleged defence of himself, in what are called his *Memoirs*. Therefore, out of charity, let us believe certain passages interpolations. His name was set, by way of course, to papers, by the officers! Did they hold his hand, and make him write this letter, as Ingoldsby most impudently alleged Cromwell did, when he signed the warrant for the king’s execution? Did they force him to march to London to overawe the parliament, and write to the lord mayor, which we shall notice soon? The truth is, that at the Restoration, as it was the object to confine the charge of accomplishing the king’s death to a few, and to gain the firm support of all who had joined in the Restoration; so all were loud in the vindication of Fairfax, who assisted the Restoration, and did not sit at the trial of Charles. We shall afterwards have occasion to say a little on that subject.

We have already shown the erroneousness of Hume’s statements relative to Charles’s sincerity, but the following passage of the remonstrance may be fairly quoted. After enumerating his misdeeds, it proceeds thus: ‘And let those many particulars of hypocrisy, dissimulation, and treachery, couched under his fairest overtures, professions, and prote-tations, which yourselves in your several declarations have ob-

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Declara-
tion of the
army.

inclined to popular measures had already left the king ; but those who remained urged him to agree to terms instantly—that a peace once concluded, the people might join with him against the army if it dared to disobey him : but he was inexorable, and the military had already gone too far to recede. As money was still withheld from the general, he wrote to the House of Commons, that unless funds were provided for the exigencies of the troops, he must himself take it from the collectors and receivers ; and though the letter was thought highly unbecoming by many, yet it was not a time to cavil at, far less to attempt to punish it.* A declaration agreed to by a full council of the army was then despatched to parliament. In that paper they again express their apprehensions of the dangers and evils attending a treaty with the king, and justify their late remonstrance ; remarking that, far from having obtained an answer to it, they perceived none was to be expected, the consideration of their remonstrance being, to their grief, deferred from day to day ; that they believed the majority in parliament guilty of a treacherous or corrupt neglect of the public trust reposed in them, and of apostasy to their principles ; that, considering there is no power of man to appeal to for such a breach of trust, they are warranted in exercising that common judgment which is left to them in their natural capacity—appealing to the common understanding of mankind for the approbation of their conduct, and, above all, to the righteous judgment of God ; that their purpose was to continue as much of the present representative as might

served and recorded, bespeak what cause there is to confide in his promises or engagements ;' and yet the imputation of insincerity was of a later growth than his own age. The remonstrance goes on to prove his revengeful disposition, and it accuses him of the murder of his father ; yet this was the adopted

language at least of Fairfax (see Fairfax's *Letters*, and the army's remonstrance at length, in *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. pp. 160–238 ; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1077 *et seq.* ; Rush, vol. vii. p. 133 *et seq.* ; Whitelocke, p. 355.

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 265 ; Whitelocke, p. 357.

preserve the forms of parliamentary proceeding, till a new constitution were introduced; that they should still rejoice if the majority, sensible of their late misconduct, should exclude the apostatised members from their councils; but that, in the meantime, though for no profit to themselves, the army was advancing to London. This declaration was, by the appointment of Fairfax and his council of officers, subscribed by the famous collector Rushworth; but, on the very next day, Fairfax directly wrote to the mayor and common council, that, being on the immediate advance to the metropolis, he thought fit to intimate his intention; and that, as the declaration of the army had not been answered, it was only necessary to refer to it for the motives of the proceeding; that it was not the object to commit either the least plunder or wrong to any of the citizens; yet that, to prevent any disorders, it would be advisable for the city to advance 40,000*l.* of the arrears due; and he would quarter the troops in the great houses in and about the city. The demand of the money was confirmed by the parliament, which ordered the army not to advance nearer London.*

In the meantime, the general and council of officers had sent to remove the king from Newport to Hurst Castle, intimating to Hammond, the governor, whom they recalled, and commanded to appear before the general at Windsor, their purpose to keep him there till their remonstrance was answered. News of this arrived on the 4th of December; and the Commons, upon reading

King
removed
to Hurst
Castle.

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. pp. 266-272, 288; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 1137, 1144-5. After such a declaration, in addition to the remonstrance and letter, and the letter to the mayor, under Fairfax's hand, together with the fact of the army's having actually advanced to Westminster under that general on the 2nd of December, and the purging of the House on the 6th, we can scarcely believe that human assurance could proceed so far as to permit Fairfax to allege

that he knew nothing of the matter till it was done; that the army did what it pleased, &c. The *Memoirs*, I flatter myself, have therefore been interpolated. But some say that he was over-persuaded by Ireton. Over-persuaded—what is the meaning of the term? Was he a responsible agent? or might he not be over-persuaded afterwards by his courtly friends, the language of the times, and his own interest, to deny the truth? (*Whitelocke*, p. 358.)

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Hammond's letter announcing the event, voted that it was neither by their advice nor their consent: and, that they might now bring matters to a conclusion in order to break the army, they, on the following morning, voted that his majesty's concessions to the propositions of parliament afforded sufficient ground for settling the peace of the kingdom. They also nominated a committee to confer with the general about a fair correspondence. This at once brought matters to a crisis, and Fairfax and his council determined not to lose an instant. He therefore caused proclamation to be made by trumpet, requiring all delinquents to depart ten miles from London for a month, as they should otherwise be proceeded against as prisoners of war: he also issued another ordering the soldiers, on the pain of severe punishment, not to offer incivility to any one; nor, on the pain of death, to touch any man's goods, (orders admirably obeyed by this excellently disciplined army,) and immediately marched towards the metropolis. One regiment of horse, commanded by Colonel Rich, and another of foot, by Colonel Pride, were specially destined to act against the parliament. As the foot regiment was necessarily brought most into action, the reproach of the proceeding has most undeservedly been altogether transferred to Pride, who, though the measure accorded with his own judgment, acted on the orders prescribed by Fairfax, as well as the other officers. Pride stationed his troops in the Court of Requests, and other places about Westminster Hall; and having received a note of the obnoxious members, who were pointed out to him by Lord Grey of Grooby, a nobleman that zealously assisted on the occasion, he apprehended, and sent them guarded to the Queen's Court, the Court of Records, and other places, all '*by special order from the general and council of the army.*' The House, informed of this proceeding, used the ceremony of sending for the members; but the committee despatched to the general on the subject soon reported

Army
marches to
London
and purges
the parlia-
ment.

that his excellency desired time to consult with his council about the answer. Proposals were then presented from the army, reminding the Commons that certain members who had been impeached and expelled the House, had yet, by the prevalence of a faction, been lately restored to their seats; and stating that they humbly desired all faithful members to protest against such proceedings, and to be prepared to put a speedy end to their sitting. Another paper, drawn by Ireton, and proposing a form of government, was at the same time presented, differing little from that known by the name of the 'agreement of the people:' it suggested that the representation should consist of 300, equally elected by householders, upwards of twenty-one years of age, and according to a fair distribution of their numbers throughout the kingdom; that a parliament should be chosen every second year; and that all Malignants should be excluded for the present.*

As nothing was done on this petition, we shall, before proceeding to other matters, give a short sketch of the character of Ireton.

Henry Ireton, son-in-law of Cromwell, and commissary general, was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Nottinghamshire, being the eldest son of German Ireton, of Attenton, Esq., in that county. He was born in 1610, and in 1626 was sent as a gentleman commoner to Trinity College, Oxford: in 1629 he took his degree of bachelor of arts. Having passed through this liberal course of education, he became a student of law in the Middle Temple; but whether he ever practised at the bar, or intended to prosecute the profession, I have not been able to discover. It was very common in that age for the heirs of distinguished families to be sent to the Inns of Court to complete their education, it having been wisely conceived that they who, from their rank, were

Character
of Ireton.

* Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1147 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 293 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 358 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 199 *et seq.*; Hollis' *Mem.*; Rush. vol. vii. p. 1350 *et seq.*

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destined to perform the part of legislators, should have some knowledge of jurisprudence, or of that science which it was their province to protect and improve; and it is not improbable—nay, from all I can learn, I think it most likely—that Ireton, like Hampden and other illustrious individuals, had, as the heir of the family, studied in the Middle Temple, to qualify him to discharge the duties of a conspicuous station in life. But if, on the other hand, he meant to devote himself to the legal profession, he continued too short a time in it to acquire distinction, having at the outset of the civil wars obtained a command in the parliament army. Of a great capacity, and unwearied industry, he had not ostensibly studied the law without acquiring a considerable knowledge of the science; and a speculative head, uncramped by drudgery in the profession, enabled him to view the jurisprudence of his country with the eye of a philosopher, who, aware of the general value, is yet not blinded, like the ordinary practitioner, to defects which the pride of knowledge is apt to overlook. Ireton, therefore, early devoted his attention to free the law from its cumbrous forms, to have the whole reduced to a proper digest, and, what would have been of incalculable value to England, to establish registers for all titles of land, or deeds affecting it. As a soldier, the benefit of a liberal education manifested itself in Ireton, as well as other commanders of that age. Some have not scrupled to affirm that, in the military department, where he displayed great courage, he was superior to Cromwell himself;* but though that is most probably an exaggera-

* In order to convey the idea of want of personal courage in Ireton (and he showed his valour on many occasions), Clarendon (*Hist.* vol. v. p. 454 *et seq.*) says, that in the debate during the summer of 1648, Hollis and he came to high words; and that Hollis having challenged him, he refused to fight, alleging his conscience would not let him; when Hollis answered that, if his conscience

would not allow him to fight, it should not let him insult a gentleman, and pulled his nose. Had this been the fact, it would only have proved that Ireton had too much principle to allow himself to be hurried, by the fear of reproach, into an act against the dictates of his conscience; for none who is acquainted with his history can doubt his personal bravery. But the state-

tion, nothing proves the power of his mind more than the deference invariably shown to him by Cromwell, whose ascendancy was acknowledged by all other men. With great capacity, indefatigable assiduity, and striking power of expression, both in speaking and writing, joined to a character for consistency and uniform uprightness, he could not fail to acquire influence over the minds of those with whom he came in contact. He did not obtain a seat in parliament till 1646, but he soon rendered himself eminent there. So long as accommodation with the king appeared practicable, he eagerly endeavoured to accomplish it; and when a thorough proof of the unhappy monarch's want of good faith at length convinced him that no treaty could be relied on, he at first only proposed that Charles should himself be imprisoned, and the crown placed on the head of the Duke of York; but the continual plots of the king, and the danger which his life threatened to every arrangement for securing the privileges of the people, ultimately convinced him that a system which should free them from bondage to the evil passions of an individual was necessary, and that an example ought to be made of the grand offender, who, by trampling on all those laws which he had been appointed and sworn to maintain, had already brought so many calamities on, and still threatened innumerable more to, his country. It may, indeed, be argued with truth, that the form of government which Ireton proposed was not calculated to attain the object which he meditated; but on a new and unprecedented occasion, mistaken

ment, probably the invention of Hollis himself, who continually accuses his adversaries of cowardice, is unfounded. Both Ludlow and Hutchinson agree in stating, as if the matter were undoubted, that Ireton accepted of the challenge. Hollis whispered it in the House, and the other followed to terminate the matter in the usual way, when

some of the members having observed what passed, acquainted the House with it, and the serjeant having been instantly despatched to command their attendance, arrived in time to stop them as they were about to cross the Thames (Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 244, 245; Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 147).

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opinions ought to be forgiven. Nor can it with justice be said that he was guilty of departing from the ancient monarchical institution. By attempting to overturn the laws of his country, Charles had thrown all things loose, and people were imperiously called upon to make some new arrangement in order to secure those rights and privileges which had descended to them from their ancestors. It is, however, singular that the idea of passing by the lineal successor, in consequence of his improper principles, and yet electing a member of the family, by which it was supposed that the power of the people would be established on the one hand, while usurpers, in consequence of such a small departure from the usual course of inheritance, would be repressed on the other, was afterwards urged by Whitelocke, St. John, and others, and ultimately adopted at the Revolution. It is believed that, had Ireton lived, Cromwell would not have dared to usurp the government, or would have been quickly repressed; for that, such was the inflexibility of his principles, he would not have respected an usurper in the person of his father-in-law, more than in any other individual. So remarkable was his disinterestedness, that had his premature death not obstructed his purpose, he would have declined the grant of two thousand a year which was ordered for his services, and conferred on his family.*

* Ireton was in those matters encouraged and assisted by his father-in-law, Cromwell, and likewise by Colonel, afterwards Major-general, Lambert—a man of ancient extraction and liberal education—‘who,’ says Whitelocke, ‘had likewise studied in the Inns of Court, and was of a subtile and working brain.’ We shall, in the sequel, find him making a distinguished figure in the field, while as a member of society he was generally esteemed for his probity and noble bearing.

Whitelocke was rather offended with Ireton for his attempt to reform the law; yet he does justice to his

talents, courage, and integrity (*Mem.* pp. 254, 516). Even Clarendon admits that Ireton was no dissembler, and so true to his principles, that, had he lived, Cromwell would not have ventured to usurp the government (vol. vi. pp. 612 *et seq.*, 468). As to his character for gentleness and inflexible worth, see Ludlow, pp. 340, 361, 371, 381; Wood’s *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 81; *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. p. 865; Hutcheson. See Cromwell’s *Life of Cromwell*, p. 450; Noble’s *History of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*. This last writer has very little judgment, and as little research, but he brings

We shall now return to Charles. Hurst Castle, to which he had been latterly carried by the orders of Fair-

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a few well-known particulars together. (See also Bates' *Elench. Mot.* p. 178.)

The character of Ireton by Hume is singular: 'Cromwell had great deference for the counsels of Ireton; a man who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the saint, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded licence in human society.' It is scarcely possible to conceive, what in logic is termed a *non sequitur*, more complete than that here presented in this short passage. Did it really follow, that because Ireton had studied the law of his country, and fought in its defence, and sincerely believed in the Christian revelation, he had adopted such principles 'as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded licence in human society?' We have stated, in the text, what was the usual course of education in that age for men in a high sphere of life; and that Ireton had not, by drudgery in his profession, contracted his understanding. But we may observe that, though professional practice may injure an ordinary mind, it never will subdue a great one. Of this, the Works of Bacon, who had a profound knowledge of the law, however he violated the justice it inculcated, will ever afford an illustrious proof: and Hume's own favourite, Clarendon, was a professional man, besides others whom he eulogises. To those who fully estimate the character of Lord Somers, too, the notion relative to Ireton must be particularly surprising; and one is amazed to find Laing, himself a lawyer, and yet an historian, almost repeating Hume's words: but perhaps he found it easier to repeat other people's sentiments than to think for himself; and sitting down

to history as a mere party man, he viewed everything through the medium of the party he espoused. It may be remarked, however, that the study and practice of the law have a decided tendency to produce an effect on the mind directly the reverse of that stated by Mr. Hume. The mind of a mere lawyer—by such I mean an individual of ordinary capacity who cannot rise above his profession, and for such Hyde himself expressed great contempt, informing us that Whitelocke and others, though profoundly versed in law, were all of a higher stamp—is so crippled by cases, that he never can think without a precedent to direct his judgment. As to Ireton's grafting the statesman on the saint, he certainly did so with benefit to mankind, for it taught him this most important truth—that the consciences of men, in the service of their God, ought never to be interfered with, provided their principles are not subversive of the safety of civil society; that persecution generally encourages what it is intended to repress; and that no form of ecclesiastical government has been prescribed by the Author of revelation to the exclusion of all others. What we learn of Ireton, however, from the best authorities, and the very able papers which he drew up, would induce us to believe that he was one of the most exempt of his time from anything like cant or fanaticism. Anthony Wood, indeed, tells us that he was reckoned *the best preacher and prayer-maker* of the army; but honest Anthony, as he is called, lived in a region of bigotry, where everything connected with the name of Ireton was likely to be traduced, and where prayers, however excellent in themselves, that were not to be found in the service book, were regarded with horror; and he had imbibed all those prejudices to their full extent; while, in spite of his character of honest,

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fax, was situated on the mainland, opposite to the Isle of Wight, but was not nearly so beautiful a residence as

it would be no difficult matter to show, as in his account of Digby's affair at Kingston-upon-Thames, that he had no objection to a pious fraud. On this subject, however, the following passage from Whitelocke's account of his embassy to Sweden may not be unacceptable. It is a conversation with the Queen Christina.—'Queen. I have been told that many officers of your army do themselves preach and pray to their soldiers. Is that true?—Whitelocke. Yes, madam, it is very true. When their enemies are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging, the officers and soldiers of the parliament's army use to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the word of God, and praying together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with them, who hath showed his approbation of this military preaching by the successes he hath given them.—Q. That's well. Do you use to do so too?—W. Yes, upon some occasions in my own family; and think it as proper for me, being the master of it, to admonish and speak to my people when there is cause, as to be beholden to another to do it for me, which sometimes brings the chaplain into more credit than his lord.—Q. Do your generals and other great officers do so?—W. Yes, madam, very often, and very well. Nevertheless, they maintain chaplains and ministers in their houses and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as in any place of Christendom. Yet it is the opinion of many good men with us, that a long cassock, with a silk girdle, and a great beard, do not make a learned or a good preacher, without gifts of the spirit of God, and labouring in his vineyard; and, whosoever studies the Holy Scriptures, and is enabled to do good to the souls of others, and endeavours the same, is nowhere

forbidden by that word, nor is it blamable. The officers and soldiers of the parliament's army held it not unlawful, when they carried their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to encourage one another out of His word who commands over all; and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have, and was never denied to be of use but by the Popish prelates, who by no means would admit lay people (as they called them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can nowhere else be found.—Q. Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon. I assure you I like it very well.—W. Madam, I shall account it a great happiness if any of my words may please you' (*Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. pp. 252, 253). Such is the account given by the great lord commissioner Whitelocke, of whom Hume himself talks in the highest strain, and surely none will venture to call him a fanatic. But, if any layman were entitled to preach, it must have been an individual so highly educated and of such a great capacity as Ireton. Hear the language of Clarendon: 'Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter, and men who were inspired preached and prayed where they would' (vol. v. p. 116). Mighty offence against religion and morals! The remainder of the character given by Hume is as discreditable to the writer as unjust to the subject of it. As we are on the topic of religion, we may remark in regard to Hume, that one at first sight is apt to be startled at the opinion expressed by him (when he gives the account of Laud's trial and death) relative to the nakedness of worship in the Church of England, considering the tendency of his writings in general, and the attacks

Carisbrooke Castle. The accommodations were not becoming the guest; but every means were taken to render his situation as comfortable as possible. Few of his attendants were indeed admitted; but Lieutenant-Colonel Cobett, 'to give him his due,' says Herbert, 'was very civil to the king, both in his language and behaviour, and courteous to those that attended, upon all occasions; nor was his disposition rugged towards such as in loyalty and love came to see the king and to pray for him; as sundry out of Hampshire did, and the neighbouring counties.' The conduct of this officer proved a contrast to that of a captain who received his majesty at landing. This man's look was stern, his hair and large beard black and bushy,

which he so often indulges in against the clergy. One would almost imagine that he had the same object in view with that ascribed to the unhappy subjects of his panegyrics—that of beginning, by making men irreligious, in order to prepare them for superstition—or for that mental subjection to the priesthood, which might contribute to the uncontrolled power of the prince. I cannot refrain here from remarking, that his case affords a proof, that a man suffers more from the injudicious conduct of his friends than the open attacks of his enemies. One can easily conceive how, not only without any intention to injure society, but even under an impression that he was promoting its interests, he might publish the result of his own conviction on the most important points of human speculation; and it must have been to the astonishment of every man who desires to think highly of his memory, to find a letter from his nephew to the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, with information calculated to convey the idea that the uncle had thrown out several notions for the amusement of the speculative, while himself was fully convinced of the truth of what he assailed. No one who respects his memory would wish to give it

credit, nor indeed is it consonant with his private correspondence, or all we know of his conversations; for what opinion must we entertain of any man who can publish opinions calculated to subvert the faith of thousands, in a religion which he himself conceives a belief of essential to their eternal welfare? (See *Quarterly Review* for October, 1816.)

To return to Ireton: Anthony Wood informs us, that at the university he had the character of being saucy to his seniors; and that, therefore, his company was not much sought after. This is just what we should expect of a great and generous mind. The insolent and overbearing, to those whom they regard as their inferiors, are always despicably mean to their seniors, or such as they deem their superiors. A generous mind, on the other hand, disputes the claims to respect of many with whom it comes in contact, and cannot purchase the good opinion of seniors by the ready smile of assent. Such a person thinks for himself, and will not flatter by receiving and repeating other people's sentiments without examination. Fielding, who was such an admirable master of the human heart, has happily depicted this in the characters of Blifil and Tom Jones.

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‘and no less robust and rude was his behaviour,’ acting with all the assumed consequence of a base mind, that feels itself suddenly invested with a little brief authority. ‘Some of his majesty’s servants were not a little fearful of him; and that he was designed for mischief, especially when he vapoured, being elevated with his command, and puffed up with having so royal a prisoner, so as he probably conceived that he was nothing inferior to the governor of the castle at Milan; but being complained of to his superior officers, appeared a bubble: for, being pretty sharply admonished, he quickly became mild and calm—a posture ill becoming such a rhodomont, and made it visible that this humour (or tumour, rather) was acted to curry favour, wherein also he was mistaken.’* The walk allowed the king was about two miles in length, but only a few paces broad, and is said to have been covered pretty deep with gravel or small pebble, which rendered it disagreeable to the feet.†

Harrison sent to bring Charles from Hurst Castle to Windsor. Character of Harrison.

It was at last determined to remove the king from Hurst Castle to Windsor, and Colonel Harrison, afterwards major-general, was deputed to bring him up. Harrison was the son of a grazier in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-under-Line. He had been early articled to a Mr. Hoselker, an eminent attorney in Clifford’s Inn, who had employment under the king. When the young gentlemen in the Inns of Court were formed into companies under Sir Philip Stapleton, Harrison was one; and such were his general talents, aptitude for war, and faithful discharge of his duty, that, long before the New Model, he had been promoted to the rank of major,‡ and had

* Herbert, p. 86.

† *Ibid.* p. 84 *et seq.*

‡ Clarendon says, that he was only a captain before the New Model; and Noble tells us, that he had attained no rank before it: but the following passage in a letter by Baillie, dated London, July 6th, 1644, to Mr. Robert Blair, is conclusive. He says,

in relation to the battle of Marston Moor, ‘We were both grieved and angry that your Independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpet over all the city their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all the service’

acquired a high character as a soldier. Ardent in religion, even to enthusiasm, he was open and generous in all his actions. The same individual who had contributed to raise Cromwell, (there was scarcely any man in whose judgment and talents, to which his professional habits contributed much, Cromwell had more confidence,) immediately attempted to overthrow him when he discovered the selfishness of his designs. Whatever may be thought of the political and religious opinions of Harrison, it is impossible not to admire the rectitude of feeling that actuated him; for he was not one of those who aimed merely at their own aggrandisement, or were influenced by personal resentment; neither was he amongst the number of such as the after change, with all its motives of fear on the one hand, and hope on the other, could induce to disavow his sentiments. At the Restoration, he refused to withdraw himself, though informed of the intention of his adversaries, and advised by his friends to consult his safety in flight. ‘He accounted such an action,’ says Ludlow, ‘a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; though many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the Scriptures, to justify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors by removing themselves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save their lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means in order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the major-general, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified

(*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 208 *et seq.*). Clarendon is incorrect in regard to the early situation in life, as well as the birth and the birthplace of Harrison; but he does justice to his talents and general fair intentions, while, as we

shall more fully see, he disproves the story told by Burnet, of his having entertained an idea to assassinate the king (*Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 220 *et seq.*, 224 *et seq.*).

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for the part he had in the following sufferings, that even his enemies were astonished and confounded.*

Harrison arrived at Hurst Castle late in the evening, and his majesty having heard the drawbridge let down and the horses enter, sent his attendant, Mr. Herbert, to inquire the cause of the noise. Herbert went to Captain Reynolds, who informed him of the arrival of Harrison, but refused, at this time, to say more than that the cause of his arrival would be speedily known. Herbert returned with the intelligence to his majesty, who received it with much discomposure. Herbert wept; and Charles, having asked the cause, and been apprised that it arose from the perturbation he had observed, proceeded thus: 'I am not afraid, but do not you know that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty? To my knowledge I never saw the major, though I have oft heard of him, nor ever did him injury. The commissioners, indeed, hearing of it, represented it from Newport to the House of Lords. What satisfaction he gave them I cannot tell: this I can—that I trust in God, who is my helper. I would not be surprised: this is a place fit for such a purpose. Herbert, I trust to your care; go again, and make farther inquiry into this business.' Herbert returned to Reynolds—who was a gentleman well educated, as Herbert himself informs us, and had not only shown great personal civility to the king, but to all his servants, and had therefore generally been selected by his majesty to walk with him—and was apprised by him that the object was to remove the king within two days to Windsor. The news was received with great satisfaction, Windsor being a place the king had ever delighted in.†

Harrison stayed two nights at Hurst, and then departed at night without seeing the king or speaking with any of his attendants. All things having been prepared

* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 12.

† Herbert, pp. 91-94.

for his removal, Charles was conveyed by water to Milford, about three miles from Hurst Castle. There a party of horse, which had been sent for winter quarters to Lyndhurst, conveyed him to Winchester, where he was received with the most dutiful respect. From thence he rode to Alton, and then to Alesford, where his reception was as gratifying as at Winchester. ‘From Alesford the king passed to Farnham, betwixt which two towns (being about seven miles asunder) another troop of horse was in good order drawn up, by which his majesty passed: it was to bring up the rear. In the head of it was the captain, gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet monteir was on his head, a new buff coat on his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waist, richly fringed;* who, as the king passed by with an easy pace (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed), the captain gave the king a bow with his head *à la soldade*, which his majesty requited. This was the first time the king saw the captain. Mr. Herbert, riding a little behind the king (who made no use of his coach since he came from Hurst Castle), he called him to come near, and asked him who the captain was; and being told it was Major Harrison, the king viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him, as made the major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended.† The king said he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and found him not such a one as was represented; and that, having some judgment in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him; for oftentimes the

* Mrs. Hutchinson accuses Harrison of having been too fond of dress, and on one occasion of having acted rather disingenuously towards her husband on that head. But Hutchinson might be unjustly piqued; and though upon the whole a very worthy character, he had not the ingenuousness of Harrison, as may

fairly be seen in their respective conduct at the Restoration. I rather think, too, that the town's people, and others of Nottingham, appear from the lady's own showing to have been often right in the bickerings with her husband.

† This surely is a striking proof of a proper feeling of delicacy.

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spirit and disposition may be discerned by the countenance; yet in that one may be deceived.* That evening his majesty lodged in a private gentleman's house in Farnham, the castle, which belonged to the Bishop of Winchester, being then garrisoned with soldiers, and consequently unfit for his accommodation. A little before supper, the parlour was full of company to see the king; but he having observed through the crowd Colonel Harrison talking with another officer at the far end of the room, 'beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer to him, which he did with due reverence' (that is, he addressed his majesty on his knee); 'the king then, taking him by the arm, drew him aside towards the window, where, for half an hour or more, they discoursed together; and amongst other things the king minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person; to which the major, in his vindication, assured his majesty that what was so reported of him was not true; what he had said he might repeat—that the law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect of persons, or words to that purpose: which his majesty finding affectedly spoken, and to no good end, he left off farther conversation with him, and went to supper, being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoicing to many to see him so cheerful in that company and such a condition.' It is extraordinary that, though both Charles and his attendants were fully satisfied that Harrison disdained the very thought of assassination, and that the cause of the mistake was thus explained, the false report was afterwards revived to blacken the memory of him who was, with such circumstances of cruelty, executed as a traitor, while the bones of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others were dug from their graves to be exposed on a gibbet. The cause of his speech having been taken up, was that

* This presents a favourable picture of Charles.

he had been more unreserved than the other officers in the expression of sentiments which yet, before the king's removal from Hurst Castle, were, as we have seen, embodied in a remonstrance to the parliament by Fairfax and his council; and that the Presbyterian party in parliament, eager to conclude a treaty with the king and dissolve the army, caught hold of this circumstance as a pretext for rendering the soldiers odious.

On the following day the king rode from Farnham to Bagshot, where he dined at Lord Newburgh's: and here, we are told by Clarendon, though the circumstance does not appear to have been communicated to the king's immediate attendant, Herbert, that there was a design to effect an escape, by laming his majesty's own horse, and supplying him with one from his lordship (who was reckoned to have the fleetest in England), by which he might be able, in his passage through the forest, to bolt off from and outride his guard, when in the obscure passages of the forest, with which he was particularly acquainted, he might be lost sight of; and that other horses were in readiness to convey him to a place of safety. The design, however, having been suspected by Harrison, had been sufficiently provided against, and Charles abandoned the attempt. In the evening he reached Windsor Castle, where the chambers had been prepared for his reception.*

* Herbert's *Memoirs*, pp. 95-99; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 219 *et seq.* The noble historian tells us, that Harrison received the king with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness, and was not to be approached by any address; answering questions in short and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeness. Again he says: 'In this journey Harrison observed that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassina-

tion and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it: he plainly told him that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish such an intention; and assured him that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in the way of justice, to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence: which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe, nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the

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The situa-
tion of
Charles at
Windsor.

Colonel Whitecott was at this time governor of Windsor Castle; and though none of the nobility and few

sight of the people under any form whatever of a public trial' (see also p. 224 *et seq.*). We may remark, that Clarendon's account of Harrison's conduct is not so favourable to that gallant officer as Herbert's; but that, as Clarendon was not then in England, he could only receive his information from those who attended his majesty; and that as Herbert was the person most immediately in waiting, he probably derived it from that very individual. This account, however, does credit to himself when compared with that of Burnet, who says that Harrison 'was a fierce and bloody enthusiast; and it was *believed* that, while the army was in doubt whether it was fitter to kill the king privately or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was settled on, to be the man who should do it (Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.). Now, who were they who believed this? Clarendon says, that it had been acknowledged since (that is, *after the Restoration*), by some officers and others, who were present at the consultations, that some advised to depose the king, others to cut him off privately: but Ireton, Harrison, and the Levellers would not endure either way, but insisted on an open trial. Clarendon was, however, no great enemy to assassination himself, and not slow at blackening his enemies. When we consult Whitelocke and others, we have no reason to doubt that such an idea never entered into the imagination of the army. That it was utterly abhorrent from the whole life and disposition of Harrison (to whom the term bloody could not, with the slightest justice, unless it be alleged that his having sat as one of the king's judges forms an exception, be attributed), is evident from Clarendon, Herbert, and others, as well as the evidence on his trial. Even Burnet allows that he was consci-

entious, and his general deportment was that of humanity. But here I cannot omit a few observations relative to Burnet himself, since an attempt has lately been made, particularly by Laing, to prop up his character. Laing repels the objections brought against him by Hume and others, by alleging that he had compared Burnet's works with a great number of manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, and found them to be generally correct. This is a sweeping statement: I admit that there is much valuable information in Burnet; but I cannot proceed so far, and particularly in regard to his sketches of characters. Swift and he were great enemies; and it is singular that both had been apostates from their original principles, though the course had been directly reversed betwixt them. Swift set out a pretended enthusiast in favour of public liberty, and not only flattered Lord Somers, whom he afterwards abused, because he did not help him to office and emolument, but even made an epigram in honour of the execution of Charles I. as the most glorious deed; and yet afterwards spoke with fury against that monarch's adversaries, and with admiration of 'the blessed, martyred prince,' and his churchman Laud. What overtures Swift subsequently made to the reigning party we need not mention: the utter profligacy of his political principles is scarcely a subject of doubt. What, on the contrary, was the course of his enemy Burnet? He began a violent tory, and ended an admirer of revolution principles. The question immediately put on this statement is—What! is it wonderful, or is it discreditable, for a man to become a convert to more liberal principles as he advances in life? Unquestionably not; though, for my own part, I should entertain a more favourable opinion of a man who

of the gentry were suffered to come to see his majesty, except on Sundays to sermon in St. George's Chapel, CHAP.
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commenced with very liberal principles, and became, in the progress of life, cooler in all his views, than of one who begins as a supporter of arbitrary power, and is converted into a warm advocate of liberty, when it happens to correspond with his interest, or to arise from some disappointment. Youth is not only the season of generous feelings, but for indulgence in prospects of happiness to mankind, which a sad experience of the world, with all its conflicting interests, fatally overclouds. But this is not all that can be said of Burnet. He was the panegyrist, not only of Charles I. of whom he afterwards spoke in such unfavourable terms, but of Charles II. whom he subsequently likened to Tiberius; and even of the detestable, infamous Duke of Lauderdale himself. Had he been sincere in his early principles, he would have had some charity for those who continued to adhere to them. But, instead of that, he invariably imputes to them the worst motives,—whence we may fairly deduce that he must have judged of them from what he felt in his own breast. Nor can it even be said, that the affairs had undergone a change, because he condemns, in the most unqualified terms, the very actions and actors he had formerly approved of. Even this is not all—in his *Memoirs of the Hamiltons* he stamps with his approbation the most downright acts of perfidy, as pious means towards a worthy end. When the revolution in his principles took place, and how it quadrated with his interest, we shall not pause to explain. It is amazing, however, that the bishops of England were not satisfied even with the toryism of Burnet, and therefore attempted to prevent his writing a history of the Reformation. He desired to be admitted to the Cotton Library, but, according to his own account, was

‘prevented by the archbishop (San- croft), who told Sir John Cotton that Burnet was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or the constitution of the kingdom.’ ‘This judgment,’ says Swift, ‘was the more extraordinary, because the doctor had not long before published a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the royal prerogative higher than any writer of the age’ (Nichol’s edition of Swift, vol. v. p. 62). It is remarkable, however, that this story by Burnet, which was generally questioned, I discovered by a letter in the British Museum from Sir William Dugdale to Sir John Cotton, dated Heralds’ Office, 20th December, 1677 (Aysc. 4162 No. of vol. 62), to be perfectly correct. Dugdale had been applied to by Cotton in behalf of Burnet for access to papers, and Dugdale answers, ‘that the bishops do not think Burnet a fit hand; that he is a Scotchman, and has shown his bias in the *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, laying the foundation of the late execrable rebellion entirely on the bishops. Dugdale, therefore, desires Cotton to tell him, that he being no Englishman, he (Cotton) must advise with the bishops.’ This is surely a valuable proof of the unconscionable lengths these men would have gone; for the *Memoirs* had been submitted to Charles II. himself, and approved of by him. To return to Harrison: Hume says, ‘Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London.’ With regard to the birth of Harrison, there are two accounts of it; and as Clarendon is wrong in regard to the early life of that individual, we may conclude that, in the torrent of filth which was poured forth on all those characters, where birth was ever assailed, and the grossest calumnies on

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where the chaplain to the governor and garrison preached, 'the colonel behaved himself, nevertheless, very civilly towards the king, and his observance was taken notice of by his majesty, as also the soldiers there, who, in their places there, gave no offence, either in language or in behaviour, either to the king or any that served him.' Charles had full liberty to walk at his pleasure within the castle, and on the large terrace without, which commands so beautiful a prospect.*

We now return to the parliament and army. Many of the members, besides those seized, were refused access to the Lower House, which having been thus purged, re-

that head invented, the most favourable account—that his father was a respectable grazier—is the correct one. But the statement of Mr. Hume is intended to convey a misrepresentation under what he had an authority for calling truth. The natural inference is—what Hume ever attempts to inculcate—that Harrison, and others in employment, had been raised from mean occupations to high offices, merely by cant and fanaticism. One would never imagine, from his statement, that Harrison, who had been bred to a liberal profession, had received the education of a gentleman, had associated with gentlemen, and had so profited from the opportunities presented to him, that with his great talents he could not fail to rise to distinction wherever the road was open to merit. To the credit of the English government, there are, at this moment, in the highest situations—and, though not disposed to panegyric, I must say that it would have been a disgrace to any government which would not have afforded an opportunity to some of those to rise—persons from an inferior sphere of life. Hume's statement, indeed, reminds us of the base malignity of Swift in regard to Lord Somers—the subject of his former panegyrics. In remarks

on the characters of the court of Queen Anne, the original author of the characters says of Lord Somers, that 'he was of a creditable family in the city of Worcester.' Swift writes under it, 'very mean; his father was a noted rogue' (vol. v. p. 164). Thus does Swift write of one of the greatest characters that England ever produced, and whom he had courted with the meanest sycophancy. The character of Somers was beyond his power; but he would wound him by slandering his father, whose obscurity rendered the vindication of his good name difficult. Yet Swift was himself of low origin. 'The lowest of all wretches,' says Fielding, 'are always the first to cry out low in the pit.' Nothing is more disgusting than the perusal of the low abuse which was poured out against these men on the head of birth and conduct (see *Motus Compositic*, by Skinner, ed. 1676, p. 82 *et seq.*).

* Herbert, p. 101. This conveys a very different picture of the parliamentary officers and soldiers from that generally given, yet it proceeds from the royal attendant. But he appears to have had too much the spirit of a gentleman to do injustice to any extent to his enemies.

called the vote for admitting the impeached members, and returned to that of no more addresses, while it also voted that the late treaty in the Isle of Wight was scandalous.*

About this period a consultation was held amongst the leading men regarding the constitution of a new government; and many who thought that monarchy, as most agreeable to the habits of the people and general fabric of the laws, ought to be preserved, advised that Charles

A consultation about the trial of the king.

* As Pride was the officer who acted in excluding the members, the obloquy of the transaction, as we have remarked, has been unjustly imputed to him in a more eminent degree than to Fairfax and his other superiors, as well as to a great number of the House of Commons and a part of the peerage: and, to render him the more odious, he has been represented as having been originally a drayman, though it is also stated that he had raised himself to the rank of a brewer before the troubles. But all acquainted with the misrepresentations regarding the birth of individuals who acted at that time on the popular side will pay small attention to this story. Out of such as rose to that eminence as to render their birth a subject of strict inquiry, a few have reluctantly received something like justice from history; but even these have only obtained it because their original rank was too public to be long disputed. The memories of the rest have incurred all the consequences of failure in a grand contest. But, though Pride had been of low birth, ought that to form an objection to him? The majority of the chief officers and other great actors were men of rank as well as education: even Colonel Rich, who was deputed to act along with him, though his regiment of horse was not required, was a man of family, and bred a barrister. Nay, a great portion of the common soldiery were men of some rank; Cromwell's re-

giment of horse was composed of freeholders and freeholders' sons, who engaged out of conscience. High, therefore, must any man's talents have been who could distinguish himself amongst such competitors—competitors with all the advantage of even parliamentary friends. It is one great excellency of a free government, that merit meets with its just reward: and such was the necessary result of the present contest. Was there any spirit so mean as to grudge the rise from the lowest rank to the highest of some of our bravest naval commanders during the Peninsular war? But even arbitrary princes find it expedient—nay, necessary—to employ new men in the administration of their government. Did those men, however, who are so loud in calumniating the popular party, find the want of birth to be any objection in the courtiers—as Laud? Davenant, too, the poet—the army-conspirator, and great favourite of the court, was the son of a tavern-keeper. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who was at one time keeper of the great seal, and afterwards created archbishop of York, was of low birth; and the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down, was the son of a barber. Hume seems to think that genius or talent could only legitimately rise through a court, or by literature—and the last he would have laid under the protection of a court, which would have palsied it. The profanation of learning he mortally disliked.

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should be set aside for his gross abuse of power, and the prince, for having been in arms against the people of England, and also the Duke of York, as having fled from their custody; but that the crown should be placed on the head of the Duke of Gloucester, who, as a mere boy, might easily be trained up in and imbued with the principles of a free government, and, owing the throne to the election of the people, might conduct the affairs of the state according to the law which made him monarch. The majority, however, conceiving that, by a better arrangement, and frequent changes in the representation, the public will might be properly expressed by the parliament—and that, as the national council, thus the organ of the public will, ought to be supreme, it was unsafe to commit authority to an individual who, from what they had just experienced, would probably conceive his interest different from that of the people, and always endeavour to promote it at their expense, by frustrating, to the utmost of his power, the measures of the parliament—proposed to lay aside monarchy entirely, and conduct the government by committees, or a council nominated by the parliament, according to the plan so successfully pursued from the commencement of the late struggle. It was at the same time determined on to bring Charles to trial, and petitions in favour of the measure were brought from various quarters.*

* Whitelocke, p. 364; and compare it with passages relative to events after the king's death, pp. 516, 517.

Hume puts a speech, as uttered in the House of Commons, into Cromwell's mouth, for which he quotes no authority. The first part is taken from Clement Walker, a writer so absurdly violent, and so regardless of truth, as to be unworthy of much consideration. The alleged speech of Cromwell is—'Should any one have voluntarily proposed to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest

traitor; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion.' Here Walker, whom Hume does not even quote, stops (*History of Independency*, part ii. p. 54); but then follows in Hume's work this: 'Even I myself,' subjoined he (Cromwell), 'when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered the preternatural movement as the answer

The Commons, in pursuance of the design to bring Charles to trial, nominated a committee of thirty-eight to examine witnesses and prepare a charge against him. The

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Commons appoint a committee to prepare the charge against Charles.

which heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications.' I would ask, how even the first part, as given by Walker, corresponds with the general conduct of Cromwell (Clar. *Hist.* vol. v. p. 544 *et seq.* is very unjust, yet look even into it), with what he urged as to the vote of no more addresses? with the large remonstrance of the army, &c. &c. But whence does Mr. Hume extract the last part of this pretended speech? I beg the reader's attention: for if ever an instance of unpardonable imposition was practised, it occurs here. Walker's account of what passed in the house, from which he was excluded, is manifestly fabricated; and it is evident that could he have ventured to proceed a step farther, without exposing his work to utter contempt, he would have done it. Now, what does Hume do? He finds the following passage in Perinchief, and he manufactures it to suit his own purpose:—'Cromwell, to SOME, would have covered this impiety with another'—(the reader will remark that neither time nor place is hinted at, while the word SOME clearly proves that it never could be meant to insinuate that it was 'in the house,' as Hume says)—'that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertakings to restore the king to his pristine majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more, which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being king' (p. 69). No one that ever looked into Perinchief would give one straw for any unvouched statement of his, particularly when neither time, place, nor person—all which, as he wrote after the Restoration, could have been specified—is even insinuated. But I must develope a little artifice. Mr. Hume knew well that, as never was

period more the subject of misrepresentation than this, even ministers of the gospel of high degree comparing the sufferings of Charles to those of Christ—nay, as more unjustifiable—and feigning miracles as performed by handkerchiefs dipped in his blood, so there are some authors whom by quoting, he would have exposed himself to ridicule. Of this description are Perinchief and Lloyd, whom he only refers to, I think, once; and yet he, in some important places, almost transcribes from them, particularly the first, making their language his own, either without giving a reference at all or giving a wrong one.

Immediately after the pretended speech of Cromwell, there occurs the following passage:—'A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.' For this he quotes White-locke, whose words are these: 'A woman, out of Hertfordshire, came to the council of the army, and acquainted them she had something from God to speak to them; and being admitted, she did much encourage them in their present proceedings' (p. 356). Now, all that know the style of the age must admit that the meaning of the passage is only that she used encouraging language, not that they were encouraged. But Hume makes a good story of it. The reader will find in Herbert a notable proof of superstition on the part of Charles and his attendants (p. 87; see Perinchief, pp. 82, 114).

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Charge
against
Charles.

committee sat close, and an impeachment was framed to the following effect: ‘That Charles Stuart being admitted king of England, and therein entrusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the laws of the land, and not otherwise; and by his trust, oath, and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties: yet, nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people—yea, to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which, by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, were reserved on the people’s behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive parliaments, or national meetings in council,—he, the said Charles Stuart, for the accomplishment of such his designs, and for the promoting of himself and his adherents in his and their wicked practices, to the same end hath traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people therein represented.’ It then proceeds to enumerate and specify the several places where battles were fought; it next states that he had caused the war to be renewed, and goes on thus: ‘by which cruel and unnatural wars, by him, the said Charles Stuart, levied, continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much innocent blood of the free people of this nation hath been spilt, many families have been undone, the public treasure wasted and exhausted, trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expenses and damages to the nation incurred, and many parts of this land spoiled, some of them even to desolation; and for further prosecution of his said evil designs, he, the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his commissions to the said prince his son, and other rebels and revolvers, both English and foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish rebels and revolvers associated with him;

from whom farther invasions upon this land are threatened, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said Charles Stuart. All which wicked desigus, works, and evil practices of him, the said Charles Stuart, have been and are carried on, for the advancement and upholding of a personal interest of will, power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest, common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation, by and from whom he was entrusted as aforesaid. By all which it appeareth, that the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is, the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damages, and mischiefs to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby.' This charge was voted by the Commons, and a provision was made against the king's refusing to plead, while a vote was passed adjudging and declaring it to be treason in time to come to levy war against the parliament. When, however, the ordinances were sent up to the Lords, they declared themselves unsatisfied regarding the collective power of the nation to bring the king to trial, and, to avoid a disagreement, adjourned for ten days. But the Commons having appointed a committee to inspect their journals, discovered that there were votes recorded, which they had concealed, against the ordinances; and, therefore, they (in which they only followed out an intimation that they had sent up before the civil wars, and by no less a man than Denzil Hollis himself) determined to act without that body as sitting in parliament for their own behoof only, while themselves represented the community at large. In conformity to this purpose they passed the three following resolutions: 'First, that the people are, under God, the origin of all just power; secondly, that the Commons of England assembled in parliament have the supreme authority of this nation; thirdly, that whatever is enacted

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Ordinance
for the
trial, &c.

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and declared for law by the Commons of parliament hath the force of law, and all the people of the nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the peers may not be had thereto.' These were passed without a negative voice, and an ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart by a high court of justice, specially constituted, was consented to and ordained to be engrossed on the succeeding day. The Commons thenceforth styled themselves the parliament. A new seal was likewise ordered, bearing on one side the arms of England and Ireland, with these words—'The great seal of England;' and on the other side the picture of the House of Commons, with the words, 'The first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored, 1648.' The inscription was imputed to Henry Martin, who was a keen Commonwealth's man.*

Scottish commissioners protest against the trial.

The Scottish commissioners having heard of the ordinance for the trial, sent to the Commons a letter, in which they protested against it, and pressed for that unity of counsels and actions between the two kingdoms which had been so studiously provided for by the Solemn League and Covenant; but their representations were disregarded.

Commissioners for the trial; conduct of Fairfax, &c.

There were in all a hundred and fifty commissioners (some of the Lords and Commons, officers of the army, aldermen of London, and gentlemen from the counties) nominated by the parliament for the trial of the king, and twenty were to form a quorum; but there do not appear to have sat above eighty-one of the number appointed, and never above seventy-one at one time. The absence of the rest has been by many writers ascribed to abhorrence at the proceeding; but if we may credit others who had better opportunities of knowing, and whose statements are corroborated by the subsequent conduct of the absentees, they were influenced by prudential motives only. The measure itself formed a new era in the poli-

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 488 1252 *et seq.*; Rush. vol. vii. ch. 34; *et seq.*; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. Whitelocke, p. 365 *et seq.*

tical world; and the present government could not be supposed to have the stability of an old established one. On any fresh revolution the grand actors in this event were the most likely to be selected for victims; and as there was no compulsion used, and no loss of favour threatened to those who absented themselves, many perceived that, while by absence they should not incur the danger of the act, they might derive (as they did) all the advantages of the measure. Lord Fairfax himself, who had very lately declared his desire of bringing the king to justice, sat once as a commissioner in that court to prepare matters for the trial, and assented to what was done; whence it cannot be denied that he fully sanctioned the institution of that judicature, and its authority over the individual whom it was specially appointed to try:* but, after this, he sat no more, and therefore has been ranked amongst the chief of those who would take no part in the proceedings—though he did not scruple to continue in his office, and acknowledge the new government.

The inconsistent conduct of Fairfax on that occasion has been ascribed to the influence of his lady. He had been himself attached to the Independent principles; but she having been gained over by some Presbyterian divines, excluded the Independent clergy from his presence, and unceasingly laboured to convert him to her principles. It is not, however, improbable that other motives swayed both him and his consort. Though not an English peer he was now, on the death of his father, a Scottish one, and most likely was attached to the title which he inherited. The parliament had determined to make his father an earl, both to reward his own services, and, through him, those of his son; and had the ordinance which was voted been established, the general would now have held that rank; but as the measures of the Commons

* Howell's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 1054. This fact has been unaccountably overlooked.

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were now destructive of the Upper House, his ambition had received, in that particular, a fatal blow. He still held the chief command in the army; yet the character of Cromwell, with the parliament, the military, and the nation at large, surpassed his own; and, in the council of officers, he found his influence subordinate to that of Cromwell and Ireton. He had, besides all this, the same prudential motives as the others: still he had, at the Restoration, the candour to acknowledge, that if any man ought to suffer for the death of Charles, it should be himself, as, had he chosen, he might have prevented the catastrophe.* It has been said that those who acted as commissioners in this high court of justice were almost entirely men of mean extraction;† but it is only necessary to inspect the list to be satisfied of the contrary: there were three lords, five baronets, five knights, and the remainder, with two or three exceptions, were members of old and highly respectable families. The president, John Bradshaw, serjeant-at-law, was of a very

Character
of Brad-
shaw.

* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 10: Hutchinson's *Mem.* vol. ii. pp. 101-2, 154 *et seq.* This lady informs us that Ingoldsby, who afterwards pretended that Cromwell and other officers, having put a pen into his hand by force, made it scrawl the signature, was the most forward in urging on the trial. With regard to Fairfax, she has this just statement: 'Then also a declaration to the same purpose was presented to the House from the Lord General Fairfax and his council of officers; and strange it is how men that could afterwards pretend such reluctance and abhorrence of those things that were done, should forget they were the effective answer of their petition.'

The motives which influenced Lord Willoughby of Parham may have affected Fairfax at the king's trial. Lord Willoughby, a man of talent, courage, &c., acted as lieutenant-general to Essex, and was voted to be an earl; but 'having

taken a disgust at the parliament's declining of a personal treaty with the king, and being jealous that monarchy, and consequently degrees and titles of honour, were in danger to be wholly abolished, he was forward,' &c. (Whitelocke, p. 324).

† The scurrility of the scum of the Royalist party, including the miscreant renegades in the Restoration, is truly ridiculous. They pretend that all were low: one or two of them were cobblers; some, too, adulterers; others atheistical, &c. &c. But Sanderson has the highest flight of all:—'If it were necessary to prove it,' says he, 'it was reported for truth, there was one man, and no man, or rather of double sex, an hermaphrodite' (p. 1121; Perinchief, p. 81 *et seq.*; Bates' *Elench. Mot.* p. 106). This fellow, Dr. George Bates, appears to me the most monstrous of all villanous turncoats. We shall have occasion to allude to him hereafter.

ancient family, though his fortune was chiefly of his own acquiring, by talent and industry in his profession. Even the most liberal of his enemies allow the depth of his knowledge and the extent of his legal practice. Amongst his own party, his character, not only for professional ability, but for general information, unimpeachable integrity, and dauntless resolution, was remarkably high. The parliament having appointed counsel to plead for the people of England, John Cooke was nominated for the occasion, solicitor-general: Dr. Dorislaus, originally a native of Holland, Mr. Steel, and Mr. Aske, were appointed his assistants. Party rancour afterwards pronounced this man unlettered, and denied him to have been a member of the bar! Cooke had, in his younger years, seen the best parts of Europe, and during his stay at Rome had acquired such a reputation, that the clergy there conceived it worth their while to use their endeavours to bring him over to their interest. He afterwards spent some months in the house of G. Deodati, the learned friend of Milton; and having, on his return to England, been called to the bar, soon acquired a considerable practice in the profession.*

Character
of Cooke.

Petitions were in the meantime presented from various quarters, to proceed in the execution of justice. As, however, neither Charles himself nor his immediate followers conceived it possible that he could be brought to trial, he gave himself no concern about the proceedings, and declared that he had no doubt whatever of seeing peace established in England within six months; for that in case the parliament should not restore him, or Ireland vindicate his rights, Denmark and other foreign states would. It was only after he was brought into Westminster Hall, that his eyes were opened to the delusion which had been, in no small degree, the cause of the

* Ludlow, vol. iii. pp. 69, 70. For a proof of the scurrility employed against the actors at this time, and Cooke amongst others, see Bates' *Elench. Mot.* p. 108; *Mot. Comp.* by Skinner, p. 84; Perinchief, &c.

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wilfulness that had all along scorned concession, and caused so many disasters to a people whose laws he had been appointed to administer.

State pre-
served by
Charles at
Windsor.

During Charles's residence at Windsor, he lived in all the state of a monarch: his usual diet was 'kept up;' 'Sir Fulke Greville being cup-bearer, gave it upon his knee; Mr. Mildmay was carver; Captain Preston, sometimes sewer, and kept the robes; Mr. Anstey, gentleman-usher; Captain Burroughs, Mr. Firebrass, Mr. Muschamp, had their places; Captain Brimer was cook; Mr. Babington, barber; Mr. Reading, page of the Back Stairs; and some others also waited. The king's dishes were brought up covered, and all things performed with satisfaction in that point.' He was now brought to St. James's, preparatory to his trial, and at first dined publicly in the presence-chamber; and at meals, was served after the usual state, the carver, cup-bearer, and gentleman-usher, attending and doing their offices respectively: his cup was given upon the knee, as were his covered dishes; the say was given, and other accustomed ceremonies of state observed, notwithstanding this his dolorous condition; and the king was well pleased with the observance afforded him. But then the case was altered; for the officers of the army being predominant, gave order at a court of war, that thenceforth all state ceremony or accustomed respect to his majesty should be forborne, and his menial servants, though few in number, be lessened. And accordingly the king's meat was brought up by soldiers, the dishes uncovered; no say, no cup upon the knee, nor other accustomed court-state was then observed; which was an uncouth sight unto the king, saying, that the respect and honour denied him, no sovereign prince ever wanted; nor yet subjects of high degree, according to ancient practice; further expressing, Is there anything more contemptible than a despised prince? But seeing it was come to such a pass, the best expedient he had to recon-

cile it, was to contract his diet to a few dishes out of the bill of fare, and to eat in private.*

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* Herbert's *Mem.* p. 101 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 227-229; White-locke, p. 363 *et seq.* But he must be wrong as to the time when ceremony was ordered to be withdrawn from Charles. He makes it on the 27th December, while the king was at Windsor; but Herbert, though he would have the king to be longer at St. James's than he was, (such mistakes are not wonderful,) could not be wrong as to the ceremony having been used at the latter place.

We have been the fuller in our quotations, to show the misstatements generally made on this subject. Warwick, when compared with Herbert, who, he erroneously says, was appointed to the king, for Charles himself gave a certificate to the contrary, (Herbert is ever loud in Charles's praise, and was afterwards made a baronet,) will be found to misrepresent strangely. Perinchief says that Charles, who used to have his beard, which he wore long, neatly picked, neglected it at the Isle of Wight; but he had his barber, and was too fond of state to allow that; yet this is represented in glowing colours by other historians, who, to depict a heart surcharged with woe, and estranged from the world—though he was at the time intent on only plunging the nations again in blood—have dwelt upon the circumstance without even warning their readers that the beard which they say he allowed to grow was worn long. His stiff, cold, formal manner and fondness for state, which were unaccompanied with the majestic grace of a Louis XIV. to set them off, raised up against him many enemies. It is said that the younger Vane having, at an early period, gone accidentally into a chamber of state, which those only of a certain rank were permitted to enter, no sooner heard the approach of the king's foot than he hid him-

self behind the curtains; but Charles, having observed something bulge out, poked him out with his staff, and immediately struck him. He turned away so abruptly, too, from Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the act of presenting a petition on his knees, that his horse trampled on Sir Thomas's foot (Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. i. pp. 356, 357).

We may now put to the proof the verses which Burnet alleges were written by Charles in Carisbrooke Castle. The 20th and 21st stanzas run thus:—

20. ' My life they prize at such a slender rate,
That in my absence they draw bills of hate,
To prove the king a traitor to the state.
21. Felons obtain more privilege than I;
They are allowed to answer ere they die;
'Tis death for me to ask the reason why.'

N.B. The bills alluded to in the first stanza were drawn after his arrival at Windsor. The second stanza relates to an event which even Clarendon assures us he never conceived to be possible till he was actually brought into Westminster Hall. When verses were forged, something decent in point of talent—genius is out of the question—ought to have been framed; but these are, taken altogether, the most sorry jingle (Burnet's *Mem. of the Hamiltons*, pp. 381-3). But the truth is manifest from what the same writer tells us in his *History* (vol. i. pp. 45-76): for he there says that Charles refused to accept of the terms proffered at the meeting of Newport, though so urged to it by the individuals desiring to save him; because 'he still fancied that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the army, both saw they needed him so much to give him the superior strength; but he imagined, by balancing them, he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms.'

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IV.

Trial of
Charles be-
gins, Jan-
uary 20,
1648-9.

On the 20th of January, 1648-9, Charles was brought before the high court of justice for trial. He went into the inside of the bar covered, and the judges, who would otherwise have lifted their hats, also retained theirs. He sternly looked both on the court and the audience, but paid not the slightest respect to the tribunal. The president having commanded silence to be proclaimed, addressed the prisoner, stating, that the Commons of England assembled in parliament, being deeply sensible of the mischiefs and calamities that had been brought on the nation, and the innocent blood which had been shed—whereof he was accused as the principal author—had resolved to make inquisition for this blood; and, according to the debt they owed to God, to justice, to the kingdom, and to themselves, as well as in conformity with that fundamental power which belonged to them, and the trust reposed in them by the people—other means failing through his default—had determined to bring him to trial and judgment, and had, therefore, constituted the present court of justice before which he was now summoned, and where he would hear the charge on which the court would proceed. Mr. Cooke, as solicitor for the people of England, stood up to read the impeachment, when Charles, gently touching him on the shoulder with his staff, commanded him to forbear. Even then he was firmly persuaded that the court durst not proceed to sentence; but a trivial incident was regarded by his followers as an unfavourable omen, and, from the deep impression it made on his own mind, appears to have first opened his eyes to a truth which all other circumstances had failed to convince him of: *—The silver head of his

* Herbert, p. 115; Warwick, pp. 339, 340. This omen must have overcome a favourable one at Oxford. Charles had always 'a large cake of wax,' set in a silver basin, to burn all the night. It went out, and the Earl of Lindsay, who slept in the chamber as his attendant, ob-

served that it had gone out, but durst not, for fear of disturbing his majesty, rise to relight it. He then fell asleep: and when he awoke, he observed the lamp burning bright, and, in his astonishment, he mentioned the circumstance to Charles, who told him he had remarked it

staff fell off while he was in the act of touching Cooke's shoulder, and rolled to the opposite side, as one of his attendants attempted to catch it, so that Charles was obliged to stoop for it himself. The president, in opposition to the king's command, ordered the counsel to proceed; and the charge was read. While Cooke read the charge, Charles was observed to smile; and the circumstance was, according to the difference of feeling in the spectators, ascribed to different motives. His friends, probably with the greatest truth, conceived that it indicated a contempt of the power assumed over him: his adversaries imputed it to the satisfaction he felt at the recital of the blood shed by him for the re-establishment of his own usurped power; and they thought the same feeling farther testified by his general conduct, which neither evinced remorse nor pity for the calamities he had brought on his country.

Instead of answering to the charge, Charles demanded by what authority he was brought thither; stating, that he had been engaged in a treaty with both Houses of parliament, and had nearly concluded it when he was carried from the Isle of Wight. 'Now,' says he, 'I would know by what authority, I mean lawful: there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the highways: but I would know by what authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, and I know not what; and when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your king, your lawful king, and what sins you bring on your heads and the judgment of God on this land; think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go farther from

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himself, and considered it as a prognostic of God's power and mercy towards him or his; that although he was at that time so eclipsed, yet either he or they might shine out bright again (Perinchief, p. 114; Lloyd, p. 175). We have also re-

ferred to it in Herbert, who, however, merely mentions it as having learned it from the person to whom he, in the epistolary style, writes his *Memoirs*. See an instance of Carte's own ridiculous superstition in his *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55.

one sin to a greater: therefore, let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer. In the meantime, I shall not betray my trust; I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent, I will not betray to answer to a new and unlawful authority: therefore, resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.' The president told him, that if he had attended to what was hinted when he entered into court, he would have known the authority—that it was an authority in the name of the people of England, of which he was elected king. Charles denied that he had been elected, declaring that the kingdom of England had been hereditary for nearly a thousand years, and that he stood more upon the liberty of his people than any that came there to be his pretended judges. After some more conversation, in which he persisted in denying any authority over him, he was conducted from the court.

As he was brought to court on the next occasion, some of the soldiers and the rabble cried out, 'Justice, justice! Execution!' and they repeated the brutality on his return from it. 'Here,' says Whitelocke, with generous indignation, 'we may take notice of the abject baseness of some vulgar spirits, who seeing their king in that condition, endeavoured, in their small capacity, further to promote his misery, that they might a little curry favour, and pick thanks of their then superiors. Some of the very same persons were afterwards as clamorous for justice against those that were the king's judges.' One of the soldiers, however, stepping out of his ranks, said, 'God bless you, Sir.' The king thanked him; and when the soldier's officer had struck him for it with his cane, remarked that the punishment exceeded the offence. The officer (Col. Axtell) suffered capitally afterwards upon this charge amongst others; and though all this matter, greatly exaggerated indeed, was after the Restoration fully brought before the court for the trial of the regicides, some of the

Royalist writers, who published subsequently to that event, have not scrupled to say that the soldier was killed on the spot. After his return home, Charles having asked Herbert whether he heard the cry for justice, the latter answered, that he did, and ‘*marvelled thereat* ;’ to which the fallen monarch replied, ‘*So did not I, for I am well assured that the soldiers bear no malice to me. The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like were there occasion.*’ But, to the credit of the soldiery, and all concerned in the business, Charles was, even according to the statement of Herbert, treated at all other times with the utmost kindness, compatible with his situation.*

* As Herbert is an authority beyond all question, I have strictly followed him. Clarendon (*Hist.* vol. vi. p. 234) and Warwick say that one of the soldiers spit in the king’s face ; but such a piece of brutality never could escape Herbert, and they, as they were not even in the kingdom, ought to have derived their information from him, particularly as it is confirmed by others, as by Whitelocke. See, too, the sort of evidence on this head in the trials of the regicides (Howell’s *State Trials*, vol. v. pp. 1151, 1215). But their account could not, of course, satisfy Mr. Hume, whom even any royalist of that age could scarcely outstrip. The theatrical remark attributed to Charles—‘*Poor souls ! for a little money they would do as much for their commanders*’—though to be found in Rushworth, was evidently copied from Perin-chief and others of his stamp, since the very individual to whom Charles made the remark reports it in a manner very different from the sanctified light in which, to make it accord with the *Eikon*, it has been represented. But Hume proceeds thus : ‘*Some of them were permitted to go the utmost lengths of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face as he was conducted along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of piety was the only effect which this*

inhuman insult was able to produce upon him.’ He quotes no authority, yet he had one ; but such a one as he was ashamed to refer to. The reader shall have it in the original :—‘*At his departure, he was exposed to all the insolence and indignities that a phanatick and base rabble, instigated by Peters and other instructors of villany, could invent and commit ; and he suffered many things so conformable to Christ, his King, as did alleviate the sense of them in him, and also instruct him to a corresponding patience and charity. When the barbarous soldiers cried out at his departure, “Justice, justice ! Execution, execution !” as those deceived Jews did once to their King—“Crucify him ! crucify him !” this prince, in imitation of that most holy King, pitied their blind fury, and said—“Poor souls ! for a piece of money they would do as much for their commanders.” As he passed along, some in defiance spit upon his garments, and one or two (as it was reported by an officer of theirs, who was one of their court, and praises it as an evidence of his soldiers’ gallantry, while others were stupefied with their prodigious baseness) polluted his majestic countenance with their unclean spittle.’—The reader will remark how this hangs together. The whole rests upon the pretended*

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Several times was he brought before the tribunal, arguing that no power on earth had jurisdiction over him, who was answerable to God only for his actions; that,

report of a nameless officer who applauded it; and yet this writer, who knew it only from the nameless officer—an officer, too, that is said to have applauded the deed—can, notwithstanding, tell us how all the others felt. But the conclusion of the sentence is the most extraordinary of all—“The good king, reflecting on his great example and Master, wiped it off, saying, “My Saviour suffered far more than this for me!”—Did the author derive all this from the nameless officer? He does not even insinuate that, and yet begins with telling us that he got all his information on the subject from that nameless individual. ‘Into his very face they blowed their stinking tobacco, which they knew was very distasteful to him; and in the way where he was to go, just at his feet, they flung down pieces of their nasty pipes. Such as pulled off their hats, or bowed to him, they beat with their fists and weapons, and knocked down one dead, but for crying, “God be merciful unto him!”’ (*Life*, by Perinchief, prefixed to King Charles’s Works, p. 88.) It is curious that this passage was marked by Mr. Hume himself opposite the words ‘Poor souls! for a piece of money,’ &c. Bates just gives in Latin what is here quoted from Perinchief, p. 113 *et seq.* See Milton’s *Prose Works*, regarding the story about the soldier being killed, &c., *Def. Sec. pro Pop. Angl.* vol. v. p. 344.

Perhaps I ought here to say a few words about the evidence in general which was adduced at the trial of the regicides. The Restoration was the hour of signal triumph to the reigning party, who returned with infuriated passions; and as every imposture had been resorted to, even by divines, to render the Commonwealth party odious, so now every stigma was encouraged, not only in triumph over fallen enemies, but to

prevent their rising again. Irreligion and utter indecency, as well as profligacy of manners, as the reverse of theirs, became fashionable. But to make the death of Charles appear to be the act of a few, the collected torrent of abuse was directed against those who were arraigned as regicides, and men who had been the most impudently violent against the unfortunate Charles were now the most forward, both to save their own lives and curry favour, (for the road of preferment was chiefly open to those who could blacken the late ruling party most,) to act as the principal witnesses against their former associates. The accused, on the other hand, were, after a long close confinement, suddenly brought into court—marked, too, for destruction, without the assistance of friends or counsel. Counter-evidence they could not adduce without involving their witnesses in nearly their own danger; and none of them except Peters, who adduced one to speak to a simple fact, and he was not sworn, attempted it. But of what use would exculpatory evidence have been, when Axtell was addressed thus by the chief baron?—‘Mr. Axtell, you know the strength of one affirmative witness, “I saw such a man, and heard such a man say, &c.” is more than if twenty should witness they stood by, but did not see him, nor hear him speak’ (*Howell’s State Trials*, vol. v. p. 1166). That the witnesses perjured themselves is quite evident from a comparison of their testimony with the accounts of Herbert, Berkeley, and others, who, as keen Royalists, cannot be supposed to have fallen short of the truth. But, indeed, the temper of the witnesses may be seen in their testimony; yet their conduct was at least equalled by the indecency of the court. By the way, the reader may perhaps not know that Algernon

even supposing the two Houses of Parliament possessed such a jurisdiction, yet that the House of Lords, which constitutes an essential part of the legislature, had not concurred; and that, granting the people of England had the authority, yet that the opinion of every man, down to the meanest subject, ought to be taken. Bradshaw interrupted him in these discourses, telling him that the authority of the court—which had proceeded from the supreme power of the state, the voice of the people as expressed by their representatives—was not to be disputed; that if he demurred to the jurisdiction of both, the plea was overruled, for that they had considered of and confirmed their jurisdiction. The court was twice interrupted by Lady Fairfax: when some asked where Lord Fairfax was—he had sat as one of the commissioners preparatory to the trial—she exclaimed, that ‘he had too much wit to be there!’ a remark fully verified by the event; and when Bradshaw told Charles that he was brought there by the people of England, she cried out, ‘Not by a half or a quarter of them.’ The interruption

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Sidney sat as one of the commissioners in the high court of justice.

Herbert, pp. 113-14: Whitelocke, pp. 373-4; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 234, says that ‘as there was in many persons present at that woeful spectacle a real duty and compassion, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour to him, that they called him tyrant, murderer, and one spit in his face, which his majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief.’ There is here none of the pious reflection. But that the story, though repeated by Warwick (p. 339) and Sanderson (p. 1132) is altogether untrue, no one who consults the most undoubted authority—that of the king’s own attendant, with Whitelocke and Rush. vol. vii. p. 1425, &c.—can doubt. In a suppressed passage, Clarendon (*Hist.* vol. vi. p. 229) had said that at St. James’s, after the

withdrawal of the accustomed ceremony, no man was suffered to see or speak to him but the soldiers who were his guard, some of whom sat always in his bedchamber, and drank and took tobacco as if they had been upon the court of guard. Nor was he suffered to go into any other room, either to say his prayers or to receive the ordinary benefits of nature, but was obliged to do both in their presence and before them; and yet they were so jealous of these his janizaries, that they might be wrought upon—follows in old text—‘by the influence of this innocent prince, or by the remorse of their own conscience upon the exercise of so much barbarity, that they caused the guards to be still changed,’ &c. According to this, the object was not to insult, but to secure. Yet is all this disproved by the unquestionable narrative of Herbert.

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to the court was likely to be attended with serious consequences, when the female was discovered to be the lord general's wife. On the third occasion, when Charles was before the court, he told them that he valued not the charge a rush—that it was the liberty of the people of England that he stood for; that, as a king, he ought to be an example to all the people of England to uphold justice; and he would never, by owning a new authority, commit a breach of that justice which he owed to God and his people, to maintain, as far as in him lay, the ancient laws of the kingdom. Bradshaw having repeatedly warned him that the default to plead would be recorded, addressed him thus: ‘Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned the court, and put an affront upon it: how far you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoken it; but truly, sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions: you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the kingdom.’ Ludlow tells us, though the fact is not recorded elsewhere in any account of the trial, that, to Charles's repeated assertions that he was responsible only to God, Bradshaw answered that, ‘seeing God had by his providence overruled that plea, the court was determined to do so likewise.’ At the two next meetings, witnesses were called to prove that he had been in arms against the people of England in various places; but the deposition of most consequence was that of Henry Gooche, of Gray's Inn, who said that, ‘on the 30th of September last, having access to hold discourse with the king at Newport, he told him that, since his majesty had justified the parliament's taking up arms by consenting to the preface of the bill, he did not question but most of the Presbyterian party, both soldiers and others, would stick close to him. To which the king answered, that he would have all his old friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the parliament leave to call their own war what they pleased, yet that he did neither then nor ever should decline the justice of his own cause. More-

over, upon the deponent saying that the business was much retarded through want of commissions, the king made answer, that, being upon a treaty, he would not dishonour himself; but that if the deponent would go over to the prince his son (who had full authority from him), he or any from him should receive whatever should be desired.' This evidence, if it had stood alone, might not, at such a juncture, have been entitled to credit; but when we collate it with the private letters which Charles was writing at the very moment, we have no reason to doubt it; and it is just an additional proof of that unfortunate want of faith in this prince, which rendered it utterly impossible to bind him to any law or condition.

When the trial was nearly brought to a close, Charles desired to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the painted chamber, and it was generally thought that he meant to resign the crown in favour of his son. Some of the court were for granting the request; but others, to prevent the appearance of division, proposed to adjourn, which was carried, and, in about an hour, the court returned with an answer, that the king's request could not be granted. Sentence of death, by severing the head from the body, was then pronounced. On giving sentence, Bradshaw dilated on the king's misgovernment, stating, that by law, which was superior to kings, they were accountable for their conduct, and instanced the case of many monarchs who had been deposed and imprisoned by their subjects, particularly in Charles's native country, where, out of 109, the greater part had either been dethroned, or proceeded against for misgovernment; and even the prisoner's own grandmother removed, and his father, while an infant, crowned in her stead. The sentence having been read by the clerk, Charles desired to be heard; but, as the sentence had now passed, his request was refused.*

Sentence
pro-
nounced,
Jan. 27,
1648-9.

* Rush, vol. vii. p. 1396 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 370; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 276 *et seq.*; Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 155; Clarendon, *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 230

et seq.; Howell's *State Trials*, vol. iv. p. 994 *et seq.*, and particularly for Gooch's evidence, p. 1090.

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Two hours after his sentence, which was pronounced on Saturday the 27th of January, Charles was conducted to St. James's, where he continued till the morning of Tuesday thereafter, on which he was executed. The king had desired the assistance of Dr. Juxon, formerly bishop of London, in his meditations, and his request was granted.* There came also to him Messrs. Calamy, Vines, Carlyl, Dell, and some other ministers, (it may be remarked that these were hostile to the present proceeding against him,) 'who presented their duty, and their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other offices of service, if he would be pleased to accept of them.' Charles returned them thanks for their love to his soul, and hoped that, in their addresses to God, they, and all his other good subjects, would be mindful of him; but told them, that having chosen Dr. Juxon, whose piety, learning, and ability to administer spiritual comfort he had experienced for many years, he had resolved to take his assistance only. These ministers were scarcely gone, when Mr. John Goodwin, an Independent clergyman, presented himself on the same account: Charles thanked him also for the tender of his

* Peters, who is so much reviled, was employed by Charles to intimate his desire of having Juxon. This individual, of whom we shall afterwards have occasion to speak more at large, said on his trial, in answer to the evidence of his having ridden before Charles between Windsor and St. James's, 'like bishop almoner,' that he was commanded by the king to ride before him, that Bishop Juxon might come to him. What is extraordinary is, that it was allowed by the court that Peters had been employed on such a service, but three weeks later. Peters had been very anxious to preach before Charles while he was with the army; but the king, though he courted him, denied that. Whitelocke, having occasion to speak of Peters to Christina of Sweden in consequence of Peters having sent her a mastiff dog—a cir-

cumstance at which Whitelocke was deeply offended—the queen inquired about that individual; and he told her that Peters was a gentleman of a good family, that he had been a constant servant of the parliament in their wars and great affairs, and *that he was also an excellent preacher*. She said it was much to be a good soldier and a good preacher. Whitelocke said there were many such amongst the servants of the parliament (*Hist. of his Embassy, Aysc. Manuscripts, Brit. Mus. No. 4991, p. 206*). In relating this, he does not give us the slightest reason to believe that he was guilty of any disingenuousness in the character; and his judgment and impartiality will surely not be questioned by any. Peters had been quite regularly educated at Cambridge, and rather wrote a good style.

service, and dismissed him with the like friendly answer.* During the very short time which he had now to spend on earth, he employed himself in devotion, and in taking farewell of his friends and family. His nephew, the Prince Elector, with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsay, visited him, and received his commands. Such of his children as were in England were admitted to him, to take a last farewell; and the scene was, as might be supposed, an affecting one. Charles bestowed upon them many good advices, particularly as to the duty which they owed to their eldest brother as king. The prince, who was in Holland, urged the States to interpose by their ambassador to save his father's life, or, at least, defer the execution; but their interposition, as well as the protest of the Scottish commissioners, who argued that they had a right and interest in the preservation of his majesty's person, was fruitless.†

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* Herbert, p. 117 *et seq.* This conduct was equally becoming in the unfortunate Charles and the clergy; yet their conduct is alleged by Perinchief and Bates to have proceeded from inhuman motives. Some authorities, supported by the evidence on the trial of Haacker, say that Charles was carried to St. James's on Sunday morning; but Herbert could scarcely be wrong.

'Every night during this interval,' (from the sentence till the execution,) says Hume, 'the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually resounded in his ears.' As Hume's own marks are still in the copy of Herbert's *Mem.* belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, and now on my table, it has been well observed that he could have no excuse for following such a writer as Clement Walker, who is contradicted by every other. (See Laing and Fox's letter to him

in Introduction by Lord Holland to Fox's *History*.) But Laing might have gone farther; for Clement Walker does not bear Hume out, and so refutes himself as to leave no apology for not perceiving the groundlessness of the statement. After stating that the king had been disturbed all Saturday and *Sunday* night by the strokes of the workmen, he proceeds thus: 'Tuesday, 30th January, 1648, was the day appointed for the king's death. *He came on foot from St. James's to Whitehall that morning*' (*Hist. of Independency*, part ii. p. 110).

† The story told by Hume, of Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsay having offered themselves for execution to save Charles, rests entirely on the authority of Perinchief, Lloyd, and also Bates (p. 115-16), which, if true, it never could have done; but it is clearly a fabrication. Indeed, they could not but know that such an offer would have been scouted at. The account

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The warrant for execution was signed on Monday the 29th, and the place assigned for the awful catastrophe was the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, which was prepared for the occasion by opening a window, that he might walk out to a scaffold erected before it. Serious apprehensions were entertained either of an escape or a rescue; and it is said by Clarendon, that great care was taken to change the guard almost daily. After sentence, Colonel Hacker, who commanded the guards, intended to have placed two musketeers in the chamber; but Dr. Juxon and Mr. Herbert prevailed upon him to alter that resolution, and allow Charles the privacy which his rank and situation required.

Having slept about four hours on the Tuesday morning, Charles awoke before day, and called for Herbert, who reposed on a pallet by his side. He had always a large 'cake of wax,' which, set in a silver bason, burned during the whole night, and as by it he perceived that Herbert was disturbed in his sleep, he desired to know his dream. The other repeated it, and Charles, having declared it was remarkable, said, 'Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim to-day as may be, for, before night, I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.' He then appointed the clothes he would wear, and said, 'Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared.' Juxon joined them at an appointed hour, and assisted Charles in his devotion; after which the fallen monarch

of the language used by Charles to the young Duke of Gloucester, and the child's reply, as detailed by Mr. Hume, without referring to an authority, is taken from Lloyd (p. 212), who is followed by Bates (p. 107), and doubtless also a fabrication.

Hume wisely abstains from mentioning such an authority. The reader will recollect that I account Kenet's *History* no authority whatever, because it is only valuable in so far as it is supported by references.

delivered to Herbert some presents for his children, accompanied with advice for their future conduct.*

As the hour approached, Hacker knocked gently at the door; but Herbert would not stir to ask who it was, and he knocked a second time a little louder. Charles then, guessing the business, desired his attendant to go to the door, when Hacker intimated his wish to speak with the king. Charles having himself said, 'Let him come in,' the colonel, *in a trembling manner*,† came near, and told his majesty it was time to go to Whitehall, where he might have some further time to rest.' The other bade him go forth and he would be ready presently; and at the next warning (about ten o'clock), went out with becoming firmness. Several companies of foot were drawn up in the Park as a guard on either side as he passed. A body of halberdiers went both before and behind him. On his right hand was Juxon, and on the left was Colonel Tomlinson, with whom he conversed on the way. The drums beat all the time. 'His majesty,' says Herbert, 'heard many of the crowd pray for him, the soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting.'‡ At Whitehall he took a small quantity of bread and wine, and fully prepared himself for the last melancholy scene. About noon he was brought upon the

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Charles conducted from St. James's to Whitehall for execution, Jan. 30, 1648-9.

* Herbert, p. 124 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 367 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 235 *et seq.* Warwick gives an account of what passed with Juxon, which, he says, he had from that prelate himself, not quite so creditable to the royal martyr. The words of Charles are, 'We will not talk of these *rogues* in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more.' 'When he had taken the eucharist, he rose from his knees with a steady countenance. "Now," says he, "let the *rogues* come; I have heartily for-

given them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo"' (pp. 341, 343). The reader may, from the language, rather think this a bastard sort of forgiveness.

† Herbert, p. 132. Does this look like the conduct of a man who would be insolent? See, for a similar instance, p. 122.

‡ Herbert, p. 134. Whoever will compare the gentlemanly narrative of this writer with the scurrility of such as Bates and Perinchief will be able to form some idea of the utter disregard to truth with which such works abound.

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scaffold, where he addressed the spectators, telling them that he would have held his tongue were it not that, as some might impute his silence to an acknowledgment of guilt, he deemed it a duty to God, his country, and himself, to vindicate his character as an honest man, a good king, and a good Christian. He commenced with his innocence, upon which he said it would be unnecessary for him to enlarge, as all men knew that he neither began the war, nor intended to encroach on parliamentary privileges. He imputed the war to the parliament, in their proceeding about the militia, though he ascribed their conduct to evil instruments between them: that, with regard to the blood which had been spilt, he could not charge himself with it, though he reckoned his fate a just retribution for the death of Strafford: that as to his being a good Christian, he appealed to Juxon whether he had not heartily forgiven his enemies; and that his charity went farther, as he wished them to repent of the great sin they had committed, and bring back matters to their legitimate channel: that, as they had no pretext for the quarrel, so they had nothing to plead but conquest; and 'then,' says he, 'it is a great robbery; as a pirate said to Alexander, that he was a great robber, himself but a petty one.' That things would never be well till God had his due, the king his, and the people theirs: that, as for the regal power, the laws would instruct them what it was; and as to the people's liberty, it consisted in being governed by the laws, not in having any share in the government; the rights and duties of a sovereign and a subject being different things. He concluded in these words: 'Sirs, it was for this that I am come here; if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and, therefore, I tell you, and I pray God may not lay it to your charge, that I am the martyr of the people. In troth, sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will only say this to you, that in

truth I could have desired some time longer, because that I would have put this that I have said in a little more order and a little better digested than I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me. I have delivered my conscience. I pray God that you may take those courses that are best for the good of the kingdom and your own salvation.' At the desire of Juxon, he declared that he died a Protestant according to the doctrine of the Church of England. His hair he put under a satin nightcap, with the assistance of Juxon and the executioner; and he evinced his presence of mind, by desiring some of the spectators who passed near him to take heed of the axe. His hair having been adjusted, he turned to the bishop, and said, 'I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side.' The bishop replied, 'There is but one stage more; this stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one; but you may consider it will carry you a great way—from earth to heaven, and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.' 'I go,' said Charles, 'from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be.' Bishop—'You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown—a good exchange.' Having requested the executioner, who was in a visor, to put him to as little pain as possible, and bid him strike when he held out his hands as a sign, he used the word 'Remember' to Juxon (which the prelate said was intended to caution his son to forgive his enemies),* and laid his head

* See what Milton says on this subject, *Prose Works*, vol. v. p. 244. The parliament, or ruling men, troubled themselves little about the matter; and if it related to such an injunction, it was shamefully disregarded (Rush. vol. vii. p. 1429-30; Whitelocke, pp. 374-6; Herbert, p. 134). The account given by Mr. Hume, in regard to an alleged fresh instance of hypocrisy on the very day of the king's death, and the conduct of Fairfax, together with the part assigned to Harrison, is

worthy of an author who, when he took up the pen to vindicate this misguided monarch, appears to have thought himself as much absolved from the fundamental law of history as the subject of his panegyric conceived himself to be from the law of the land which alone gave him a title to reign. He quotes Herbert, but the author that he really follows is Perinchief. We shall give Herbert's own words. 'Mr. Herbert during this' (that is, during the execution) 'was at the door lament-

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upon the block. The executioner performed his office at one stroke; and another person, likewise in a mask, cried

ing; and the bishop coming thence with the royal corpse, which was immediately coffined, and covered with a black velvet pall, he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the back stairs to be embalmed. Meantime they went into the long gallery, where chancing to meet the general, he asked Mr. Herbert how the king did? *which he thought strange; (it seems thereby that the general knew not what had passed, being all that morning, as indeed at other times, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred some days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and fully resolved with his own regiment to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design;)* but being with the officers of the army, then at prayer or discourse in Colonel Harrison's apartment (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the privy garden), his question being answered, the general *seemed* much surprised; and walking farther in the gallery, they were met by another great commander, Cromwell, who knew what had so lately passed, *for he told them they should have orders for the king's burial speedily*' (Herbert, pp. 135-36). Now the reader cannot have failed to remark a little incongruity in this passage. First we are told that the general had been employed all that morning, as he had been for some days previous, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred, and therefore had forbore to be among the officers; and yet, in the same breath, we are told that he had been all that morning with them in prayer or discourse. In the second place, it is perfectly evident that Herbert did not mean to convey that he derived his information of Fairfax's conduct from himself, as to his having been employed in attempts to stop or delay the execution, because he merely

inferred that Fairfax did not know of the fact from his having asked how the king did, (a question of this kind, where a man out of delicacy wishes to signify more than he expresses, may easily be misconceived,) and from his having *seemed* surprised. Had Fairfax been imposed upon, and generously resented what had passed, would not he have said so in as many words? But Cromwell comes to them, and at once tells them that they should have orders for the king's burial speedily; and I would ask, could he have possibly done this unless upon the assumption that Fairfax knew what had just taken place? And would not Fairfax—who, as one of the bravest men that ever existed, would not have been afraid to utter his sentiments (indeed, he could have no cause for fear)—directly have charged Cromwell with the measure? Yet he does not utter one word expressive of his disapprobation. Now let us hear what Hume says on the subject. After stating that Fairfax had even employed persuasion with his own regiment to rescue the king from his disloyal murderers, he proceeds thus: 'Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him that the Lord had rejected the king; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from Heaven on this important occasion, but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant till intelligence arrived that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax that this event was a miraculous and providential answer which Heaven had sent to their devout supplications.' For all this Mr. Hume quotes the passage we have just given from Herbert, and that only: and yet it is

out, 'Here is the head of a traitor.' Many wept at the sad spectacle; many strove to dip their handkerchiefs in

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evident from Herbert's statement, that he had met the general alone, walking too in the gallery, and that he did not even see Harrison or any other officer, except Cromwell, who joined them. The passage in Herbert is marked by Mr. Hume's own pencil in the copy belonging to the Advocates' Library; but he had not the merit of invention. He owed it to Perinchief—an author whom he had not the manliness to refer to, but whose work was always in reserve to be adduced, in case his statements had been attacked as opposed to his own authority. Perinchief, after stating that Fairfax had taken up some resolutions ('AS IS CREDIBLY REPORTED,') proceeds in almost the very words which Mr. Hume has adopted: 'This being suspected or known, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison, coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to persuade him that the Lord had rejected the king, and with such like language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very morning signed the warrant for the assassination: (it was not signed that morning;) 'they also desired him, with them, to seek the Lord by prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing. Which he assenting to, Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blasphemous discourse to God, in such a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately sent to their instruments to hasten; of which when they had notice that it was passed, they rose up, and persuaded the general that this was a full return of prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure, they were to acquiesce in it' (pp. 91-2). No one surely would pretend to refer to Perinchief as an authority; and even he qualifies his statement, as we have seen, by his parenthesis ('as is credibly reported'). We

may observe, as we have formerly remarked, that in order to prove Fairfax to have been innocent, they proceed upon the assumption that he was destitute of common sense. But, in the first place it is utterly impossible that Fairfax, who was at Whitehall, could be ignorant of the truth. Did he not see the scaffold erected? Did he not see the troops drawn out, and the crowd assembled? Did he not hear the noise of the drums which beat all the way from St. James's to Whitehall? Was there not one even of his own regiment to apprise him of the circumstance? or, would not Colonel Tomlinson, upon whom, Hume says, 'the king's conduct had wrought a total conversion,' have signified the circumstance? Would not all the Presbyterian clergy, who knew perfectly that it was to take place, and were vehement against it, have run with the tidings to Lady Fairfax, in order to obtain the interposition of her lord? These clergy were always about her, and, knowing her sentiments, could not fail to introduce the subject. We must then suppose, that what all the world knew, Fairfax alone was ignorant of. Yet, we may observe, in the second place, that he does not pretend anything of this kind in his own Memoirs; and we may be well assured that he would not have allowed such a charge against Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison to pass. In the third place, he survived the Restoration many years, and doubtless would have been adduced as a witness against Harrison, to prove a fact so calculated to excite execration against one whom the ruling party, now joined by this very Fairfax, wished so much to make abhorred; or, at all events, would have embraced some public opportunity of bringing out the truth. Yet, far from this, he does not appear to have asserted such a thing even to his private friends. But, lastly,

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his blood, as in that of a martyr. Misery is always sacred; and fallen greatness, however merited the sufferings,

what sets the matter beyond all dispute is, that it is disproved in the most direct manner, by the evidence against Colonel Hacker, as one of the regicides. The evidence is that of Colonel Huncks, who says, that a little before the hour the king died, he was in Ireton's chamber, where Ireton and Harrison were in bed together, and that there were Cromwell, Colonel Hacker, Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, Axtel, and the witness himself standing at the door (Howell's *State Trials*, vol. v. p. 1180). Now, as Hacker was the officer who brought the king from St. James's, and as the king was but a short time at Whitehall before his execution, they left St. James's at ten, and Charles was brought on the scaffold by twelve, Huncks could not be wrong in saying, that immediately after this interview the king came out to the scaffold. It is beyond all question, therefore, that though Herbert might state correctly what he witnessed, all the rest, and particularly the imputation by Perinchief and Hume, is utterly unfounded. But why have all this misstatement and slander been directed against Harrison, with whose character, as Harris well remarks, it was utterly irreconcilable? It is, that, at the Restoration, he was so far from denying what he had done, or feigning repentance for it, that he declared he came into court to bring it forth to the light, and died with such magnanimity and Christian piety, that the Royalists were as apprehensive of the effect of his character after his death, as they had been of his heroism in the field. It is, that he reminded the bench that many who sat there had formerly been as active as himself; and, indeed, not to mention Monk, who had sold them all, it is impossible to reflect on the conduct of Hollis on that occasion, and the language he then used, compared with his former proceedings, without

amazement at his effrontery. But let us here quote a short passage of the trial.—*Harrison*: Notwithstanding the judgment of so many learned ones, that the kings of England are no ways accountable to the parliament, the Lords and Commons, in the beginning of this war, having declared the king's beginning war upon them, the God of gods—*Court*: Do you render yourself so desperate, that you care not what language you let fall? It must not be suffered.—*Harrison*: I would not willingly speak to offend any man; but I know God is no respecter of persons. His setting up his standard against the people—*Court*: Truly, Mr. Harrison, this must not be suffered—this doth not belong to you.—*Harrison*: Under favour, this doth belong to me. I would have abhorred to have brought him to account, had not the blood of Englishmen that had been shed—*Counsel*: Methinks he should be sent to Bedlam, till he comes to the gallows to render an account of this. This must not be suffered. It is, in a manner, a new impeachment of this king, to justify their treasons against his late majesty.—*Solicitor-General*: My lords, I pray that the jury may go together on the evidence.—*Sir Edward Turner*: My lords, that man hath the plague all over him; it is a pity any should stand near him, for he will infect them. Let us say to him as they used to write over an house infected, "The Lord have mercy upon him;" and so let the officers take him away.—*Lord Chief Baron*: Mr. Harrison, we are ready to hear you again; but to hear such stuff it cannot be suffered. You have spoken that which is as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as I have heard!—The plea of Harrison was, that he acted by the supreme authority, the parliament, and that no inferior jurisdiction could take cogni-

never fails to make the deepest impression. We, too, would now willingly draw the curtain over his failings, did we not conceive it an imperious duty not to allow the last scene of his life to make a false impression on the reader's mind. It is so revolting to the feelings of an ingenuous breast, to credit that a human being, who, as a firm believer in Christianity, expects that the stroke of death must usher his spirit into the presence of his everlasting Judge, to whom his secret thoughts are known, and from whom he looks for his reward according to the deeds done in the flesh, could spend his latest breath in uttering untruths, that too many are misled by declarations of innocence emitted on the scaffold; but numerous instances could easily be adduced to prove that men whose hearts are hardened to the commission of crimes, and who yet retain a regard for character, easily deceive themselves, or compound with their consciences, so as to gain, by false assertions, the good-will of bystanders who sympathise with them in their last affliction. The unfortunate Charles, however, was in a peculiar situation. Accustomed from his earliest years to intrigue and dissimulation, he seems, like his father, to have regarded hypocrisy as a necessary part of '*king-craft*:' he had reconciled his conscience to the most uncandid protestations, and had studied divinity in order to satisfy himself of the lawfulness of taking oaths to break them.* Though he loved

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sance of the act. He in vain asked for liberty to have counsel to urge that plea. The hangman, in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was purposely placed before him during what they were pleased to denominate a trial (Howell's *State Trials*, p. 1024-31; Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 62). Besides this, he was, after three months' close confinement, every friend denied access to him, and the indictment never shown, apprised at nine o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, that he was to be put to the bar next morning, and he was finally disposed of

by the court on the 11th (*Ib.*). As Love, the sheriff of London at the Restoration, would not pack the juries, the trials were delayed till new sheriffs were appointed (Lud. vol. iii. p. 59).

* He had translated Sanderson's *De Juramenti Promissorii Obligatione* with his own hand. See a judicious note by Laing on this subject. What too we have seen, that he said he had learned from divines, regarding the validity of a promise by a person under restraint, is in point.

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the Church of England only as a prop to his own power, he had latterly endeavoured to persuade himself that, by upholding it, he was rendering a service to religion ; and he was now surrounded with clergy who, regarding the ecclesiastical establishment with reverence, partaking, in no small degree, of the feeling of self-interest, were ready to assure him (and well did they practise the lesson they taught) that a pious fraud which promoted such an object was not only justifiable, but commendable in the sight of God. Thus did his faith, instead of controlling the dictates of his will, encourage them ; and the interests and welfare of his family appeared to him to demand such a sacrifice of principle. Deeply, however, must every man who regards sincerity deplore that the firmness displayed by Charles on the scaffold was disgraced by the speech he uttered. His whole government, and all his measures—as proved by authorities and documents which can admit of no dispute—had been subversive of parliament, the privileges of the people, and, in short, of the law of the land, on which alone was founded his right to govern ; and yet, like his two grand criminal ministers, Laud and Strafford—whose own correspondence, in the absence of all other proof, would indisputably establish their guilt—he averred on the scaffold that he had always been a friend to parliaments and the franchises of the people.

The Icon.

A few days after his death was published the ‘Eikon Basilike, or Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Sufferings,’ and, from the effect it produced—an effect, however, which has been much exaggerated—some historians, overlooking the circumstance of its having owed all its effect to its being regarded in the light of a dying declaration, have erroneously inferred that, had it been published a few days sooner, it would have saved the monarch’s life. This work pretends to give an account of the royal government, and the conduct of the king in all his actions, while each chapter concludes with fervent

prayers and appeals to heaven for the sincerity of all his ways, and with invocations of blessings on his people. He is represented as a prince fraught with every virtue, aspersed in all his administration, oppressed unjustly in all his measures for the public good, rebelled against without a pretext, and yet breathing out his secret prayers for the good of his subjects, and drinking the bitter cup of affliction with all the benignity of a saint whose affections, placed on another and a better world, are only concerned here for the wickedness and destructive folly of his people, and the safety of his wife and children. The Royalists, and particularly the high-church party, whose purpose was manifestly 'to make the same advantage of his book which they did before of his regal name and authority, and who intended it not so much the defence of his former actions, as the promoting of their own future designs,' appealed to this book as to an unanswerable vindication of their royal master. Having declared it to be his, they were not contented with imputing to it even all the qualities which constitute excellence in a human production; but, while they blasphemously compared the sufferings of the royal martyr to those of the Author of their faith, (nay, some did not scruple to assert that they were more unjustifiable, 'the kingdom of Christ not being of this world, and he, though unjustly condemned, judged at a lawful tribunal,') have attributed to it inspiration itself. The same interests continuing, the work was still defended with similar pertinacity. The truth soon came out; but, as if it had been a point of faith which brought a man's principles to the test, the high party, with bigoted zeal, first defended it as the work of that prince, and then reiterated the eulogies which had been pronounced upon it. Though the only productions of Charles which can be relied on with confidence as his are his private letters, and possibly—though I deem it most improbable—one or two messages from the Isle of Wight after the exclusion of so many of his followers, and the return of the excluded

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members to the House of Commons, possibly also the controversy with Henderson,* which, however, I think extremely doubtful; and these certainly afford but a very indifferent proof of talent, and none of power of composition; yet even such an author as Mr. Hume speaks of the internal evidence derived from the style and composition as perfectly conclusive, affirming that '*these meditations resemble in elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity, the genius of those performances which we know to have flowed from the royal pen.*' No wonder that the bigotry which could see these qualities in the harsh, abrupt style of his letters, could perceive no defect in his conduct. But the truth could not be denied for ever; and though the same historian is pleased to say that these meditations 'are so unlike the bombast, perplexed, rhetorical, corrupt style of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are ascribed, *that no human testimony seems sufficient to convince us that he was the author,*' yet they are now indisputably and for ever ascertained—to the satisfaction of all who will be convinced by human testimony—to have been the production of that individual. No man who had studied the Clarendon Papers, with the remarks of Symmons and Laing, could, we imagine, have doubted the fact; but additional documents, published by Mr. Todd in his '*Life of Dr. Walton,*' have set the point beyond the reach of controversy. And now we may safely pronounce a judgment upon the work, without being charged with any design to detract from the royal merits. Proof of anything like a high mind it never affords, and occasionally the corrupt, rhetorical style of Gauden breaks through the subdued tone which he conceived it necessary to assume. If compared with the works of Gauden, it will not surprise us to find that he

* The controversy with Henderson is poor enough; but from the cunning device practised after he left London, betwixt him and Hyde, why should we be surprised at his having

got assistance? He carried on many intrigues at that time, and a varied correspondence; why, then, could he not obtain the assistance of Juxon in the way he adopted with Hyde?

was the author ; but, if style can be relied upon, it would require strong human testimony indeed to convince any unprejudiced mind that it could be the production of the same pen that composed the royal letters. Unfortunately for the memory of Charles, however, though he had no merit in the composition, he had guilt in the publication ; for, as the manuscript had been shown to him by Gauden, and he consented that it should be published in his name, he adopted all the misstatements, accompanied with appeals to heaven for the truth of the narrative, and prayers which, as they abound with untruths, can be viewed in no other light than as a mockery of that Supreme Being for whose worship in purity he affected such zeal. The imposition, however, is the less extraordinary from the concurrence it met with in the guardians of his conscience. In charity to this unfortunate prince's memory, we shall abstain from further remarks on his moral qualities. His abilities do not appear to have been great ; but they had been judiciously cultivated in his youth. He had read little ; but he is said to have derived so much benefit from conversation, as to have a great stock of general knowledge ; and his struggles with the parliament necessarily brought his qualities into play, beyond what almost falls to the lot of princes, or, indeed, of any who are not obliged to take an active interest in the affairs of life.* He was a great encourager of the arts of painting and building, and purchased the works of eminent masters at a vast expense ; but as not one out of a hundred of those who involve themselves in difficulties, and frequently in

Character
of Charles
for talents,
&c.

* At the outset of the war, leading men had formed too unfavourable an estimate of Charles's talents, and they were necessarily astonished to find that he had fair abilities. The eulogies of his friends, however, cannot be regarded, and the speeches attributed to Cromwell and others are not to be relied on. Whitelocke, at the Oxford Treaty, gives him a high character for talent, and none

was a better judge. But it is difficult to bring a king to the test, because no one dares use the freedom ; and possibly the editor (as I suspect, on grounds already stated by me, he has done on one or two other occasions) assisted the passage. If we may judge of Charles by his correspondence, we form no high estimate of his powers.

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absolute ruin, on those branches of art, has any taste for them, it is hard to say whether Charles was influenced by taste or a love of magnificence; or by the latter chiefly, with a small mixture of the former.* In stature he did not rise above the middle height, but he was well proportioned; and though he neither walked nor rode with grace, he did both with activity. His features were regular, and upon the whole accounted handsome: a febleness about the eyes, however, detracted from his appearance, and was not calculated to give a high idea of mental energy. In his manners he was cold, stiff, and formal, and preserved a state and reserve which alienated the affections of those who approached him. Like his progenitors, his father excepted, he showed personal courage.†

* Had his system not been opposed, it would have been found to be destructive of the arts—as the obstruction of industry would have bereft people of the means of encouraging them. There is a passage in Milton which has been often quoted to show that Charles admired Shakespeare.

† Warwick, p. 64 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 236 *et seq.* This writer says ‘he was very fearless in his person, but not very enterprising.’ I suspect, however, that in the last, Clarendon—who, deceived by outward appearances, stupidly imagined that Charles required only to persist violently in his projects to carry them decisively—does the monarch injustice. The noble author afterwards paid the mulct of his own want of scrupulosity (Hacket’s *Life of Williams*, part ii. pp. 85, 137; Carte’s *Ormonde*, vol. i. pp. 356, 357). I have seen an original painting of him. It is only necessary, in regard to the *Eikon*, to refer to the third volume of the *Clarendon Papers*, Appendix, p. 95; Laing, vol. i. note xiv.; Symmions’ *Life of Milton*, p. 272 *et seq.*; Burnet’s *Hist.* vol. i.: lastly, Todd’s *Life of Dr. Walton*, vol. i. p. 118 *et seq.* Perinchief says of the *Icon*,

that a ‘sober reader cannot tell what to admire most, either his incredible prudence, his ardent piety, or his majestic and truly royal style. It was imagined that the admiration of following ages might bring it into the canon of holy writings, because it corresponded so nearly with the occasions, and was so full of the piety and elegance of David’s Psalms, that it seemed to be dictated by the same spirit’ (p. 94). This writer was a doctor of divinity.

Hume says, ‘Milton compared its effects to those which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony’s reading to them the will of Cæsar.’ How far this statement is correct, the words of Milton will determine. ‘First, then, that some men (whether this were by him intended or by his friends) have by policy accomplished after death that revenge upon their enemies, which in life they were not able, hath been oft related. And, among other examples, we find that the last will of Cæsar being read to the people, and what bounteous legacies he had bequeathed them, wrought more in that vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, than all the art he could ever use to win their favour in

his lifetime. And how much their intent, who published these overlate apologies and meditations of the dead king, drives to the same end of stirring up the people to bring him that honour, that affection, and, by consequence, that revenge to his dead corpse, which he himself living could never gain to his person, it appears, both by the concealed portraiture before his book, drawn out to the full measure of a masking scene, and set there to catch fools and silly gazers; and by those Latin words, after the end, *Vota dabunt quæ bellu negarunt* (Symmons' edition of his *Prose Works*, vol. ii. pp. 394, 395). The following sentence contains much truth, as we shall prove in the sequel: 'But it is evident that the chief of his adherents never loved him, never honoured either him or his cause, but as they took him to set a face upon their own malignant designs, nor bemoaned his loss at all, but the loss of their own aspiring hopes: like those captive women whom the poet notes in his *Iliad*, to have bewailed the death of Patroclus in outward show, but indeed their own condition' (p. 397). The *Icon* is said to have passed through fifty editions in the first year; but considering the innumerable forgeries of that period, and the attempt to compare it to the Scriptures as an inspired work, we cannot find those statements entitled to much credit. Whitelocke, and other writers, do not so much as take notice of it. Clarendon had, indeed, a reason for his silence; for he knew it to be, as he states in his own letters, a forgery; and says that he had early satisfied the king, Charles II., on that subject. We have given specimens already of Charles's composition in his letters: and surely no man who is not perfectly bigoted can admire them. The following sentence may afford some idea of the style of the author of the *Icon*: 'Generally whoever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruin on church and state, used the midwifery of those tumults; whose riot and impatience was such

that they would not stay the ripening and season of counsels, or fair production of acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateness befitting a parliament; but ript up with barbourous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive votes, such as their inviters and encouragers most fancied' (*Icon*, p. 11, edit. 1662).

It is amusing to observe the comfortable ignorance of editors. The gentleman who published Evelyn's *Memoirs* goes on dully to prove what, he says, requires no proof—the genuineness of the *Icon*—by referring to a public letter to the Houses, asking to have his chaplains allowed access to him;—a letter which, as it is recited in the *Journals*, ought not to have been presented by this editor as an original, (but ignorance, when it would teach where it ought to learn, is ever the same,) along with some passages in the *Icon*, and a letter from Secretary Nicholas;—a letter as affording internal evidence; but it is a species of evidence utterly beyond my powers to comprehend.

The following is a very singular passage in Mr. Hume's work. After stating the violent return of duty and affection which was occasioned by Charles's death, he proceeds thus: 'On weaker minds, the effect of these complicated passions was prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb; others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their graves;—nay, some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears—those pulpits which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in the detestation of those hypocritical paricides who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this act of iniquity had thrown an indelible stain on the nation.' Now, as Mr. Hume quotes no autho-

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rity for this statement, the reader naturally imagines that he had at least seen facts resting on something deserving the name of authority. Alas! it is no such thing. He has given almost the very words of Perinchief, whom yet he durst not quote; and his pencil-marks are still at the place in the copy belonging to the Advocates' Library. 'When the news of his death were divulged, women with child, for grief, cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb, like her that fell in travell when the glory was departed from Israel. Others, both men and women, fell into convulsions and swoounding fits, and contracted so deep a melancholy as attended them to the grave. Some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not or would not live when their beloved prince was slaughtered (it is reported), suddenly fell down dead. The pulpits were likewise bedewed with unshorned tears; and some of those to whom the living king was, for episcopacie's sake, less acceptable, yet now bewailed the loss of him when dead. Children (who usually seem unconcerned in public calamities) were also affected with the news, and became so prodigal of their tears, that, for some time, they refused comfort. Even some of those who sat as judges could not forbear to mingle some tears with his blood when it was spilt' (p. 95). Bates gives this exactly in Latin.—When Hume could embody such stuff as this, why did not he boldly give a miracle at once, as the following, which, in the title of a pamphlet, was published in London, 1649:—'A Miracle of Miracles, wrought by the blood of King Charles, of happy memory, upon a mayd at Detford, foure miles from London, who, by the violence of the disease called the king's evil, was blinde one whole yeere, but by makeing use of a piece of handkerchief dipped in the king's blood, is recovered of her sight, to the comfort of the king's friends, and astonishment of his enemies, the truth whereof many thousands can

testify. Lond. printed 1649.' The author says—'The like was never known since our Saviour Christ and his blessed apostles lived in the earth. She was the most loathsome spectacle, besides being blind; had been given up by her physicians, forsaken by her acquaintance, yet recovered her sight, and became lusty and strong as before, and capable of doing everything befitting her age,' which was about fourteen or fifteen. The names of her parents, and her abode, &c., are also given, and people invited to satisfy themselves. It is said that 'hundreds flock daily to see her, and that all who saw her before do confesse that it is a work the Lord hath done, whereby His name might be glorified, and the king's death thought upon,' &c. It would not be difficult to give similar instances from the royalist pamphlets of that time.

The following passage is given by Mrs. McAuly from a sermon preached before Charles II. at Breda, on Feb. 4, 1648-9:—'The person now murdered was not the Lord of glory, but a glorious lord, Christ's own vicar, his lieutenant and vicegerent here on earth; and therefore, by all laws, divine and human, he was privileged from any punishment which could be inflicted by men. Albeit, he was an inferior to Christ, as man is to God, yet was his privilege of inviolability far more clear than was Christ's: for Christ was not a temporal prince; His kingdom was not of this world; and, therefore, when He vouchsafed to come into the world, and to become the Son of Man, He did subject Himself to the law. But our gracious sovereign was well known to be a temporal prince, a free monarch, and their undoubted sovereign, to whom they did all owe and had sworn allegiance. The parliament is the great council, and hath acted all and more against their lord and sovereign than the other did against Christ. The proceedings against our sovereign were more illegal, and, in many things, more cruel. The true religion delivered unto us in Scrip-

ture, and professed in the true, ancient, and catholic church, doth teach us to honour and obey the king as God's minister set over us; and that the injuries of kings, though ever so great, are to be endured by their subjects, who have no other remedy, and are to use no other arms against their king, than to pray unto God for him, who hath the hearts of kings in His hand, and may turn them when He thinks fit' (M'Auly, vol. iv. p. 426). Such was the language not only of a simple minister of the gospel, but of a prelate! Let us be no longer surprised at the hypocrisy of Charles on the scaffold, nor wonder that Charles II. proved so unconstitutional in his government when he had such ghostly advisers. But Englishmen would not exchange their privileges for the political divinity of prelates, and banished a family that acted upon it. General (John) Digby writes thus to Ormond:—'From the creation to the accursed day of this damnable murder, nothing parallel to it was ever heard of. Even crucifying our blessed Saviour, if we consider Him only in His human nature, did nothing equal this—His kingdom not being of this world; and He, though unjustly condemned, yet judged at a lawful tribunal' (Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. iii. p. 607; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 211). Comparisons of Charles's sufferings with those of Christ were widely circulated (Milton's *Prose Works*, *Def. Sec. pro Pop. Ang.* pp. 241, 242).

We have already said a little about the research of Noble; and here we shall give an instance of it:—He, in his account of Harrison, *Lives of the Regicides*, refers to Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight*, and says that the narrative of Charles's sufferings in Hurst Castle, as given by Worsley from an authentic manuscript, would melt any heart but that of a stern republican. Now, in the first place, Worsley relates chiefly what occurred at Newport, and breaks off his account of the king when he was carried out of the island. In the second place, the authentic manuscript is no other than Col. Cooke's *Memoirs*, which, says Worsley, were published shortly after the Restoration, but have since become scarce; and therefore he refers to the manuscript copy in the British Museum. The fact is, however, that they were republished along with Herbert's *Memoirs*, to which Worsley particularly refers; and it is inexcusable in Noble not to have been particularly acquainted with them. Cooke had been one of Cromwell's officers, but was gained over by Charles; and his narrative is so disingenuous, that it is directly contradicted by the monarch's own correspondence.—Worsley is extremely incorrect in his narrative, as may be ascertained by comparing it with Herbert's *Memoirs*, to which he refers as his authority for great part of his statement.

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IV.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF ENGLAND—SETTLEMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH—A HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE CONSTITUTED FOR THE TRIAL OF THE DUKE OF HAMILTON, AS EARL OF CAMBRIDGE, AND THE EARLS OF NORWICH, ETC.—IRISH AFFAIRS, AND THE EXPLOITS OF CROMWELL THERE, ETC.—STATE OF SCOTLAND—THE EXPEDITION AND DEATH OF MONTROSE—ENGLISH AFFAIRS—ARRIVAL OF CHARLES II. IN SCOTLAND, AND WAR BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS—FAIRFAX DECLINES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY DESTINED AGAINST SCOTLAND, AND CROMWELL APPOINTED GENERAL—CROMWELL'S EXPEDITION INTO SCOTLAND—BATTLE OF DUNBAR—SUBSEQUENT MEASURES OF THE COVENANTERS, AND THEIR EXPEDITION INTO ENGLAND—BATTLE OF WORCESTER—THE KING'S ESCAPE—EXPLOITS OF THE NAVY; CHARACTER OF BLAKE—THE DUTCH WAR—STATE OF PARTIES—DISSOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT, AND USURPATION OF CROMWELL.

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State of
England,
&c.

THE death of Charles produced the greatest sensation not only throughout every part of the British empire, but of all Christendom; and the Royalist party tried to sound the tocsin amongst all princes, clergy, and privileged orders, as against an example of rebellion in subjects which they were bound out of self-interest to avenge; the monarchs being told that they ought to regard the blood of the English king as if it had flowed from their own veins. It is extraordinary, however, that the last act of the English parliament against that unfortunate prince, while it excited alarm, also inspired awe and respect. Far from joining in a league for the conquest of England in favour of Charles II., these monarchs, as we are told by Clarendon, who would have ridden on the neck of his country at the head of foreign troops, shared in the spoil of that infatuated prince's private property.* His furni-

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 248 *et seq.* (but attend to the foot-notes correcting the text). This author says, that 'so many miraculous circumstances con-

ture, plate, and paintings were exposed to sale; and Cardinal Mazarin, as head of the French government, and Christina of Sweden, both great admirers of the English, and particularly of Cromwell, were extensive purchasers of those sumptuous articles. The Presbyterian party throughout the British empire, or rather their clergy and leaders, though they would have reduced the crown to a total dependency on themselves, and even avowed that it might be transferred to another head, while many justified the execution, though they detested the instruments by whom it was accomplished, were now loud in expressions of abhorrence against the obnoxious party who had blasted all their hopes, and, instead of giving them the spiritual dominion, which imported also the civil, allowed a general liberty of conscience, fatal to the prospects and pretensions of an aspiring priesthood.* Equally with the Royalists they declaimed against the king's death, and predicted general anarchy and confusion from allowing men to worship their Creator in the manner most recon-

tributed to his ruin, that men might well think that *heaven and earth conspired it*, and that the stars designed it. Though he was, *from the first declension of his power*, so much betrayed by his own servants that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not 'the first edition here unwarrantably introduced the word *always*' 'from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men' (p. 258). Yet, forsooth, a woman in the middling ranks at the plague, being with child, fell into travail with horror at the mention of the king's death, and died; and all about Charles II. were bereft of their understandings (*Id.* p. 268). But with condolence of the States, 'there was *not bitterness enough against the rebels and murderers.*'

* They are well lashed by Milton in his *Tenure of Kings and Magis-*

trates. By the way, had Bishop Horsley (in his sermon preached before the House of Lords, January 30, 1795) seen this tract in Symmons's edition of *Milton's Prose Works*, vol. ii., it would have saved him—if, indeed, his bigoted (not to give it another title) toryism would not have regarded misstatement as a pious fraud—from a very great error, and prevented an injurious attack on Milton, in regard to Luther and other reformers—an attack which, were he sincere, would prove that the right reverend prelate had never looked into the works which he pretended to be so fully master of, since these are fairly quoted by Milton. But the whole passage in this tract, as published by himself, had been expunged in various collections of his *Prose Works*, till it was restored by Simmons (vol. ii. pp. 271-304). See Baillie generally, but particularly *Let.* vol. iii. p. 113 *et seq.*

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cilable to their own consciences. The event, however, proved that the liberty of conscience so decried was no less politic than charitable, and conformable to true Christian piety. A learned and pious ministry was established throughout the land; the differences in opinion, fierce under control and persecution, gradually melted down when the fetters were removed. No longer regarding one another through the medium of all those interests and passions excited and inflamed by an undue interference with men's spiritual conduct, they continued an intercourse with each other as beings embarked in the same voyage for eternity, who, upon a difference of opinion, only a little varied the course, without materially forsaking the track. The rage and fury of the Royalists seemed to be unlimited; but the leaders of the party at least gave convincing proofs that it was their own misfortunes they bewailed, while they affected to drop tears for their late master. During his life the party had been rent with factions, every one being ready to betray the king and ruin his friends for his own advancement; and even the works of Clarendon continue to exhibit the same disgusting picture of faction, treachery, and selfishness amongst those who, in foreign parts, poured forth execrations against the proceedings in England, and uttered the language of unlimited devotion to kings, as well as of inexpressible anguish at the late catastrophe. He represents every one, from the queen downwards, as anxious only to monopolise the royal ear, in hopes of all the benefits of his exclusive favour whenever he should be permitted to ascend the throne; and even the Duke of York's attendants, as convulsed with faction—nay, that royal duke himself, though only fifteen years of age, as fond of intrigue.*

* Clarendon, *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 126 *et seq.*, 239 *et seq.*, 283 *et seq.*, 307 *et seq.*, 332 *et seq.*, 471 *et seq.* to p. 484, 509 *et seq.*, 558 *et seq.*, 586 *et seq.*; vol. vii. pp. 51 *et seq.* to 78, 89 *et seq.* to 99;

Life, vol. i. part vi. Regarding the Duke of York's family (in *Life*, vol. i. p. 284), he writes—'Never little family was torn into so many pieces and factions. The duke was very young,

The civil war, accompanied with all the misery we have detailed, was so far from inflicting any lasting evils, that the country had no sooner felt itself relieved from that oppressive system of monopoly, and want of confidence in individual property, with which the nation had, anterior to the meeting of the present parliament, been distressed, than it acquired a new spring of activity and industry, which brought general wealth. With a feeling of independence and security, the trading and manufacturing classes, in spite of an unprecedented taxation, made such an astonishing progress, that the rate of interest, which had never before been under eight per cent., now fell to six.* Delinquents, as the Royalists were termed, did indeed suffer; but their property was not lost to the public.

Interest of
money re-
duced,
March 12,
1649.

The war, though disgraced on the Royalist side with many cruelties, which the Parliamentary did not always abstain from imitating, was, upon the whole, of unexampled mildness; while it led to a development of talent almost unprecedented in the annals of mankind. To the credit of the popular party, never was one assassination committed by them. This crime, though less known in England than in any other country, had still in the preceding times occasionally disgraced the community, and its disappearance now can only be ascribed to an equal dispensation of law and justice. When men are denied their rights in courts of law, and find that there is no legal redress for oppression, they give vent to their own feelings, in order to repress that which otherwise would be without check: but wherever courts of law are open to the injured, and the jurisprudence is founded on principles of equity, the general feelings of mankind operate a thousand times more than cruel punishments in

yet loved intrigues so well, that he was too much inclined to hearken to any men who had the confidence

to make bold propositions to him.'

* Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1292;
Journ.; Whit. p. 388.

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preventing a crime which disturbs every breast with a feeling of insecurity, and consequently inspires the blackest passions. The Royalists, however, who conceived that, allied with the king, they alone were entitled to all power, and that their exclusion was a tyrannous persecution, evinced sufficient readiness to perpetrate this dastardly crime.

Vain is it to attribute the civil war of England to the growth of freedom. The liberty of that country had previously preserved it from intestine commotion, and the struggle had been for everything valuable—all those institutions which had descended from their ancestors. Matters had, indeed, proceeded farther than the first assertors of the public rights had anticipated; but this ought to be attributed to the conduct of the prince and his advisers, who, in their attempt to establish unmingled despotism in the place of a limited monarchy, had shaken and subverted the pillars of the constitution, and taught the people that it now became them, as the origin of all just power, to make some new arrangement which might preserve for them and their posterity blessings that, though enjoyed by their ancestors under a certain form, they had sadly experienced were no longer to be expected under the government of such an individual. Though nothing but a great crisis or a certainty of a grand melioration can justify a people, in the enjoyment of tolerable privileges, for attempting to alter the government; yet when that is done for them, when the prince has sapped the foundation of all their institutions, as well as instructed them that no conditions could bind him, no oaths were to be relied upon, and it becomes incumbent on them to erect a new structure, they are no longer in the condition of a people who, in the mere pursuit of a speculative good, subvert a valuable government, and incur the risk of anarchy, followed by military despotism. Whether the English adopted the mode best calculated for public happiness, is not the question; but a survey of the trans-

actions in foreign states will prove with what little justice the convulsions in Britain have been ascribed to the freedom of her government. Germany had long been afflicted with the most sanguinary contests: all men know how the Low Countries were desolated in the last age, and by what a bloody struggle Holland asserted her independence. From the despotism of the French government, that country had rarely been without insurrections; and the religious schism had been productive of horrors which never disgraced the British soil. Henry IV. had only reached the throne of France through a civil war; and the struggle of the Huguenots, with the civil wars, subsequently, we have already in part related. Even at the very moment of which we are treating, civil war seemed to be transferred from England to that country; but the war of the Fronde, with whatever spirit of vengeance it was attended, was as ridiculous as destitute of any legitimate object; and the royal family were treated with scorn and contempt by a people who afterwards boasted of, and were eulogised for, their affection to kings. We have already seen that Portugal had revolted from Spain, and re-established an independent monarchy in the house of Braganza.

As it was necessary to erect a new government, men's thoughts were occupied with that important subject; and, as was to have been expected, various opinions were entertained, peculiar notions were indulged in, and many of influence were disappointed and chagrined that their own views were not adopted. But the question which principally divided men's opinions was, whether the government should be monarchical or republican. The liberal party, still attached to monarchy, proposed to place the crown on the head of one of the younger sons of the late king, both because the eldest son had already appeared in arms against the people, and because the deviation from the ordinary rules of succession would sufficiently indicate the national choice, and render the king dependent upon

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the public will; while, by preserving the crown in the same family, the ambition of private men would be checked. The supporters of this opinion argued, and with justice, that the question ought not to be, what government, in the abstract, might be preferable, but what, as most suitable to the present habits and prejudices of the people, was likely to be productive of the greatest stability and happiness?—that the nation, having been always accustomed to monarchy, could not, without a violent shock, pass instantaneously to a new form of government, which necessarily required different habits; and that, while monarchy would be more consonant to the general sentiments, the election of a king from one of the late prince's children would so improve the machine of government, as to afford a vast field for meliorating the various institutions of society, the laws and rights of the people. It cannot be denied that the supporters of this view, which was the basis of that adopted forty years afterwards, argued with great philosophical precision. The other party maintained, that the melancholy train of events which had lately flowed from monarchy proved that it was absolutely vicious, and that no regulations were sufficient to check the growth of arbitrary power in a prince; that, after such an awful lesson, it would impart little wisdom to restore the same form of government; that a republic might now be established without further revolution or difficulty; that how reasonable soever submission might have been to a monarchy, provided the king had been contented with the portion of power conceded to him by the law of the land, yet that such reasoning could no longer be applicable, since, in consequence of his attempts to overthrow the rights of the people, from whom his own power had flowed, the old government had actually been brought to a period; that the present opportunity neglected, another could never be hoped for; and that matters having been once settled in a different channel, it would be as irrational to expect, as

criminal to attempt, a fresh change in order to realise their conception of a more perfect form ; that the Dutch republic fully evinced the practicability of establishing a commonwealth, and the benefits accruing from the system ; that by electing one of the younger sons of the late king, they might indeed repress the ambition of private men in any hope of reaching the throne, but they held out an inconsistent lesson to the people, since, on the one hand, they intimated that the monarchy was elective, and taught mankind that the right of succession was a principle founded in error ; and yet, on the other, they, by still selecting one of the family, assured them that there was an inherent exclusive right in the house of Stuart ; that the inevitable effect of this would be so to confirm in men's minds the old principle regarding the law of succession that they would conceive the eldest son had been illegally debarred the throne, and the Royalist party would ever be on the watch to take advantage of this impression, in order to bring him in, unconditionally ; that in this way faction would be kept up, and the settlement of the state be in such jeopardy, that rigorous and arbitrary measures would be necessary to maintain it : but that the simple principle—that the people are the origin of all just power—was so obvious as to obtain universal assent. It cannot be denied that the present was one of those seasons when men were not only at full liberty, but imperiously called upon, to exercise their judgments with respect to the form of the future government ; and the only question regards the practicability of the different systems, with their stability and probable benefits. The mere name of a republic is nothing without such provisions as to make even bad men co-operate for the public good ; and the idea of giving the national council all the power of nominating to offices, as well as of legislation, could not fail to be productive of a melancholy result. The consequences of the plan pursued at this time, and the benefits that afterwards accrued from the Revolution of 1688,

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A common-
wealth
agreed
upon.

fully establish that the first party had formed the justest estimate of the relative situation of the empire. But let us not be hasty in condemning men for not seeing all the effects of a new posture of affairs. The form of a commonwealth was agreed upon, and it was understood to be in a manner conformable to the propositions contained in a paper called the 'Agreement of the People.' It was however, in the meantime, resolved upon that the parliament should continue its powers till such tranquillity should be established throughout the nation, as to render a general election upon the new principles no longer hazardous.*

New Seal.

The New Seal, which had been ordered, was now struck; and the crown lands and fee-farm rents were exposed to

* As Whitelocke refused to concur in the proceedings against Charles, the following extract from his *Journal* may not be unacceptable. The conversation is between the Archbishop of Upsale, a doctor who accompanied the prelate, and Whitelocke. After speaking of the wonderful acts of the parliament, the archbishop says—'They have been indeed wonderful; but, with your leave, my lord ambassador, we, in these parts, do not understand what necessity you were putt unto to take away your settled and antient government by kings, wholly to abolish it, and to resolve into a republicque. — *Wh.* It was judged a prudence and necessity upon the Parliament party, for the safety and securing themselves and their cause, after their sword had been drawn against the king, not only to throw away the seabbert, butt to abolish kingly government, and to admit no more kings, which they thought could never be reconciled to them; and to resolve into a republicque, that they might enjoy their just rights and liberties, which had been invaded and wrested from them by their kings. *Arch.* Butt how could their consciences be satisfied, for the preservation of their owne rights, to take away the right of kings, and for

their own safety to destroy their king? — *Wh.* Selfe-preservation goes farre with mortall men; and they held the rights of a people more to be regarded than anything relating to a particular person; and that it is not the right of a king to governe a people, but the consent of a people that such a king shall governe them; which, if he doe not according to justice and their law, they hold that the people for whom, and for whose good, and for preservation of whose rights, he is entrusted as the supreme officer, may, if they please, remove him from that office, and upon this ground the people's deputies, in our supreme counsell, the parliament, thought fitt to take away the government by kings, and make it a republicque. *Dr.* It is no false doctrine, that kings are for the good of the people, and that the people were not made for kings, butt kings for the people's sake, &c.' (vol. i. pp. 390, 391). Whitelocke says to the chancellor—'Every government which the people chooseth is certainly lawfull, whether by kingly or other; and that to be accounted best, which they, by their representatives, doe make choice of, as best for them and their condition.' Yet he would not justify the execution of Charles, p. 339.

sale; and, lest the trappings of royalty should seduce the people, the regalia and rich furniture of the royal palaces were disposed of. An ordinance was likewise passed, making it high treason to proclaim any of the royal family.*

During the month of January, the Lords had, without regard to the proceedings of the Commons, continued to sit in their judicial capacity; but, after the death of the king, they made an exertion to secure for their order a share in the new government, and, for that purpose, sent a message to the Commons, intimating their readiness to concur with them in a general settlement of public affairs: the message was, however, disregarded, and a second and third met with a similar fate; but, on the fourth, the subject underwent a debate, and the House having divided, came to the resolution that the advice of the Peers should not be taken. It was settled, however, without a division, that the House of Lords was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished; but they allowed the peers to be eligible as representatives of the people.† The Commons voted, at the same time, that it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, with the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty and safety of the people, and therefore ought to be abolished. Acts were afterwards passed to that purpose—one enjoining an engagement to be taken, first by the particular classes, then generally, to adhere to the Commonwealth without a king or House of Lords; and strange it is, when the future conduct of Fairfax is considered, to find him actively enforcing this very engagement. The Lower House then changed its name from Commons into that of the Commonwealth of England, and appointed a Council of State

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House of
Lords abo-
lished, &c.

Council of
State.

* Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1281 *et seq.*; Whitelocke's *Mem.* p. 376 *et seq.*; *Journ.* The library at St. James's was saved to the nation by the interposition of Whitelocke

(pp. 415, 416).

† Some of them, as the Earl of Pembroke for Berks, were elected members for shires (Whitelocke, p. 396, &c.).

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to manage the executive part of public business. The choice of this council indicated that regard to rank and wealth which generally sways the public mind. There were four earls and four lords of the number, with many of the leading characters, as St. John, Vane, Cromwell, Whitelocke, Martin, and Ludlow.* The House of Commons itself was reduced to a small number; but out of the forty-one secluded members, seven were, on certain conditions, permitted to return. The present system, as we have hinted, was never more than a temporary arrangement; and it must be confessed to have been liable to many objections, since the scrambling for offices which might be supposed to result from the system was fit to rend the legislature into factions, and lead them to neglect the public for private interest. Defective as it was, however, it possessed that inherent vigour which belongs to all popular assemblies; and, to the astonishment of Europe, as well as of their immediate enemies, it taught foreign states that they should not with impunity interfere with the internal regulations of England. The religious establishment was not neglected. The system was Presbyterianism; but such a presbytery as was totally irreconcilable with the feelings of the party denominated Presbyterians; while it accorded with those of the Independents. All coercive power was taken from their provincial and classical assemblies, and nothing appears to have remained to them but the power of licensing preachers, and the ordinations. The consequence was, that those of the Independent principles who agreed with them on all points of doctrine were numerously admitted, and in some parts encouraged those voluntary associations which were so agreeable to their principles. The partiality of the presbyteries, however, in licensing preachers having been complained of, ministers were, in 1653, appointed as commissioners for that purpose.†

Religious
establish-
ment.

* Whitelocke, p. 381.

† *Ibid.* p. 553.

Meantime, some of the smaller parishes were united, and the larger ones divided. The tithes were regularly paid; the glebe lands were vested in the incumbents; and to compensate for the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, nearly fifty thousand pounds a year were added to the means of the preaching ministry. There were about ten thousand benefices in England; some of the livings were five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred a year, and most of them above a hundred. If we only consider the value of money, and comparative riches and habits of the people at that time, we shall find that the highest of these livings were immense, and that one hundred would give a man the same rank in the community as six hundred, at least, would do now. As one instance of the truth of this assertion, Sir H. Slingsby kept an establishment of thirty servants on five hundred a year.* Thus were the ministers of religion in England supported in the most becoming manner, and their learning and piety corresponded with their livings. The universities were at the same time amply encouraged; and an ambulatory ministry, in addition to the clergy settled there, was appointed for Wales, which continued in deplorable ignorance.

We have already seen that the episcopal beneficed clergy were deprived of their livings without any compensation; and we have already pronounced our condemnation of the measure. The parliament, however, now purged of members allied to and controlled by the rigid Presbyterians—who, under the pretext of serving God by their divine establishment, did injustice to his creatures—made a provision for the episcopal clergy. Many of these, disappointed of ambition through the favour of a court, applied themselves sedulously to the discharge of their duties, and general advancement of religion: it was during the Interregnum that the Polyglot Bible was, by the great

* *Memorials*, pp. 25, 26.

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learning and industry of Dr. Walton, projected and executed. But, in this state of things, the Royalists, Episcopalians, and rigid Presbyterians saw nothing but confusion; and a worthy prelate, in an after age, mentions as a proof that the people were even falling from Christianity—that a translation, which, however, was suppressed, had been made of the Koran, whence he infers that the land was in danger of being overrun with Mahometanism.*

* This subject has been so misrepresented, that the following quotation from Whitelocke's *Journal* of his embassy may not be unacceptable. In a conference one day with Christina, she remarked that 'the Papists had not equal liberty with others, as they ought to have.—*Wh.* Their tenets do not consist with the publique peace of Protestant princes and states, whom they esteem hereticks, and a good service to God to cutt them off. *Qu.* This opinion some have vented in former times; but now their interest leads them from it, and they do not hold it.—*Wh.* I doubt they still retain it. *Qu.* I pray what religion doe you professe in England?—*Wh.* In regard your majesty doth me the honour to catechise me, I shall answer you very freely. We professe the true reformed Protestant Christian religion: we believe in God the Father, our Creator; in God the Son, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer; and in God the Holy Ghost, our Comforter; three persons, and one God. *Qu.* This is very right, and these are the fundamentalls with other Protestant churches; but the world reports a great number of severall different religions in England, some Luthers, some Calvins, some called Independents, some Anabaptists, and some yett higher, and different from all the rest, whose names we know not.—*Wh.* Where Luther or Calvin, or others, agree with the Holy Scriptures, the true rule to walke by, there the profession in England agrees with them, and is butt one in the fundamentalls of it; and as to

the difference of opinions in ceremonies, or some matters of worship and discipline, it is incident to men, as much as differences of countenances or of dyet; but, in the maine, they all agree. The late troubles occasioned the people to take a greater interest in all things, particularly in matters of religion, than formerly; and there it is esteemed the highest tyranny of all others, to tyrannise over men's judgments and consciences. *Qu.* May not such a business as that of the Anabaptists at Munster be feared by you to be the issue of these differences in religion, especially when such kind of men receive countenance? There is nothing more desperate to the peace of a state, than the fostering of such violent incendiaries as these kind of people are; and if they be suffered to grow, and spread their opinions uncontrouled, it will prove difficult to reduce them to order againe. These new opinions are not sprung up from those who now professe them, but have bin instigated by your enemies.—*Wh.* Your majesty's observation is most right, that our enemies have fomented these differences; and the more care and vigilance is requisite to prevent the daungers of them, butt hold it the best way to neglect them, *specta exolescent.* Thereby they will fall of themselves; when a public notice and proceeding against them will butt make them the more considerable, men being apt to take in with a prosecuted party; and new fangles please the vulgar, who can least distinguish, and are sonest misled.

We have already said that Hamilton, Norwich, Holland, and Capel were referred to the justice of parliament :

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Butt many with us hold it a right for every one to be left to take care of his own soule, which concerns none butt himselfe, and that the magistrate ought not to confine or persecute another into his judgement, for that which concerns the other only, so long as the publique peace is preserved, to which the law of England hath a strict regard; and who-soever, by his opinion or practice, disturbs that peace, is to be severely punished' (vol. i. pp. 275-277). Were men who thought and reasoned thus fanatics? (But the principle was regarded by the Presbyterians as atrocious. See Baillie's *Let. MS.* vol. iv. pp. 501, 502.) Whitelocke gives also an account of conversations that he had with the Archbishop of Upsale, who, says he, 'spake Latin fluently, butt not pedantically, and expressed himselfe with good reason, mixed with cheerfulness and learning, especially out of the Fathers and human authorities; and he was more ready than others of his coate in texts of Holy Scripture' (p. 388). After some discourse, in which Whitelocke told the archbishop that the prelates in England had been *their own destruction*, but that there were not wanting learned men in England to interpret the Scriptures, the archbishop says—'Then you are injured; for the report goes, that you regard not learning, and that you are pulling downe the famous universities in your country, whereby learning will wholly decay and be destroyed.—*Wh.* That, indeed, is an injury; and I assure you that our universities were never in a more flourishing condition than they now are. *Arch.* I am glad to heare it; and I confess I have not met with such learning in a soldier as you shew.' (The reader need not be reminded who Whitelocke was, though he now, as an ambassador, appeared in a sort of military garb.)—'*Wh.* I am butt meanly learned; but our

universities are full of eminent learned men, and are the fountaines from whence the whole land is watered with the streames of the gospell, by sending out learned men from thence, who labour in Christ's vineyard. *Arch.* Are your ministers in repute among you?—*Wh.* Godly, learned, and able ministers were never in greater repute than they now are. *Arch.* Butt I doubt their meens is shortened by taking away the church lands.—*Wh.* The lands of bishops, of deanes, and chapters are sould; but the parliament added to the means of the preaching ministry near 50,000*l.* sterling yearly more than they had before. *Arch.* That is a good addition. Are their livings in parishes by the tithes, as ours are, and of good value?—*Wh.* Their maintenance is by tithes in their respective parishes, and by glebe-lands. Some of their livings are worth 500*l.*, 600*l.*, 700*l.* sterling yearly, and most above 100*l.* yearly. *Arch.* That is farre beyond the proportion in our country. How many spiritual livings have you?—*Wh.* There be in England near 10,000 benefices, there being so many parishes' (*Id.* pp. 413, 414). An excellent publication by Mr. Orme, an Independent minister in Perth, *The Memoirs of Dr. Owen*, throws a great deal of light on this subject, and deserves the serious attention of all who wish for further information on the religious parties of that age. He quotes the following passage from one of the addresses to the Assembly at Westminster by Presbyterian divines, entitled, 'The Harmonious Consent of the Lancashire Ministers with their Brether at London:—'A toleration would be putting a sword in a madman's hand; a cup of poison into the hand of a child; a letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands; and appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to; a

Trials of
Duke of
Hamilton,
Earls of
Holland,
Norwich,
&c.

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and a high court of justice was now erected for their trial. Hamilton had escaped from prison, but was afterwards

laying of a stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs. Neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all consciences' (p. 45). We might give specimens of a similar style from episcopalian divines; but, instead of that, let us give one from a statesman, in addition to what we have already quoted from Clarendon. 'The House of Commons,' says Secretary Nicholas, in a letter to a Mr. Edgman, Nov. 4, 1647, 'hath again voted the presbytery, with liberty for tender consciences, which is a back door to let in all sects and heresies. The Socinians now begin to appear in great numbers, under the title of Rationalists; and there are a sect of women lately come from foreign parts, and lodged in Southwark, called Quakers, who swell, shiver, and shake; and when they come to themselves (for, in all the time of their fits, Mahomet's Holy Ghost converses with them), they begin to preach what hath been delivered to them by the Spirit' (*Clar. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 383. See Neal as to the origin of this sect, vol. iv. p. 32). Nicholas was mistaken. But I would desire the reader to compare this with the passages quoted from Whitelocke and others, and then say where the fanaticism or bigotry was. It is extraordinary that Mr. Hume, a philosopher, should have reiterated too many of the notions promulgated by men who laboured to darken their understandings with fears of universal schism, if not atheism, Mahometanism, &c. &c.

But, in his account of Wales, he is most egregiously mistaken. He says that, 'almost all the clergy of Wales having been ejected, itinerant preachers, with small salaries, were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these, being furnished

with horse at the public expense, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel.' For this he refers to Dr. John Walker's attempt, and continues: 'They were all of them of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades in order to follow their new profession. And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be truly apostolical.' Now, as we are well informed by Neal, the inhabitants of Wales were destitute of the means of Christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle, so that they had scarcely a sermon from one quarter to another. The people had neither Bibles nor Catechisms, nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament, therefore, on February 22, 1649, passed an Act for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances—to continue in force for three years. So intent was the parliament on this subject, that it devoted every Friday, says Whitelocke, to consider the ways and means of promoting it (Neal, vol. iv. p. 15; Whitelocke). What happened from this? The following passage occurs:—'Letters, that since the Act for Propagating the Gospel in Wales, there were a hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties: most of them preached three or four times a week. That in every market town there were placed one schoolmaster, and in most great towns two schoolmasters, able, learned, and *university men*' (he, indeed, says nothing of their *birth*). 'That the titles were all employed to the uses directed by the act of parliament:—1. To maintain godly ministers; 2. Schoolmas-

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seized and arraigned as earl of Cambridge, and consequently as an English peer subject to the laws of that country. He demurred to the jurisdiction of an English court, as being a native of Scotland, arguing that his title of earl of Cambridge did not constitute him a subject of England; but it was held that, as not contented merely with the title, he had sat as an English peer in the House of Lords, and claimed and exercised all the privileges of a peer of that realm, he had necessarily subjected himself to English jurisdiction, and his plea was overruled: his other pleas met with a similar fate; and he was condemned, and suffered. Capel argued that he was not liable to trial at all, for that, on the surrender of Colchester, there was a special article for quarter to the officers, and on that he claimed his life and freedom. The general, Lord Fairfax, was examined as to the import of the articles, (the words did not warrant Capel's construction,) and he declared that it meant only exemption from military execution, not from public justice. It was clearly established that such was the understanding of parties at the time that the articles were entered into. Capel had commenced his career a vehement assertor of public liberty; but, soon seduced by the court, he thenceforth professed, and acted upon the principle of unlimited submission to the throne. Such an individual was not

ters: 3. *The fifth part to the wives and children of the ejected clergy*; 4. To pay taxes: 5. To pay the officers' (p. 543). Those who desire more information on this subject, I would advise to consult Neal, vol. iv., where they will find the erroneousness of Hume's statement fully verified.

I have already said a good deal about the religion of the age. Hume's account is always extravagant; but I am astonished that even he should have written note G to vol. vii. The story of the six soldiers, taken from Clement Walker, is, considering the authority, worthy of no consideration. The remainder of the note is

unsupported altogether. But are extravagances by a few individuals sufficient to stigmatise a whole age? Because the sect of the Quakers arose then, we are apt to allow ourselves to be misled. As for tithes, a party did desire their abolition, and some other mode of supporting the clergy as less oppressive; but the parliament resolved to continue the tithes till some other provision, '*as large and as honourable*,' were agreed upon (Whitlocke, p. 193). The clergy were judiciously prohibited from interfering with affairs of state (Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1305).

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likely to meet with much compassion, and the high tone with which he vindicated his conduct, though it pleased his own party, and is naturally admired by a generous reader, was not calculated to conciliate men to whom the civil war appeared in all its native, disgusting deformity. He was condemned, and died intrepidly. The Earls of Holland and Norwich were also condemned, but their cases were referred to the parliament. That of Norwich was first heard, and the House was equally divided in regard to granting him a pardon, or allowing the sentence to take its course. The Speaker's vote was therefore called for; and he having received a kindness from that nobleman, voted in his favour. When the case of the Earl of Holland was heard, the House was again equally divided, and the Speaker's vote was consequently called for. Holland was both a better private character than Norwich, and a preferable citizen; but the same affection did not sway the breast of the Speaker, and he sealed his doom.*

The present settlement was not agreeable to many attached to the Republican cause, to whom it appeared that the parliament, from fondness of power only, delayed to establish matters on the basis of the propositions called the 'Agreement of the People.' On the other hand, the House argued, in its own defence, that the present government was never intended for anything more than a temporary arrangement, till the public tranquillity was sufficiently restored for a general election; and that it was their object to compose matters, and to allow full time calmly to weigh all propositions, before they finally determined on the future constitution. Part of the army, however, was dissatisfied with this, and a portion resisted, but were quickly reduced. The invidious name of Levellers was revived, and applied to them, while the absurd proceedings of about thirty fanatics afforded a pretext, which

* Whitelocke, p. 376 *et seq.*; Howell's *State Trials*, vol. iv. p. 1175 *et seq.*

was too much taken advantage of by the ruling party, as well as by the Royalists, for accusing those popularly inclined of being corrupted with the same silly and ridiculous notions. These thirty fanatics, under the guidance of one Everard, who had once been a soldier, and now professed himself a prophet, proceeded with spades in their hands to dig the earth, when Everard predicted on the spot that all things would soon be in common. This ridiculous proceeding ended, as might be supposed, in these foolish people's returning to their occupations.* John Lilburn, and others, were more formidable. They presented their propositions for the new government, and were supported by a very large party. Their propositions differed little from those contained in the 'Agreement of the People;' but as Lilburn used the language and demeanour of dictator to the parliament, whose measures he arraigned, he was a second time imprisoned, and many took a deep interest in his suffering. Lilburn was ever consistent; with the spirit that he had formerly opposed the court, he now opposed the parliament as disinclined to establish such public liberty as might compensate for the blood which had been shed. We may, perhaps, allow that he was hasty in condemning the public measures; but it cannot be denied that he was honest in maintaining his principles: his talents were considerable; his personal courage beyond the reach of fear, and his resolution immovable. Always inflexible, however, he was accused of never being satisfied with anything; and it was humorously remarked of him, that if there were no other person in the world but himself, 'John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John.'†

It will now be necessary to take a view of the transactions in Ireland. The Catholics there were divided into

Irish
affairs.

* Whitelocke, p. 396 *et seq.*

† Rush. vol. ii. p. 468; Whitelocke,

p. 399 *et seq.*; Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*

vol. iii. p. 1306.

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two parties,—the aboriginal Irish, and those of the Pale, who, as of English descent, were called the English-Irish. We have already seen that the old Irish were not only more bigoted and ignorant than those of the Pale, but inflamed with deeper passions. The Marquis of Ormond had, as has been stated, negotiated a peace more advantageous to the Protestants than the terms agreed upon by Glamorgan, who acted along with the nuncio in consequence of secret powers from Charles ; but the nuncio, secure of the royal support, though it durst not be avowed, had refused to ratify the treaty, thundering forth anathemas against those who adhered to it, and, with the old Irish, continued the war for better terms. Ormond, having left Ireland, concerted new dispositions with the king and queen, and seduced from the Protestant side Inchiquin, who had fought hitherto against the Catholics. When so large a portion of the Scottish army was recalled, Inchiquin, joining the troops with the moderate Catholics, turned himself against the wilder party, who refused to be bound by the treaty ; and while he compelled Owen O'Neil to cross the Shannon, Clanricarde besieged the nuncio in the town of Galway. Ormond now landed, and concluded a second peace, nearly on the same terms as the first, that both parties might be united against the English parliament. As the king's lieutenant, his government over all that disowned the authority of the parliament was nominally acknowledged, but it was subject to the control of twelve commissioners till the peace should be finally ratified by the legislature.

The hopes of the rebels, however, were soon miserably blighted by a total defeat, which Inchiquin, their new commander, received from Jones, the parliamentary general. Ormond was however, early in the spring, prepared to take the field, and, at the head of three thousand seven hundred foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, marched towards Dublin, having reduced

several garrisons by the way. His object for the reduction was to obstruct supplies by sea; but the plan failed, and he received a total defeat from Jones. The English parliament had been hitherto obliged, in some measure, to neglect Irish affairs; but, now that peace was established at home, it determined to evince the vigour of its counsels in the neighbouring isle. Cromwell was therefore sent as lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief. He set sail with a considerable body of horse and foot, all animated with that spirit which the disgusting atrocities of the Irish had inspired into the hearts of zealous Protestants. It was not the temper of this intrepid leader to lose an instant in striking an important blow; and he soon let the Irish feel both his ability and vengeance. Marching to Drogheda, he determined immediately to reduce it, though garrisoned with two thousand foot and a regiment of horse, and deemed by the governor to be impregnable at that season of the year. The place was taken at the third assault, and the garrison, as well as many of the inhabitants, put to the sword. Those saved were destined for the plantations. This has been generally condemned as excessively cruel and sanguinary, and it undoubtedly was a terrible act; but men must ever be judged of by the standard and feelings of their own times. Such had been the indescribable atrocities of the Irish,—who, not content with the indiscriminate murder of men, women, and children, in an unsuspecting moment of security, had inflicted upon their unresisting victims the most excruciating torments,—that the gates of mercy were barred against them in every breast; and Cromwell, by denying quarter, which they never granted, acted in conformity with the general sentiments of the Protestants. The argument of that leader was, that, by rigour in the outset, he would, in reality, save blood, by inclining the Catholics to immediate subjection. To blacken the measure, how-

Cromwell
sent into
Ireland,
and his
success.

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ever, it has been said that the majority of the garrison were Protestants; but the statement is not authenticated: had it even been so, however, and the fact been known to Cromwell, which there is no reason for presuming, it would not have lessened the public abhorrence at their conduct, since, by their alliance with the Irish Catholics, and supporting them in their measures, they proved themselves to be renegadoes from their own principles, and assumed the guilt of the party with whom they co-operated.

The fate of Drogheda struck such universal terror, that everywhere the Catholics talked of treating, and places of strength yielded at his approach. Ormond, on the other hand, fell into complete disgrace with the Catholics, and the Protestant troops under Inchiquin revolted to Cromwell, by which all the towns in Munster fell into his hands. The season, however, was so far advanced before he attempted Waterford, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire into winter quarters.

Owen O'Neil had, in consequence of his disagreement with Ormond, endeavoured to make his peace with the English parliament; but, as all his offers were sternly rejected, he again united with Ormond, who now entertained hopes of combining all parties to resist Cromwell in the spring. That great captain took the field early in the season, and was preparing for a second attempt on Waterford, when he was recalled, and the command transferred to Ireton, under the title of deputy. Ireton was not the man to lose the decisive moment. What Cromwell had projected he executed; and Waterford (which, with other towns, had refused to agree with Ormond) was immediately reduced. These successes brought the power of the Catholics so low, that they had scarcely an army to take the field; and Ormond, despised by the soldiers, and execrated by the clergy, was obliged to surrender his command to the Marquis of

Clanricarde, and leave the kingdom. Limerick was now the only town of importance in the possession of the Irish; and such jealousy did the party that held it entertain of the other faction, that they refused admission to Clanricarde. As the town was besieged, a party, under Lord Muskerry, advanced to its relief; but as they were beaten back by Lord Broghill, the magistrates determined to surrender the place on terms. The Bishops of Limerick and Emly, then in the town, perceiving that they would be delivered up as victims to the conquerors, threatened to excommunicate the citizens if they proceeded in the treaty; and when commissioners were appointed in spite of the threat, they actually excommunicated the city, and published a perpetual interdict against it, recallable only by their retracting the negotiation. The governor, Hugh O'Neil, likewise laboured to prevent a treaty; but a party of the soldiers, under Colonel Fennell, having given admission to about two hundred of the besiegers, the town capitulated. By the articles, the soldiers were to lay down their arms, but had liberty to march where they pleased. The inhabitants were allowed three months to transport themselves and their goods to any part of the kingdom that should be allotted to them by the parliament. The mayor, the governor, and the two bishops were excepted. One of the bishops, Limerick, escaped in the disguise of a soldier; the other, with the mayor, was hanged; the governor was shot.

This siege proved fatal to the deputy, whose weak constitution sank under the fatigue. The celebrated Ludlow succeeded him in the command, and prosecuted the reduction of that kingdom.*

The Scottish commissioners had, in conformity with

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 293 *et seq.*; *Works*, vol. ii. p. 315 *et seq.*; Clar. Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. ii.: White-locke, p. 391 *et seq.*; Milton's *Prose Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 550 *et seq.*, 612 *et seq.*; vol. viii. p. 121 *et seq.*

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Rupture
with Scot-
land.

their instructions, protested, not only against the trial and condemnation of the late king, but even against the new government. The English parliament, however, far from attending to their protestations, treated their overtures with contempt, and proposed that the Scots should likewise establish a republic, and enter into a federal union with England. This was considered as adding insult to injury; and, on their continued complaints, they were ignominiously conducted to the borders, and dismissed the country.*

Scottish
affairs.

Scotland was neither disposed nor prepared to erect itself into a commonwealth. The aristocracy were so powerful, that monarchical authority was necessary to restrain them, and afford protection to the other ranks. The clergy indeed formed a considerable counterpoise, by uniting, under their direction, the great body of the people who were not immediately dependent on the aristocracy; but as, from the state of manufactures and commerce, the bulk of the population depended on the landowners, the authority of the clergy failed to afford an extensive protection. The aristocracy derived their titles, and nominally their lands too, from the crown; and they were not strangers to the disposition of their vassals to shake off their oppressive feudal tenures, and otherwise curb their power. They indeed desired to transfer the authority of the throne to themselves; but they knew that the appearance of monarchy was necessary to the preservation of their exclusive privileges; and they perceived that the attempt to establish a commonwealth with the preservation of their own power would probably lead the great body of the people to recall the king, when they, as opposing the measure, would incur general ruin.

With what views the Solemn League and Covenant had

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 273 *et seq.*, *et seq.*; *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* vol. also 271 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 367 iii. p. 1277 *et seq.*

been entered into, we have already sufficiently explained. That many were piously disposed, cannot be disputed: but it is evident that they expected the lucrative offices of church and state as a return for conferring the benefit of the Presbyterian system on England. The English, therefore, gave them no credit for their zeal, alleging that their God was forms, and the tenth of every man's estate. The army of sectaries, as they denominated that of England, had blasted all their expectations; but they flattered themselves that the body of the people, as well as the generality of the Presbyterian clergy, hated the sectaries no less than themselves did—an opinion in which they were confirmed by the outcry of the Presbyterian clergy on the late king's death. They inferred, therefore, that, could they raise an army, and, having recalled the king on their own terms, use his name in an expedition into England, they should be joined by such numbers as might effectuate his restoration, and if they rigorously excluded the Malignants and Engagers, really place the power in their own hands. Such were the views of the majority of the Covenanters; but the more rigid—as they in reality justified the execution, however they might declaim against, because they abhorred, the instruments by which it was accomplished—were cold on the subject, particularly as to involving their country in a war with England, and, at all events, laboured to render the conditions upon which they proposed to restore the exiled monarch so severe as would have left him scarcely the shadow of authority, and converted him into their tool, the Royalists endeavoured to gain the ascendancy by restoring him unconditionally, and thus so binding him to them as to make it his interest to entrust them wholly with the administration of affairs. In their purpose to exclude those classes from all share of power, the ruling party acted on principles of sound policy—nay, in self-defence; since, once

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admitted, they might soon, with the royal aid, have attained the rule, not only defeating all the ends of the Covenant, but putting themselves in a condition to crush its adherents. But the Presbyterians in general resolved to exclude the Malignants from all share in either the civil or military department; aware that, once admitted into either, they should, with the king's assistance, soon become the ruling faction. It was on this principle that an attempt by Monro and Middleton to restore the king unconditionally was instantly put down, and the Marquis of Huntley, who had been sixteen months in prison, brought, as an example, to the scaffold.*

Charles II.
proclaimed
in Scot-
land.

Such was the state of parties in Scotland, and such the views of the prevailing one; yet, on the death of the late king, the parliament, under the guidance of this body, order the son to be proclaimed Charles II., king of England and Ireland, as well as of Scotland, 'as the righteous heir and lawful successor.' But, they added, 'upon the condition of his good behaviour and strict observation of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation;'—'a proclamation,' observes Clarendon, 'so strangely worded, that though it called him their king, manifested enough to him that he was to be subject to their determinations in all the parts of his government.' That the young king might be brought to Scotland upon proper terms, commissioners were sent from the Scottish parliament to the Hague to arrange the business with him. Miserable as was the condition of that prince, and rent as his few attendants were into factions, they were

ommiss-
sioners
from Scot-
land to
Charles at
the Hague.
Treaty, &c.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 275 *et seq.*; Burnet's *Mem.* p. 388; *Hist.* vol. i. p. 49; Whitelocke, p. 578. Argyle was accused of instigating Huntley's execution; but it appears, by Father Hay's *Memoirs*, that Argyle retired from the parliament as discontented at the measure; and though, as might

be expected, the author accuses that nobleman of having secretly employed all his influence to compass Huntley's death, charity would induce us to believe, in the absence of better authority, that the charge is unfounded (Whitelocke, p. 393).

all enraged to find that the Scottish commissioners, instead of inviting Charles back without conditions, acted rather like ambassadors to a foreign state than what they imagined became subjects to their sovereign. To Charles also resorted, with others of the same class, the lords of the Engagement, Lauderdale, Callendar, and Lanerick, now, by his brother's death, Duke of Hamilton, who had, of course, a different policy to pursue. About the same time also came the thorough Scottish Royalists or Malignants, Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth. Lauderdale was so infuriated against Montrose, whose barbarities and indiscriminate slaughter upon his countrymen he expatiated upon, that he refused to have communication with him, and declared that he would rather the king never was restored, than by the assistance of such a man as James Graham: so he, in consequence of Montrose's attainder, denominated that individual, whom he likewise pronounced the author of all the calamities of his country. Montrose, on the other hand, who, misled by childish prophecies, imagined himself the destined restorer of Charles, advised that prince to disdain all propositions, and trust to *his* valiant achievements alone for the recovery of his crown. The lords of the Engagement, perceiving that all would be lost by a coalition with Montrose, advised Charles to agree with the commissioners from the parliament, hoping that, on the restoration, they might recover their own influence, while they mitigated the terms to him. But Hyde and others strenuously advised Charles against such an agreement, and trusting his person in Scotland without an armed force. Such a measure they naturally abhorred, as pregnant with their own ruin and that of all who had suffered in the royal cause. They therefore supported Montrose; and while the negotiation was continued with the commissioners, measures of a very different nature were agitated and determined on. We have already detailed the state of affairs in Ireland some time before

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Assassina-
tion of
Dorislaus.

the arrival of Cromwell; and matters being represented as far more flourishing than they were, Charles was advised to transport himself thither, and set himself at the head of the troops commanded by Ormond and Inchiquin; while he secretly granted a commission to Montrose to levy troops in Scotland, and subdue that kingdom unconditionally to the royal power. This plausible scheme was, however, soon defeated. Montrose, who had already so fully shown his aptitude to commit the base and dastardly crime of assassination, now stained his character with that enormity on the person of Dr. Dorislaus, who had acted as assistant counsel against the late king, and was now English resident at the Hague. Twelve, according to Clarendon 'half-a-dozen gentlemen,' under his employment, perpetrated the deed, as Dorislaus was unsuspectingly seated at table in his own lodgings. Dorislaus had been bred at Leyden, was afterwards a professor in Gresham College, and had acted as judge-advocate in Essex's army. To the disgrace of the Royalists, this unmanly crime was, not long after, committed on Ascham, who was sent as resident to Madrid; and it continued to be attempted on others: even Whitelocke was threatened during his embassy in Sweden. When the assassination of Dorislaus was announced to the English government, it, with its accustomed vigour, took it so imperiously up, that the States were obliged to do something, though, according to Clarendon, they proceeded 'with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the king,' conducting the inquisition very slowly, and with such formalities that the assassins might escape. They, however, intimated to the king, that it would be necessary for him to leave their territory. This somewhat obstructed the preparations, and many advised to delay them till the parties in Ireland who declared for him had composed their mutual animosities. It was also deemed proper that Charles should visit his mother at Paris previous to the

expedition. In the meantime, Montrose, carried away by prophecies and predictions, to which he 'was naturally given,' that he alone should subdue Scotland, and successfully lead an army into England for the same object, prepared to make a descent on the Scottish coast.*

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The Covenanters, eager to effectuate the restoration of Charles on their own terms, sent to him a second deputation by the Earls of Cassillis and Lothian. The necessities of the French court had obliged Charles to remove to Jersey; but, under the pretext that the island had not sufficient accommodations, the treaty was transferred to Breda. The propositions carried by these noblemen were, that Charles should not only take the Covenant himself, but impose it on all classes without toleration; that Malignants should be of course excluded, and the monarch be subject to the control of the parliament in civil affairs, and of the assembly in ecclesiastical. Against propositions so severe towards the Royalists, that party bitterly declaimed, representing them as injurious to the memory of the late king, and unworthy of the present, either as a sovereign or as a man; as destructive of monarchy, and sacrilegious to the church. The most galling part of the proceeding, however, was, that the commissioners were restrained from intimating any purpose to regain for him the English throne.†

Another deputation to Charles from Scotland, and Treaty of Breda.

Charles was advised, not only by the Prince of Orange, but by his own mother, to the hypocritical act of taking the Covenant; and whatever scruple of conscience he might affect on the subject, his real motive for protracting the treaty was, that Montrose might have an opportunity to attempt the realising of his extravagant promises.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 271 *et seq.*; see p. 278 *et seq.* Clarendon accuses the lords of the Engagement of being actuated only with a desire of being restored to their estates (p. 307). But what were his own motives for

opposing the treaty? (*Journal of Whitelocke's Embassy*, and *Memoirs*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. iii. p. 66 *et seq.*)

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 353 *et seq.*, 377, 397 *et seq.*

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Proceed-
ings of
Montrose.

This individual had visited the Swedish court for the purpose of obtaining assistance in a cause which the Royalists loudly proclaimed to be that of monarchs in general: but his reception there was not commensurate with his expectations, for he merely obtained some hundred stand of arms. From thence he proceeded to Denmark, where he found the monarch sufficiently hearty in the cause, but destitute of the means of promoting it; for, besides his poverty, he was in no estimation with his own subjects, and, consequently, could not expect their co-operation. Montrose, however, received a small advance of money, and, in the spring (1650), sailed for the Orkneys, with six hundred Germans, commanded chiefly by Scottish exiles.

Lands in
Scotland.

The barbarous and wretched inhabitants of the Orkneys had lived remote from the broils which had convulsed the British empire, and had taken no interest in the issue. Unacquainted with land service, they could not, without previous training, which the conjuncture would not admit of, be formidable in the field; and, except under their own superiors, they could have no spirit in any undertaking. Montrose, however, insisted upon their acting under his banners; and, as they were unprepared for resistance, eight hundred were easily impressed into the service. His object was to cross the mainland, that, amid the northern clans, he might raise a large army; but, as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland, miserable was his disappointment to perceive that the inhabitants, instead of flocking to his standard, everywhere fled at his approach. From the horrors of civil war these counties had hitherto been exempt; but the fame of Montrose's dreadful exploits had too fully reached them not to spread dismay at his approach at the head of foreign troops. The committee of the Estates were sufficiently vigilant to be prepared for his reception; and Strachan, who had served under Cromwell, and had formerly defeated Mid-

dleton, was dispatched with 300 horse to obstruct his progress, while Leslie followed with 4000 more. The committee of Estates were sufficiently vigilant to meet the exigency, and David Leslie was ordered on the enterprise. Leslie having mustered his forces at Brechin on the 25th of April, set forward, with 4000 cavalry and infantry, at the rate of thirty miles a day; while he despatched Lieut.-Col. Strachan, who had distinguished himself against the Pluscardine insurrection, to take command of troops lying about Ross and Inverness. The force with which Strachan totally routed Montrose did not amount to 300, including 36 musketeers.* Montrose never seems to have been qualified for any combined operations on an extensive scale; but possibly the prophecies or predictions on which he relied had now disordered his understanding, as his former penetration deserted him. Without cavalry he could fight to advantage on the mountains only, and yet he trusted himself in the champaign country. As he advanced beyond the pass of Invercarron, on the confines of Ross-shire, without intelligence regarding the opposite party, the small force under Strachan issued from an ambuscade in three divisions against him. The engagement occurred on a Sunday; and the enemy, when the idea of attacking them was first meditated by Strachan, were ten miles off. It was doubted by these rigid Covenanters whether they should march towards them or delay the fight till Monday, though it was suspected that they, consisting as they did of foot, would take to the hills the instant they heard of Strachan's approach; but the doubts were quickly removed by intelligence that the enemy had advanced six miles nearer.† The first division was repulsed; but the second, headed by Strachan himself, put the whole of Montrose's troops to the rout. The islanders threw down their arms; and the foreigners, having retreated to a wood, surrendered.

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Montrose
defeated,
April 27,
1650, and
taken.

* Balf. vol. iv. p. 8 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*

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Montrose's own horse had been shot under him ; but his friend, Lord Friendnought, generously gave him his ; and he, having borrowed the clothes of a poor countryman, escaped in that disguise. His cloak, star, and garter, however, having been found swimming down a river, enabled his pursuers to ascertain the course he had taken ; and a friend, whom he trusted, betrayed him to Leslie.

By Leslie he was conducted in triumph, in the mean habit he had assumed, till they reached Dundee, where he purchased a suit becoming his rank. Whether it was in the power of Leslie to afford him an exchange of garb sooner, or that, according to the accounts of the Royalists, he exulted in the meanness of his prisoner's garments, we shall not pretend to determine. At Dundee, which had formerly suffered from him, he is said to have met with more pity than from other quarters ; he was elsewhere assailed with curses. He had been previously attainted as well as excommunicated, and his doom was therefore sealed. The magistrates of Edinburgh received him as the blackest criminal. With his arms pinioned with cords, and his principal officers, coupled together, preceding him, he was placed on an elevated cart, and ignominiously conducted through the streets. But we must not rashly credit the enemies of Argyle, when they assert that, seated at a window, he feasted his eyes on the humiliation of his enemy. All these indignities Montrose bore with fortitude ; but when reproached in parliament, previous to his sentence, with his manifold enormities, his temper forsook him : he vindicated his breach of the Covenant by alleging their rebellion ; his various appearances in arms by the commissions of his sovereign ; and impudently asserted that he had never shed blood except in battle, and that he had taken up arms on the present occasion to accelerate the treaty. He was sentenced to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, and to hang for three hours ; to have his head affixed to the jail, and a limb to be placed in each of the other four principal towns of Scotland—

His treat-
ment and
sentence.

Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen; and to have the trunk buried among the common malefactors, unless he were relaxed from the censures of the church.

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Montrose preserved his spirit to the last, and amused himself with embodying his feelings of loyalty in verse, which however was, as poetry, no less execrable than his actions had been as a member of society. The clergy endeavoured to extort from him a sense of contrition, and refused him absolution unless he manifested repentance; but his proud heart remained unsubdued. 'Far from being troubled that my limbs are to be sent to your principal towns,' said he, 'I wish that I had flesh enough to be dispersed throughout Christendom, to attest my dying attachment to my king.' He appeared next day on the scaffold in a rich suit; but the history which, composed in Latin, had been published in Paris, of his exploits—enormities, rather—was, by the public order, suspended from his neck. This, charity would induce us to believe, flowed more from the desire of rendering the spectacle an impressive act of justice, than of embittering the last moments of a criminal, however flagrant his demerits. He smiled, and told them he was prouder of the history than he had ever been of the Garter. Having finished his prayers, and demanded if any further insult were intended, he calmly submitted to his fate.

Execution
of Mont-
rose, May
16, 1650.

That writers who represent Montrose as fired with the generous, though perhaps mistaken, ambition of loyally serving his prince, as a hero of a magnanimous spirit and decided genius, who splendidly took that part in the contest which his conscience dictated, should depict in the most odious colours the treatment to which he was exposed, is not wonderful; for many may concur in the exalted sentiment of the younger Vane, that he always respected the adherents of both parties, as they were true to their principles: but it is strange to find the treatment condemned, and the victim sympathised with, by any writer who represents him as having taken terrible ven-

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geance on Aberdeen for refusing the Covenant, and then having betrayed the cause when he could not be leader; as having projected the assassination of Argyle and the Hamiltons, as well as the massacre of the Covenanters, in an hour of unsuspecting confidence; as having trampled on all the laws of war and humanity, in introducing the bigoted and cruel Irish to burn towns and villages, and indiscriminately slaughter man, woman, and child; as having assassinated Dorislaus; and as, during the treaty, having projected an invasion, calculated to defeat its every object, before the design was even suspected: yet some writers have committed this inconsistency. Should there be any who still lament the death of Montrose, let them yet not be over-hasty in the condemnation of his enemies for inflicting it, but reflect, that men who had narrowly escaped his assassinations and massacres were naturally steeled against compassion; that those who had lost their nearest and dearest relations—relations whose age or sex prevented resistance—not by the common course of war, but by cold-blooded, indiscriminate, unmanly vengeance; that they who had seen their children, that had escaped fire and sword, only doomed to perish by famine, in consequence of his horrid devastations—could not be expected to soar so far above the level of humanity, as not to feel some desire to see him brought to an infamous end. Revenge is ever to be condemned; but, under such circumstances, what breast could rise altogether above the feeling? We, however, will venture to assert that, if there were such a thing as law or justice in existence, Montrose could not escape his doom. Argyle is said to have urged it on; but, as Montrose's known enemy, he declined taking an ostensible part in the condemnation.

That Montrose was decidedly brave, none will deny; but it is not astonishing that, under his circumstances, his spirits should have risen superior to his fate. The man who steadily pursues the dictates of his conscience,

unsupported by any party, may allow his heart, at times, to sink under persecution; but there is no merit in a heroic appearance on a scaffold, when the individual acts under the impression that the fame of it, extending to every part of the civilised world, will elicit the applause of all whose approbation he esteems, and, in all probability, will be recorded to his credit in the history of the eventful period.

The character of this individual has already been depicted. His military genius was no longer triumphant than when opposed by unskilful commanders: the prophecies and predictions which misled him, yet inspired him with romantic hopes* which a cooler head would not have entertained, but, engaging him in adventures which were accompanied with a delusive success that ought not to have been anticipated, created for him a name that a greater military genius could not, under his circumstances, have earned.

Some of his followers suffered likewise: amongst these was Hurry. This officer, as we have already partly related, had first entered into the service of the parliament, and then deserted and betrayed them: he had not been long with the king before he fell also under the suspicions of the Royalists, and was dismissed from the camp. After this, he proffered his services to his own countrymen against the king, and was employed against this very Montrose, when his conduct did not escape suspicion of a second treachery. He latterly went again over to the royal side, and now suffered as the follower of Montrose. Lord Friendnought, in order to avoid the ignominy of a public execution, starved himself to death.†

* He believed 'somewhat to be in himself which other men were not acquainted with' (Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 422, as corrected in the note from the MS.

† Wishart's *Mem. of Montrose*, ch. iv.-viii.; Father Hay's *Mem.* MS. p. 383; Nichols' *Diary*, MS.

Adv. Lib.; Laing, vol. i. pp. 419-20; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 284 *et seq.*, 315 *et seq.*, 408 *et seq.*; Montrose confessed that he had rooted out families, and never given quarter; but retorted the charge, and argued he had never, like the other party, caused any to be hanged in

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Charles agrees with the Scottish commissioners, and sails for Scotland.

No sooner did the news of Montrose's defeat reach Charles, than, as the only means by which he could recover his crowns, he—basely declaring, even by letter to the parliament, on hearing of Montrose's overthrow, that he was heartily sorry that James Graham had invaded the kingdom, that the measure had been taken not only without his consent, but against his direct prohibition, and that he, therefore, did not regret the issue*—agreed to the terms proposed by the Scottish commissioners, and instantly made arrangements for accompanying them to Scotland. †

Proceedings of the English parliament.

The English parliament had been perfectly informed of all these negotiations, and when they heard of the conclusion of the treaty, with the meditated expedition of the exiled king to Scotland, they instantly determined to carry into that country the hostilities which appeared to be inevitable. ‡ For this purpose Cromwell had been summoned from Ireland in the old capacity of lieutenant-general to Fairfax, who was ordered to undertake the expedition in the character he still held of lord, of captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces raised by authority of parliament. At first no disinclination to this business appeared on the part of Fairfax; but he soon—induced to that course, it is alleged, by the importunate dissuasions of his wife, who was guided by a Scottish Presbyterian parson—refused the command, on the principle of its being against the Solemn League and Covenant to begin the war with that people. § Upon this the council of state sent a deputation to wait on his

Conduct of Fairfax, who declines the command.

cold blood (see p. 290 *et seq.*; White-
locke, p. 451 *et seq.*

* Balf. vol. iv. p. 24 *et seq.*

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 422 *et seq.*,
435 *et seq.*

‡ Had doubt existed as to the intention of the Scots to impose a king on England, it would have been removed by papers found in the cabinet of Loudon, the chancellor, on the

rout at Dunbar (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xix.
p. 385 *et seq.*

§ On the 1st of July, Argyle reported to the Scottish parliament that he had received a letter from trusty friends, apprising him that the Presbyterian party in England had so dealt with Fairfax that he had laid down his command (Balf. vol. iv. p. 69).

excellency, and use all their endeavours to prevail with him to accept of the employment. The deputies were, St. John, Whitlocke, Cromwell, Harrison, and Lambert; and though all of these were urgent, none pressed the general so far as Cromwell, ‘who,’ says Ludlow, ‘acted his part so to the life, that I thought him sincere.’ The same opinion was entertained by all the commissioners, till subsequent events induced them to alter it. The ground assumed by Fairfax was, that the invasion of Scotland could not be justified, as that people had proclaimed no war with England, and it was contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant for the one country to commence war against the other. To this it was answered, that the Scots had already broken the Covenant by the late Engagement; that this had indeed been disavowed by a subsequent parliament or party, but that their whole conduct latterly had evinced a determination to support the cause of Charles Stuart against the people of England, and, not content with proclaiming him king of Scotland only, they had presumed also to proclaim him king of England and Ireland: that, therefore, however they might talk of peace, war was inevitable; and the only question was, whether Scotland should be the seat of war, or that people be unmolestedly allowed to organise their forces till they were prepared to march into England, and be joined by a party there, which would inevitably bring more miseries upon the country, and alienate the affections of the people. Fairfax allowed that war was probable, and he declared his willingness to march against them if they entered England; but he conceived it proper to delay hostilities till the event occurred. War was, however, resolved on, and he resigned the command; ‘whereby,’ says Mrs. Hutchinson, ‘he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his owne name, which every day wore out.’ But his retirement from public life, and subsequent advancement of the Restoration, induced the Royalists to adopt the most extraordinary course in

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vindication of his character as one of their party. According to the account transmitted of him from the best authorities, he was, though slow in resolving, steady to his purpose when formed, and of a perspicacious judgment; his inconsistency at the king's trial, where he was under the influence of his wife, and possibly of motives which he did not think it prudent to express, having been an exception to his general conduct: but the Royalist writers, in their attempt to make it appear that he was inclined towards their principles, represent him as having been so dull and devoid of understanding, as to have been made a property of, or a mere machine, in the hands of Cromwell. A portion of his Memoirs, which were published as written by himself, is calculated in some measure to confirm the idea; but we have already said that the statement there is so contradicted by documents under his own hand, that we must in charity believe that part an interpolation, unless we agree with Mrs. M'Auly, that it was written in dotage, and while he had fallen under the influence of his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham. Cromwell was soon ready to march into Scotland, at the head of 16,000 men.* The internal safety of England was not left unprovided for during the absence of Cromwell. Six hundred horse had been, by a recent Act, added to the military of the City, and the whole put by an Act of the legislature under the command of Skippon. Harrison, too, who was about this time made major-general, was, during the absence of the general, and in subordination to him, nominated to the chief command of the forces allotted to the defence of the southern ports.

Charles, on the 23rd of June, reached the Spey; but

* Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 314-315; Whitelocke, p. 460; Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 171; see p. 167. Probably a reason may there be found for Fairfax's conduct:—that Cromwell had so modelled the army, that he (Fairfax) would have found himself destitute of the power and deference

which he had formerly enjoyed. This author says that Cromwell was sincere; but both Whitelocke and Ludlow say that they thought him so all the time. It was his subsequent conduct which induced suspicion of his candour.

he was not permitted to enter the country till he took the Covenants. The lords of the Engagement had hoped that the return of the king would be attended with their own restoration; but the present powers, perceiving the necessary consequences—that the king would colleague with them, whose influence was so powerful, in order to crush the rigid Covenanters—insisted on their immediate departure, as well as that of many of Charles's other attendants. A union of parties, indeed, would have most effectually resisted the power of England; but the clergy, and others of the ruling party, perceived that, as the lords of the Engagement would raise their adherents, and Charles would unquestionably join with them, such a junction would be no less fatal to their interest than the success of the sectaries. The ridicule directed against them for their conduct in refusing the coalition has been therefore misplaced, as they acted, in so far as their own interest was concerned, from sound views of human policy, and not from the contracted bigotry ascribed to them: indeed, their only object in recalling the king against the feelings of the English government was to secure those very interests which a union with the lords of the Engagement would have ruined, while by a federal union with England they would not have been in immediate hazard. The clergy, however, are accused by their enemies of having resorted to many unworthy stratagems to raise the popular feeling: the pulpits resounded against the sectaries; and it was reported that in a village consisting of fourteen families, they discovered as many witches. Yet the learning and talents of the Scottish clergy, together with the diffusion of religious knowledge amongst the people, ought to induce us at once to reject a story circulated against them in England, without the mention of name or place, that some ministers had, in their public prayers from the pulpit, used the most blasphemous language to the Deity,—that if He did not subdue their enemies, He should no longer be their God;

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The young king lands in Scotland; and his treatment there, &c.

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language which could be believed only of polytheists in their addresses to a tutelar god, and which was, therefore, utterly repugnant to the genius of both people and clergy in Scotland.*

All outward respect was paid to Charles; but he was strictly guarded by the party in power, while a solemnity of deportment, as well as an observance of religion, was required, which little corresponded with a disposition accustomed to treat the most serious obligations of morality with derision. †

Lieut.-
General D.
Leslie ap-
pointed to
the com-
mand of
the Scottish
army, and
proceed-
ings of the
Covenant-
ers, &c.

The command of the Scottish army was conferred on David Leslie, and the country betwixt Edinburgh and Berwick almost entirely laid waste, that the English forces might be deprived of subsistence. As Cromwell entered the country, where the universal poverty surprised and shocked his soldiers, the inhabitants fled from his approach, the clergy having told them that the English would cut the throats of all the males between sixteen and sixty, mutilate of their right hands all under sixteen and above six, and burn the women's breasts with hot irons. 'The clergy,' says Captain Hodgson, who served in Cromwell's army, 'highly incensed against us, represent us to the people as if we had been the monsters of the world.' ‡ In their march, therefore, the English saw not for a considerable time any Scotsmen under sixty years of age, nor any boys above six, and but a very few women and children: § the women, too, fell down on their knees, begging

* Clarendon, *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 435 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 416 *et seq.*; see p. 465 about the alleged language of the ministers. It was announced in letters from the army on its advance to Berwick.

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 435 *et seq.*

‡ 'In the march between Mordington and Copperspith, we saw not any Scotchman in Eyton and other places which we passed thorow; but the streets were full of Scotch women, pitiful sorry creatures, clothed in white flannel, in a very homely

manner: very many of them be-moaned their husbands, who, they said, were enforced by the lairds of the towns to gange to the muster.' 'Relation of the Fight at Leith, neere Edinburgh,' published along with Slingsby's and Hodgson's *Memoirs, Despatches, and Letters*, relative to this campaign (p. 207).

§ Hodgson's *Mem.* pp. 128, 131; 'Relation of the Fight at Leith,' p. 208; 'Relation of the Campaign in Scotland,' *Id.* p. 232; Whitelocke, p. 466.

of them not to burn their breasts, and the children followed their mothers' instructions in praying for their lives. Cromwell had too much good sense not instantly to adopt measures for dissipating those terrors. He published a declaration inviting all to remain in their houses without fear of molestation, and at the same time strictly enjoined his officers and soldiers not to offer the slightest violence to the persons or goods of any not immediately connected with the Scottish army. Having heard that some stragglers were guilty of violating the order, he cashiered one or two, and issued out another edict, &c., on which two or three were brought to punishment, not to go half a mile from the main body on pain of death. Some Scottish troopers, who were taken, were dismissed with kindness.* This produced a corresponding spirit, insomuch that the women began to bake and brew for the soldiery.

In the meantime, a large body of the *Engagers*, without the consent of the committees of church and state, had embodied to join the Scottish army; but as it was easily seen that if this party were once allowed to take the field in considerable numbers, they, under the royal protection, would soon gain the ascendancy, and frustrate all the measures of the present ruling party, they were ordered to disband: upwards of eighty officers

* Whitelocke, pp. 465, 466; *Cromwelliana*, p. 83 *et seq.*, and preceding authorities. In apparently a demi-official letter, dated from Musselburgh, the 30th July, (appended to Hodgson's *Mem.* p. 232 *et seq.*), the writer says—'The people had generally deserted their habitations; some few women only were left behind; yet we had this MERCY, that their houses, thus forsaken, were indifferently well furnished with beer, wine, and corn, which was a very good supply to us. *Our soldiers were civil and orderly, which gains much upon the country.*' From the seeming position of the

writer, it may perhaps be inferred that the value of these articles was allowed,—at least if the owners, or any in their place, were in a condition to receive it. There would otherwise have been an abuse of the word MERCY, and a violation of Cromwell's orders. Whitelocke gives us the substance of intelligence that all these goods and household stuff were carried away to the inhabitants, who had fled,—'except a few oats and meal, and a little beer, hid under coals, which the soldiers made use of' (p. 467). This seems to import that there was nobody to deal with.

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were, on the same account, dismissed from the army. The spirit of the Malignants and Engagers inspired further distrust of the king himself, which was confirmed by his refusing to sign a proclamation prepared in his name, in which he is made to say, that as it had pleased the Lord in his gracious goodness and tender mercy to discover unto him the great evil of the ways wherein he had been formerly led by wicked counsel, and had so far blessed the endeavours of this kirk and kingdom, his majesty had now sworn and subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, and was most willing and desirous to grant the propositions of both kingdoms presented to his royal father at Newcastle and Hampton Court, with such alterations and additions as should be thought necessary for the good of the king and kingdom; and to give such satisfaction to his people of England as should be desired by his two Houses of Parliament sitting in freedom; but that, though the sectarian army, which had now, under Cromwell, invaded Scotland, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, had used force on the two Houses, and had put his father to death, contriving the subversion of all governments, civil and ecclesiastical, and to subject all persons to their tyrannical usurpation, he yet, believing that the majority had been misled, offered a free pardon to all—except those who had sat in parliament, in measures against his father, after the force used on the two Houses—who should instantly join the Scottish army. The king's declining to subscribe this proclamation, together with the conduct of the Malignants and *Engagers*, induced the committees to insist on his removing to a distance from the camp, lest he should debauch the army. A large declaration, of a far stronger kind, was now brought to him; and as he positively refused to sign it, the clergy thundered out from their pulpits next day, that they were deceived in him, as he was the very root of malignancy, and an utter enemy to the kingdom of Christ; and that, as he had only taken the

Covenant to gain his private ends, they must be on their guard against him and the heathen people about him.* The commissioners of the General Assembly then met, and drew up a declaration, in which, having stated that there might be just grounds of stumbling, from his refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him, they declare that ‘the kirk and kingdom do not own or espouse any malignant party, or quarrel, or interest; but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past; and, therefore, as they did disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and of his house, so they will not own him or his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father’s opposition to the work of God and to the Covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the ground betwixt them and that party is misstated, as if they owned the late king’s proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present majesty’s interest, before and without acknowledgment of the sins of his house and former ways, and satisfaction to God’s people in both kingdoms.’ The committee of estates approved of this; and the officers of the army having sent to the committee of estates a remonstrance against Malignants to a similar effect, received a gracious answer confirming the declaration. The declaration was shown to Cromwell by the party most averse to the king; but his answer is reported to have been, that he would not juggle with them; that he came there for their king, and that if they

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* The utter perfidy of the young king is well displayed by documents published for a very different object by Carte (*Let.* vol. i. pp. 378, 398).

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would deliver him up he would treat, but not otherwise. The state of the Scottish army appeared now prosperous; the party at the helm consequently triumphant; and the young king, who had no sincerity, at last agreed to a declaration which they prepared — that though it became him as a dutiful son to honour his father's memory, and to esteem his mother, yet that he was deeply afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's hearkening unto and following evil counsel, and his opposition to the work of reformation and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been shed in these kingdoms; and for his mother's idolatry, the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was a matter of great stumbling unto all the Protestant churches, so it could not be but a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father on the children; that, though he might extenuate his own conduct, yet that he freely acknowledged all his own sins, and the sins of his father's house; that, from a full conviction of the justice and equity of the Solemn League and Covenant, he had subscribed it and sworn to it, declaring that he had not entered into the oath of God with his people upon any sinister intention and crooked design for attaining his own ends, but, so far as human weakness would permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart, and that he would ever promote that grand object. He professes that he will have no enemies but those of the Covenant; that he detested all popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy, and all errors, schism, and profaneness, and had resolved to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power; and in the meantime, he commanded all who pretended to espouse his interest to do it upon that ground, and therefore recalled all commissions granted to any who did not adhere to the Covenant; that he disclaimed the peace with Ireland, and the toleration of the Catholic super-

stitution in that kingdom; that, no less anxious to do justice to his good subjects of England and Ireland, he would accord to the propositions formerly tendered by both kingdoms, if the two Houses would still proffer them. He declares that it is upon these grounds he calls on all the people to oppose the sectaries. Not satisfied even with this, the clergy appointed a solemn fast and humiliation for the sins of his father's house, and for his own.*

We now return to military affairs. Leslie had taken up a strong position, properly entrenched, betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. The line extended from the Canongate (or lower part of the Old Town) across the Calton Hill, which was strongly fortified, to Leith, which was likewise fortified. A deep trench, mounted with cannon, fortified the whole line on the low ground, while the castle was at that time deemed a place of great strength. Cromwell found it in vain to attempt forcing the trenches, and, after facing them, he retreated to Musselburgh for provisions; his supplies arriving by sea either there or a little above Leith. On his retreat to Musselburgh, his rear was attacked; but the Scots were repulsed with some loss; and the English general, to prove to the satisfaction of the people how much he was misrepresented, and how false were the reports of success which had been circulated by the enemy, sent the principal wounded officers in his own coach, and the rest in waggons, to Edinburgh Castle. Having refreshed his army, which had suffered much from a very heavy rain, he again returned to Edinburgh, in expectation of drawing Leslie beyond his entrenchment; but though he dislodged a party which had been posted on the north side of Arthur's Seat, he could not move the Scottish general from his ground. To effect this object,

Military
affairs.

* Walker, p. 163 *et seq.* Considerable light, but all confirming our narrative, is thrown on the state of things in Scotland at this juncture,

by papers in the fourth volume of the MS. of Baillie's *Letters*, &c. See also the printed volume in the Bannatyne Club.

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therefore, he marched to the west, near the foot of the Pentlands, that by interposing betwixt Edinburgh and Stirling, he might intercept supplies, and thus oblige the Scots to follow him. Afraid of this measure, Leslie moves to the west, in a line farther to the north; and now Cromwell believed that he should be able to meet him on fair ground. But the local knowledge of Leslie enabled him, owing to the ravines and other inequalities of surface, so dexterously to shift his positions, as to preclude a possibility of reaching him. On one occasion, indeed, Cromwell believed that the juncture was come; but as the troops advanced, a bog was found to interpose between them and the enemy. It was at this time, when the two armies were lying very near each other, that Cromwell, having gone to reconnoitre, rebuked on the spot a Scottish trooper who discharged his carbine at him, saying, if he had been one of his men, he would have had him cashiered for firing at such a distance. After spending some days in this position to no purpose, Oliver was obliged to return to the sea-side for victuals. But now his whole army began to be dispirited: the weather had been exceedingly rainy, and their privations great; while there appeared no prospect of drawing the Scots from their strong ground.* Sickness, too, was engendered in the army, and the season was rapidly advancing. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to retreat to Dunbar, where

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 339 *et seq.* In one of the letters referred to, there is the following passage: 'Captain Wilford, a gentleman in my lord's own troop, being on Tuesday taken prisoner (his horse being killed under him), was carried to Leith, where he was very courteously used by Lieutenant-general David Lesley, who kept him at his own house, where resorted to him divers of their ministers and commanders, who demanded of him how long he had served under Antichrist, that proud man Cromwell, over whose head the curse of God hung for

murdering the king, breaking the Covenant, and they did expect daily when the Lord should deliver him into their hands; they saying, he termed his guns his twelve apostles, and that he put his whole confidence in them; and the commanders, old cavaliers like, did swear most desperately that they had taken eighteen of our colours; and the ministers said that our ships in the haven were revolted to the king; which your London cavaliers may perhaps believe' (pp. 220-1). This shows how little the vulgar reports are to be trusted.

they might establish a garrison, which, it was thought, if anything could, would provoke the enemy to fight; where they had a good harbour for receiving supplies of provisions from England; where, being within thirty miles of Berwick, they could easily receive reinforcements that were expected; where, during contrary winds or stormy weather, they could obtain supplies by land; and from which, as the distance to Berwick was scarcely more than one day's march, they might, at any time that the exigency required it, leave the country, and yet be ready to pour in upon it on any favourable occasion which might suddenly present itself.* At Musselburgh, they shipped off about six hundred sick for Dunbar, whom the Scots strangely mistook for a train of artillery, and on Saturday, the 31st of August, marched to Haddington. The Scots, whose numbers more than doubled those of their adversaries, now imagining the enemy to be in full march to England, presumptuously thought only of obstructing their retreat, and destroying them. On the Saturday evening, the 31st of August, the English army, as it marched by moonlight, was closely followed, and the rear assailed with such impetuosity, as might have been productive of loss, and even danger, had not a cloud suddenly passed over the moon, and so obscured the field that the Scots were obliged to suspend their operations till the English were prepared to repulse them. That evening the English quartered at Haddington, and next morning it was hoped that the enemy, who were quite close

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The retreat
of the Eng-
lish army
to Dunbar.

* Cromwell, in his dispatch about the battle of Dunbar, writes thus: 'Upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy lying upon his advantages, at a general council it was thought fit to march to Dunbar, and there to fortifie the town, which, we thought, if anything, would provoke them to engage; as also the having a garrison there, would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men, would be

a place for a good magazine (which we exceedingly wanted, being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done, though the being of the whole army lay upon it, all the coasts from Leith to Berwick not having one good harbour); as also to lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick' (p. 294; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 341 *et seq.*).

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upon them, would engage. Cromwell took up his position a little to the south of the town, and waited four or five hours in expectation of the attack. Leslie, however, who had occupied the higher ground a little farther to the south, was not inclined to leave his position; and Cromwell, considering the other's situation, did not think it prudent to be the assailant.* He therefore ordered his army to march to Dunbar. As they approached that town, Leslie, who had hung all the time on their rear, took a direction to the south of a marsh, now almost entirely drained and richly cultivated, and pitched his camp on Down Hill, in the vicinity of the town; while, supposing the enemy to be in retreat to England, he sent forward a party to seize the pass at Cockburn's Path, where, as Cromwell says in his dispatch, 'ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way.'

Position of
the Scots
on Down
Hill.

Down Hill is not distant two miles from Dunbar. In itself it is small, the largest base not being a mile in extent; but it forms part of a range of hills which connect with the Lammermuirs. Betwixt the sea and that range, extends a low and fertile strip of land, terminated on the south-east by the Lammermuirs. This low ground holds its communication with the rest of the fertile tract which extends to Edinburgh by a passage near to Dunbar. On the north and west, Down Hill is so steep as to be almost inaccessible. On the south it is also steep, though far less so. On the east it slopes down to the sea with such a

* Walker, to throw ridicule on the rigid Covenanters, in whose loss at Dunbar he with his master rejoiced, says that Leslie had an opportunity of destroying the English army on Sunday, and that the clergy prevented him, alleging it would involve the nation in the sin of sabbath-breaking. But did not the march do the same thing? An attack was exactly what Cromwell wished, and it is strange to observe the inconsistent statement of Hume.

He sends Leslie to the heights of Lammermuir, at the distance of about from six to eight miles, and where he never could possibly march, —the ravines, &c. would have precluded it,—and yet he adopts the story of Walker about the Sabbath. He ridicules the clergy for insisting on Leslie leaving Down Hill to meet Cromwell, and yet holds them up to scorn for preventing him attacking the English on equal ground!

gentle declivity that one might gallop up. By the north side runs a small stream, which passes through the grounds of Broxmouth House, the seat of the then Earl, now Duke, of Roxburgh. Before it enters the park, the banks are so steep (except at one point to the west, which was occupied by Cromwell, to prevent a surprise by the enemy) that neither army could pass it in the face of the other without great disadvantage. From the termination of these banks to the sea at the nearest point, the distance is not great; and, according to the description, the pass had been still more contracted by the marshy nature of the ground, and probably too by the state of the park about Broxmouth House.

Leslie had drawn up his troops to face the north, and, consequently, the English army. The left wing was near the top of the hill, the right towards the base. On the Monday evening, however, he was observed to bring his cavalry from the left to the right, and his foot still farther down the hill. As the accounts transmitted to us of Leslie's motives are not to be relied upon, it is impossible to ascertain exactly by what he was really influenced. An idea pervaded the Scottish army, which far outnumbered the adverse body, that the English were completely in their power; that they might destroy them, and march forthwith to England; and that such was Cromwell's situation, that he had already embarked part of his foot and ordnance, and meant to break through with his cavalry alone.* Leslie therefore might think of attacking them in the moment of embarking, or might only in-

* It is then given as having been related to the anonymous author, 'that on Monday evening three soldiers were taken, and one of them was first examined by Leslie, who asked him if the enemy did intend to fight. He replied, what did he think they came there for?—they came for nothing else. "Soldier," says Leslie, "how will you fight, when you have shipped half of your men

and all your great guns?" The soldier replied, "Sir, if you please to draw down your army to the foot of the hill, you shall find both men and great guns also." One standing by asked him how he durst answer the general so saucily. He told him that he only made answer to the question demanded of him' (*Carte's Let.* vol. i. p. 382).

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tend to place himself in a more exact line of interposition. He might, however, have other reasons no less potent. The English army was indeed in a critical predicament, and was reminded of the condition of Essex's army when it surrendered to the king in Cornwall. The expected recruits from Berwick were stopped, as well as all supply of provisions by land. In the event of discomfiture, or failure of a supply of provisions by sea—which, owing to contrary winds, might occur—they, as little could be drawn from the exhausted country, might soon be reduced to extremities. But, on the other hand, Leslie's own position was likewise critical. The height exposed his troops to the inclemency of the season, which was exceedingly rainy and tempestuous; and his supplies could come only from the country to the west, the communication with which was obstructed by Cromwell's army. The hill not only could not furnish the horses with forage, but did not afford one drop of water; so that, if he resolved to retain his position, he must draw it from the stream already described, or possibly from another to the south.* Besides all this, as the hill is perfectly accessible, Cromwell might transport his army beyond the pass already described, and charge them up the acclivity, when, from the contracted nature of the ground, they could not take advantage of their superiority of numbers; and in the event of discomfiture, retreat, owing to the steepness of the west and north banks, would have been impracticable.

Cromwell and Major-General Lambert, having gone to Broxmouth House to view the position of the enemy on the Monday evening, 'I told him,' said the first, 'I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me: so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts at the same instant.'† Colonel

Battle of
Dunbar,
September
3, 1650.

* Carte's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 381.

† Cromwell's dispatch, in the vo-

lume already referred to, p. 298, and
Old Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 339 *et*

Monk was called, who agreed with them on the practicability of the measure; and the general, having returned to his quarters, summoned other colonels, who all cheerfully concurred, when the plan of the engagement was formed for the following morn at daybreak. Six regiments of horse, and three and a half of foot, were appointed for the van. During the night, however, Leslie prudently seized the pass, and that was the grand point of contention next morning; but as the night was rainy and tempestuous, the Scots suffered much, while the English were under cover. In consequence of Lambert's not having been able to bring up the artillery so quickly as he expected, the attack did not begin till nearly six o'clock, and Cromwell was impatient. The first regiment of horse was so gallantly received, that it was obliged to fall back; but Cromwell having called up his own regiment of foot, which, like his regiment of horse, was ever invincible, it carried the pass with butt end of musket and push of pike. More troops were pressed down by Leslie upon this point; but the English foot made their way, and the horse resolutely charged through both cavalry and infantry, 'who,' says Cromwell, 'were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to their swords.' At this moment, about seven o'clock, the sun, hitherto obscured by a foggy horizon, burst in splendour on the German Ocean; 'and,' writes Captain Hodgson, 'I heard Old Noll say, 'Now, let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered.'* His next exclamation was, 'I profess they run;' and, in an instant, charged through and through up the hill, they everywhere fled. Had they been allowed to rally at the top of the hill, possibly they might have renewed the conflict; but some large guns, judiciously placed at the

seq. This is a complete answer to the gossiping relation by Burnet, which has been turned to such good account by Hume, and adopted by Laing, that Cromwell's army being

engaged in a fast, he observed the Scots coming down, through his glass, and exclaimed, 'The Lord has delivered them into our hands.'

* See Psalm lxxviii. 1.

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foot of the north-west ascent, played with such effect as to dislodge them thence; and now the steepness of the north and west banks, with the stream, to which they had trusted for their security, proved their ruin, retreat there being impracticable; though part fled towards the south—where, as they were still farther from their resources, the great body, throwing down their arms, tried to escape by Dunbar, and thus necessarily fell into the enemy's hands. About ten thousand, including many officers, were taken prisoners; the rest were pursued with great slaughter to Haddington, and by one regiment even beyond that town. Upwards of three thousand were slain, including some of the clergy; a body, of whom few escaped without broken heads. All their ordnance, consisting of forty guns, great and small, some of them of leather, fell into the hands of the victors; while above fifteen thousand stand of arms were picked up from the field. Nearly two hundred stand of colours graced the conquest. Cromwell ordered the 117th Psalm, says Hodgson, to be sung on the field, and the army returned 'to bless God in their tents, like Issachar,* for the great salvation afforded to them that day.† About one-half of the prisoners, as wounded, were dismissed; the rest were sent to England.‡ The victory was gained with scarcely the loss of twenty men.

Effects of
the victory
at Dunbar.

This victory produced a complete revolution in affairs. Leslie retired to Stirling, and the country opened to Cromwell. Leith, which was strongly fortified, was abandoned to him; and Edinburgh Castle alone, in that district, stood out.§

State of
Scottish
parties, &c.
after the
battle.

The king was at this time in Perth, and was so far from being afflicted with the news, that, in the language

* Deuteronomy, ch. xxxiii. v. 18.

† Hodgson, p. 149.

‡ Cromwell's Dispatch and other Letters in the vol. already referred to; Hodgson, in same Col., p. 144 *et seq.*; Carte's *Let.* vol. i. pp. 380-4;

Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 454 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 327-9; Walker, p. 179 *et seq.*; Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.

§ Dispatches in Col. referred to; Walker, p. 186 *et seq.*

of Clarendon, 'he was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day.*' He now flattered himself that this terrible blow to the leading party would enable the less rigid Covenanters, in conjunction with the *Engagers*, to obtain the ascendancy; and that, in their anxiety to repel the invaders, and keep their ground, they might allow the Royalists admission into their ranks, when he doubted not that the latter, along with the *Engagers*, might take the power even from the moderate Covenanters, and ultimately model an army with which he could recover his crowns on his own terms. On this account, every species of ridicule was levelled against the rigid party, as the authors of the late defeat; and it was even desired to supersede David Leslie as general. He, dispirited by his late ill success, was willing to renounce the command, but he was still retained.†

In spite of discomfiture, the rigid Covenanters still maintained their principles: the more moderate joined with the lords of the Engagement, who were now permitted to return to the king. This gave an ascendancy to these united parties, and the committees of church and state were moved by them to accept of the service of such as had either deserted the church, or had maintained what was called a detestable neutrality, provided they testified repentance. A parliament, too, having been held at Perth, passed two resolutions to that effect. But no sooner were they passed, than, in order to obtain commands, Malignants flocked to testify repentance; and this caused a new defection. Many of the rigid Presbyterians not only approved of the beheading of the late king as

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 456 *et seq.*

† Walker, p. 181 *et seq.*; Baillie's *Let.* vol. iii. pp. 105 *et seq.*, 111 *et seq.*
Baillie had been very active in

bringing the king in, and he disapproved of his rigorous treatment (Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 167; Balf. vol. iv. p. 105).

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an act of justice, but had yielded to the reception of the present rather as a matter of necessity than of choice, since they perceived that, if they failed to take that step, another party, supported by the majority of the Covenanters, would, and thus wrest the power out of their hands. Now, however, though Argyle supported the king, (indeed, his interest had hitherto overruled the rigid party,) they believed that measures of a very opposite nature were to be resorted to; and that their assistance was only sought till the monarch and the Malignants, with the lords of the Engagement, were in a situation to act against and overturn them. They (particularly in the counties of Air, Renfrew, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries) accordingly, protested against the commission of the church, and declared that, to admit the disaffected, was to betray the cause, and put the whole power into the hands of Malignants, whose pretended penitence was a mockery to God: they urged many gross faults against Argyle, Loudon, Balcarres, and others, for the purpose of having the active noblemen most inclined to their principles removed; they declaimed against the idea of giving a king to England, especially one who was unworthy of reigning over Scotland; for that, as England was not subordinate to them, they had no right to interfere in her affairs. One of the ministers declared that the commission of the kirk would approve of nothing which was right; that a hypocrite ought not to reign over them; that they should treat with Cromwell, and give him security not to trouble England with a king; and that the blood shed in the quarrel must be on their heads who marred such a treaty. Some also were disposed to set a strict guard on the king. All this has been ascribed to bigotry and fanaticism, as if they could not defer their religious differences while their country was invaded; but, in truth, such writers overlook the nature of the war. In the case of an ordinary invasion from a foreign state, as people fear their general liberty,

their property, and the safety of their families, all minor interests merge in one grand one, involving the existence of everything they value; but here the rigid Covenanters would have gained far more valuable privileges by an alliance with England, than by allowing the ascendancy of their intestine enemies.*

Charles was, in the meantime, engaged in a conspiracy against even the moderate Covenanters. It was concerted that he should escape from the present party, when a thousand Highlanders should be ready to rush down from Athole, and surprise the committee of estates at Perth; that Dundee should be secured by its constable, Lord Dudhope; and that the Marquis of Huntley, with General Middleton, in the North, and Lord Ogilvy in Angus, should simultaneously rise. In conformity with this plan, Charles escaped from his party; but miserably was he disappointed at being met only by a few Highlanders, who conducted him to a wretched house. Buckingham and Monro dissuaded him from prosecuting his purpose further, and, on the arrival of Montgomery from the committee of estates, he was prevailed on to return. Middleton had risen, but was soon put down by Leslie. Alarmed by this proceeding of the king, the full nature of which was not known, and which was called the *Start*, the moderate Covenanters, who still desired monarchical government, formed the resolution of conciliating him by gentle measures, and therefore consented to pardon the insurgents, as well as to perform the ceremony of crowning Charles.†

The Start.

It was apprehended that Cromwell might attempt to annoy them during the coronation; but the ceremony

Charles II.
crowned.

* Baillie's *Lct.* vol. iii. pp. 110-129, 131 *et seq.*; Nichol's *Diary*; Balfour's *Shorte Memories*; Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.

† Walker, p. 197; Baillie's *Lct.* vol. iii. p. 116 *et seq.*; Nichol's *Diary*, MS. vol. iv. p. 128 *et seq.*, where

are many papers and letters not in the printed copy—which again see; Balfour's *Shorte Memories*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 483; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 65; Carte's *Orig. Lct.* vol. i. p. 389 *et seq.*

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passed over without disturbance from him. Argyle placed the crown on the young king's head—an act which, he afterwards argued in vain, ought to have saved his own. Charles readily took the oaths, consisting of the Covenants; and he was warned that the breach of the Covenant by his grandfather had been the root of all the family misfortunes, while many plagues were denounced against him if he failed in his present obligations. But sincerity was not a virtue either of this prince or of his advisers: 'it was thought very expedient,' says Clarendon, 'to raise an imagination in Argyle that the king had a purpose to marry one of his daughters;' and so far was the matter carried, that a message was despatched by the royal hypocrite for his mother's consent; yet Argyle was afterwards brought to the block for conduct previous to this negotiation.*

Argyle was now exceedingly active in his attempts to unite the various parties into which the country was so miserably split; yet in vain did he argue to the rigid Covenanters—who, from their late remonstrance, were called Protesters or Remonstrants—that there was now no room for a Malignant party, since Charles, to whom they must look as their head, had himself become a Covenanter. The great loss, however, was of General Strachan, whose army, like himself, had become infected with the sectarian principles. He refused to lay down his command when ordered, and, having disbanded such of his troops as he could not trust, joined Cromwell, his former commander, with the remainder.† The country was, indeed, in the most deplorable condition: famine, the result of the precautions to arrest the progress of Cromwell, was felt in all its horrors by the inhabitants to the south of the

General
Strachan
joins
Cromwell.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 484 *et seq.*; see also *Life*, vol. i. p. 430 *et seq.* All this hypocrisy is approved of by Clarendon; but, to do Carte justice, he expresses some just sentiments on the occasion. *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii. p. 130; *Nichol's Diary*, MS.; *Baillie's Let.* vol. iii. pp.

127–28; *Burnet's Hist.* vol. i. See an astonishing proof of Charles's hypocrisy in *Thurloe's State Papers*, after the battle of Dunbar, vol. i. p. 163.

† *Baillie's Let.* vol. iii. p. 118 *et seq.*; see in the MS. copy, vol. iv., many unprinted documents, &c.

Forth; the population in the North was split into factions; in the West, the Remonstrants were inclined rather to join with Cromwell than oppose him, and loudly demanded a treaty. The English general, on his part, left no measures unessayed to gain the affections of the people; he even supplied many with provisions out of his own stores; and such was the strictness of his discipline, that, though on his first visit to Glasgow Mr. Zachary Boyd railed at him to his face—which he listened to with great complacency—and at a future period several of the clergy abused the whole body of English as ‘an army of sectaries and covenant-breakers, who unjustly had invaded the country and strove to throw down all power in kirk and state,’ no one found molestation from the soldiery on that occasion: however, it was not difficult to foresee that men in arms might not be easily restrained from violence if incessantly abused, and Cromwell, fully sensible of the danger, as well as anxious to gain them ‘by love,’ proposed a conference, which they somewhat reluctantly granted. Guthrie and Gillespie managed the debate on the Scottish side, Cromwell himself and Lambeth on the other, and all was temperately managed. It is, however, needless to add, that both agreed in holding each other wrong. But one great end was achieved, to keep the clergy in bounds. Prior to this, Cromwell had exhibited his polemical power in a correspondence with the governor of Edinburgh Castle, who herein represented his party. Cromwell maintained that the divines in Scotland falsely charged the English parliament with persecuting ministers of the gospel; for that, on the contrary, they were supported in full liberty to discharge their function, though they were not allowed, under a pretended privilege of character, to overtop the civil powers, or debase them as they pleased: that neither in England nor Ireland, nor yet in Scotland, since the army had come thither, had any man been molested for preaching the gospel; that to speak truth became the ministers of Christ; but that

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Cromwell's
dispute
with the
Scottish
clergy.

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when, 'under the pretence of a glorious reformation, they seek only power for themselves, they must know that the Sion promised is not to be built with such untempered mortar.' That ministers were only helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people; and yet that denying any of their doctrines, or dissenting from them, incurred the censure of a sectary, which was just assuming the infallible chair: that they would not find in Scripture that preaching fell exclusively within their function: Christians were instructed earnestly to covet the best gifts, 'but chiefly that we may prophesy, which the apostle explains to be a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort:' 'and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy.' That their pretended fear lest error should step in, whence they deny a man the liberty he has by nature, is like him who would keep all the wine out of the country, that people should not be drunk. 'The doctrine and practice,' says he, 'should be tried by the word of God; and other people must have a liberty of examining them upon these heads, and of giving sentence.' As to their charge against the sectaries for allowing the use of the pulpit to the laity, he says, 'Are ye troubled that Christ is preached? Does it scandalise the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant if this be so. I thought the Covenant and these could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor the kirk you mention in so much the spouse of Christ.' In his first letter, Cromwell writes—'We have said in our papers with what hearts and upon what account we came, and the Lord has heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel.' To this it was answered—'We have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of a cause upon events.' But the English general replies—'We could wish that blindness

had not been upon your eyes to those marvellous dispensations which God has lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, and not slightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and ours renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God to see how He would manifest Himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you! It is easy to turn all this, and every thing of that nature, into ridicule; but possibly reflecting minds, that seriously believe in an overruling Providence, may form a different opinion, while it cannot be denied that Cromwell's idea of toleration was, considering the age, enlightened and noble.*

To return to military affairs: Edinburgh Castle, and all the other garrisons to the south of the Forth, except Stirling Castle, yielded to the English, and Cromwell gained a victory at Hamilton over part of the western troops, which had been induced to depart from their neutrality: but, in spite of this continued want of success and the defection of Strachan, a vigorous plan of defence was determined on by the Scots for the ensuing spring. An army was embodied, and though many were pressed, yet, from the number of volunteers, it soon became as considerable as that defeated at Dunbar. Charles, at the request of the estates, commanded in person; Hamilton was appointed lieutenant-general, and Leslie major-general. During the winter Cromwell was seized with an ague, which for some time retarded his operations; but no sooner did his health permit than he was in the field.†

Military
affairs.

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 153 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 390 *et seq.* The correspondence was nominally with Dundas, the governor of Edinburgh Castle.

Baillie's *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 359.

† Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1360 *et seq.*; Nichol's *Diary*, MS.; Whitelocke, p. 463; Baillie's *Lett.*; *Col. of Dispatches*.

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Lambert in the meantime was not idle. Documents disclosing a deeply-laid project for the invasion of England were discovered, and sent by him, with an account of affairs, to the supreme authority of his own country. The English parliament were on the alert, and lost not an instant in providing for the occasion. Harrison was ordered to the northern counties, where the storm was apprehended; and Major-General Fleetwood, who had signalised himself at the battle of Dunbar, was appointed to the command in the South in the other's absence.

Their late disasters had fully taught the Scots the necessity of standing entirely on the defensive; and they encamped at Torwood, where they were safely entrenched by the Carron and ditches, while they were well supplied with provisions from the North. Cromwell saw the impossibility of reaching them on that ground, and therefore he tried to seduce them from it; but, after having waited six weeks to no purpose in expectation of their moving, he resolved to cut off their supplies. For this purpose he, with his accustomed vigour, passes over into Fife, and reduces all the towns on the coast; then goes to Perth, which he forces to capitulate—when, by judicious garrisons, he at once cut off the supplies from the Scottish army, from which the troops, in distress, daily deserted. In this extremity, the idea of marching into England was suggested, or rather urged: Scotland, indeed, was regarded by the young king and his most confidential attendants as only an opening to England, where they expected a rising in their favour, and where they could shake off the yoke of the Covenant; nay, it was hoped by Charles and his immediate advisers, that Middleton, who had a large party, would be able to gain the ascendancy in the army the moment it left Scotland. Though the army was miserably rent into factions, Argyle alone is said to have strongly opposed the measure. He argued, that it was ungenerous, by carrying away the army, to abandon the Scots, who had first afforded the king an asylum, and

The young king and the Scottish army resolve to march into England.

supported him as their monarch; that the English army might still be prevented from bringing matters to the issue of a battle, and that another winter's campaign in Scotland would probably prove fatal to it: but that, as there was no rising in England, and little could be calculated on, the Scottish army would, unsupported, be inevitably soon forced to an engagement, under all the disadvantages of fighting in a foreign country, when they must have provoked the inhabitants by living at free quarters. This prudent view was disregarded; and the army left its native country, where, by its irregularities and cruelties, it had rendered itself more hated than the English, in spite of the arts of a busy priesthood, who represented the latter as monsters who would give no quarter, especially if they found Bibles amongst the people.*

Cromwell had suspected that the Scottish army might pursue this plan, and he preferred following it into England, to hazarding another winter's campaign in the North.† The council of state had likewise been apprised of the probability of such a measure by the enemy, and its vigilance was awake both to the danger and the means of overcoming it. The dispositions of the general were admirable. He sent to Major-Generals Harrison and Rich to draw together as many troops and militia as possible to obstruct the march of the Scots. He despatched Lambert to hover upon their rear; and, having empowered the famous Monk to remain in Scotland for the purpose of completing the conquest of that country, he prepared to follow the enemy with his main body.‡

* Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1369; Balfour's *Shorte Memories*, MS.; Nichol's *Diary*, MS. Documents in the MS. copy of Baillie satisfy me of all this.

† Whitelocke, p. 486. Therefore Mrs. Hutchinson must surely have either been misinformed of the feelings of Bradshaw and others when the Scots entered England, (her husband, though a member of council,

appears to have been absent on employment,) or the council had not reposed great confidence in Cromwell. Her picture is an animated one (vol. ii. pp. 187, 188).

‡ Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 488 *et seq.*, and *Life*, vol. i. p. 430 *et seq.*; Burnet's *Mem.* p. 426; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 509; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1369.

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The Presbyterians, in their march south, perceived plainly that if the Royalists were permitted to join them, victory, however advantageous an accession of numbers might be for the army, would be no less calamitous to their party than a defeat from Cromwell. On the other hand, they had always flattered themselves that the Presbyterian party in England was the most numerous, and only kept down by the sectarian army, and, therefore, that, provided the Malignants were not allowed to interfere, they would embrace the present opportunity of joining their Scottish brethren, and settling the government on the monarchical principle of the Covenant, when they should obtain all the power of church and state to themselves. Though they were deceived in the affections of the people, the view was certainly sagacious. On these principles, they published a declaration, prohibiting all to join them who refused to take the Covenant; but Charles ordered Major-General Massey to suppress it. Unfortunately, however, for this policy, the letter to Massey, with other documents making important disclosures, was intercepted, and, having been immediately published, everywhere alienated the affections of the Presbyterians, as well as led to daily desertions from the army.*

This, Lauderdale—alleging that the desertions were of men who, unwilling to hazard all in the cause with the king, availed themselves of a specious pretence—in one of the intercepted letters, called a natural purge which would do the army much good. Hamilton writes, in another, ‘All the rogues have left us, whether, I shall not say, from fear or disloyalty; but all now with his majesty are such as will not dispute his commands.’ One caution they observed, very different from their conduct in Scotland—to avoid all plundering and licentiousness.

Unlike the time when the Scottish army first entered

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. pp. 4, 8, 18; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 1369–1371; *Silvester's Life of Baxter*,

p. 68; *Baillie, MS.*, vol. iv., particularly the paper by Rotherford, p. 233.

England, and the people were summoned in vain by the late king to repel foreign invasion, all ranks, whether Independents or Presbyterians, seemed, with few exceptions, emulous of testifying their attachment to the Commonwealth, and their indignation against the attempt to impose a prince upon them by a foreign army. The militia was embodied in all quarters, and even some of the excluded members testified their zeal by heading regiments. The gallant Fairfax himself, who had declined the command of the army destined against Scotland, true to his former principle—that if the Scots invaded England, he would readily fight against them—now, as a private gentleman, headed a regiment of militia in the common cause. The ability, vigour, and vigilance of parliament never displayed themselves more conspicuously. The danger from every quarter was foreseen, and amply provided against.*

Lambert was soon joined by Harrison, while Fleetwood watched the motions of the enemy in a different direction, to intercept them if they took that route; and the militia concentrated from all quarters. Hence it was believed, on probable grounds, that though Cromwell had remained in Scotland, the enemy could easily have been subdued. It was with justice, therefore, that Harrison declared he was assured of a glorious issue of the work. Lambert pressed hard on the rear of the Scottish army; and at Warrington, the Scots, availing themselves of their situation, attacked his van, the Royalists shouting out, ‘Oh you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes!’ but he brought off his troops without almost any loss. And now the question with the invading army was, which course should they pursue? The foot, exhausted with tedious marches, cried to halt, as unable to proceed, and many deserted. Some officers advised to march for the capital; but the majority recommended Worcester—where the young king expected a party to

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 361 *et seq.*; Hutchinson, vol. ii. pp. 187–89.

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join him—where the harassed troops might refresh themselves—and where his friends from Wales might flock to his standard. The other project, that of marching for the capital, was evidently rash and injudicious to the last degree. In front, numerous forces would have met him, while Lambert, Harrison, and Fleetwood would not have left a moment's breathing-time in his rear, and Cromwell was daily expected. Worcester was, therefore, wisely preferred; but the army, which was now, by desertion, disease, and loss in skirmishes, reduced to about 16,000, arrived there in a miserable plight, when a new disaster added to their calamities. The Earl of Derby had hitherto held out the Isle of Man for the king, and now made a descent on the coast for the purpose of creating a diversion. With all his influence, however, he could not muster above 1500 men; and these Colonel Lilburn utterly defeated, and almost annihilated, while Derby himself sought refuge in the royal camp, with only thirty followers, leaving Lilburn to join in the combined operations against the Scottish army.

Experience on some men is lost. The desertion from the Scottish army had chiefly been of the rigid Covenanters; and the royal advisers expressed their satisfaction at seeing it purged of that body, by which it was more approximated in political spirit to the model they desired. The approach of danger could not cure these Royalists of their extravagance and selfishness: when the whole army was in the utmost hazard, they were divided into factions for preferment, and undermining one another with all the little insidious arts of the court. Nay, the Duke of Buckingham, who had never evinced genius for war, endeavoured at this critical juncture to have the command of the army transferred to himself—representing that in England, upon which the hopes of Charles must mainly depend, the people in general, and the peerage in particular, would not brook to serve under Leslie, a Scot, and therefore would not repair to the royal standard till

a change was made.* And because he was not indulged in this request, he retired in sullen discontent from the councils. The young king, however, justly estimated the danger, and, in his conviction of a fatal result, pusillanimously formed the resolution of attempting to retreat to Scotland at the head of the cavalry; but when the purpose became known, a mutiny was threatened, the soldiers insisting they should all run one common hazard, and the unworthy motion was abandoned.

While the Scottish army remained at Worcester without augmentation from the English, Cromwell, having joined Harrison and Lambert, and concentrated the militia (his force in all amounting to about 30,000), advanced to that town. Having thrown a temporary bridge across the Severn, he transported to the opposite bank part of the army, that he might begin the attack in all quarters at once, and prevent escape. Some skirmishing occurred on the 2nd (of September); but it was on the 3rd, the anniversary of the victory at Dunbar, that the battle was fought. The Scots having judiciously carried almost the whole of their army to one side of the river, while the English force was divided, fought bravely, and stood their ground for some time; but they were at last borne down and driven into the town. It was only then that the king understood that the battle had begun. Harassed, it is said, and exhausted by want of rest, particularly on the preceding night, and assured that there would be no battle that day, (probably, from the pusillanimous purpose which

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Battle of
Worcester,
Sept. 3,
1651.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 507 *et seq.* After Charles found it impossible to evade Buckingham's importunity, he was, says the author, compelled to tell him that he would have no generalissimo but himself. Now this, with part of Buckingham's argument—that Leslie was but lieutenant-general, and would willingly consent to his proposition—would almost induce me to infer that Buckingham merely wished the supreme command, with-

out molesting Leslie's subordinate situation. But then Leslie was only major-general; Duke Hamilton, lieutenant-general. So that, as Charles himself was general, it follows that in the hypothesis Buckingham could only have aimed at Hamilton's place—surely not the king's own—whereas it was Leslie's command he aspired to, and no other assumption could he have argued so against that individual.

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he formed of retreating to Scotland with the cavalry, it was deemed advisable to keep him at a distance,) he had retired to repose, when the fearful sound of flying troops, and the noise of the victors, broke his slumbers. Joining the cavalry, which had yet done nothing, he endeavoured to prevail with them to make a stand: but he addressed them in vain; nor, indeed, could their efforts have been availing. The event was already decided, and he saw the necessity of seeking his own safety in immediate flight. Two thousand were slain, six or seven thousand immediately taken, and many more, including Duke Hamilton (who, however, was so wounded that he died next day), Leslie, Lauderdale, and others of the Scottish nation—the Earls of Cleveland and Denbigh, with many other English of quality, particularly of the cavalry, afterwards swelled the list of captives to ten thousand; while the country people everywhere knocked the fugitives on the head. Well might this victory be called by Cromwell a crowning mercy. The wretched common prisoners were transported to the colonies, and sold to slavery. Though many of these had been unwillingly dragged from their homes, their misery has, on account of their obscure rank in life, never drawn one tear from eyes which have so profusely wept over illustrious distress, however merited.

Escape of
the young
king.

The young king, with about fifty or sixty of his followers, fled from Worcester about six in the evening; and they travelled together for twenty-six miles, when it was judged prudent to separate. Charles was directed to the house of a poor cottager, Richard Penderell,* who subsisted by his daily labour, but was known as a strict Catholic, and consequently attached to those who were opposed to the rigid enemies of his religion. In this man's character, as well as that of his brother, the young king was not deceived. In the meantime, a reward of a thousand guineas having been offered for apprehending

* N.B. I doubt the whole story.

Charles, the country people, no less than the soldiers, were eager to discover him; and the search was so hot, that, on one occasion, the young king was obliged to take shelter in the branches of a large tree—afterwards known by the name of the Royal Oak, and preserved as a curiosity—whence he saw the soldiers beneath, and overheard their conversation. Having left his faithful hosts, Richard Penderell and his brother, Charles, in disguise, travelled from place to place, always selecting the houses of Royalists, whose fidelity at this juncture never faltered towards him. In choosing places of refuge he had little difficulty, as the protracted civil broils had fully put men's principles to a public test, and the name of any person of rank at once brought to people's recollection the side he had espoused. Charles, after many difficulties and dangers, at last got on board a vessel which waited for him at Brighton, and escaped to the Continent.*

The militia and volunteers highly distinguished themselves at Worcester; but though Cromwell in his despatch did justice to their merits, it is alleged that he took particular care to dismiss them immediately, as a species of military which, having once fairly tried and felt its own powers, might obstruct his secret desigus of personal aggrandisement.† He now aspired to the crown; yet though even the courts of Europe rang with his praises, not only as the greatest man of the age, but as almost unrivalled in history,‡ he conducted himself with the

Ambition
of Crom-
well, &c.

* Whitelocke, p. 501 *et seq.*; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1370 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 490 *et seq.* to p. 542; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 365; *Boscobel Tracts*. I have been induced to make my narrative of the young king's escape more general than previously, from the circumstance of my having, on a full examination of all authorities, become very sceptical on the subject. Let any one, for instance, compare the account which Charles II. is said to have dictated to Pepys on October 3, 1680 (*Boscob. Tracts*, p. 131 *et*

seq.), and the verbal account given to P. on coming to England (*Diary*, vol. i. p. 93 *et seq.*), with Clarendon's narrative given as from the king's own verbal narrative immediately after his escape to the Continent, and the other narratives in the same vol. of the *Boscob. Tracts*.

† Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 365–66.

‡ See Christina of Sweden's opinion, expressed to Whitelocke, *Journal of the Embassy*, vol. i. p. 328 *et seq.*; see also the Swedish Chancellor's opinion, p. 314.

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utmost apparent modesty and indifference to fame, as if, in all his measures, he had merely been actuated by a conscientious desire to discharge his duty to God and his country. All his artifices, however, did not conceal his ambitious project from Hugh Peters and others, who narrowly watched his motions and dived into his character.* When he returned to the metropolis, he was received equally by the parliament and city with every mark of respect. He was met in the fields by the speaker of parliament and president of the council, attended with many members; and by the lord mayor and aldermen, and many thousands of quality. In his progress to his house, 'he was entertained all the way with vollies of great and small shot, and loud acclamations and shouts of the people.' But his good sense did not desert him on this trying occasion. 'He carried himself with great affability and seeming humility; and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself, but of the gallantry of his officers and soldiers, and gave (as was due) all the glory of the action unto God.' †

The Earl of Derby and Captain Benboe were condemned by a court martial, and shot; others, having been tried by a high court of justice, were condemned and executed for high treason. ‡

We may now return to Scotland, where Monk vigorously prosecuted the war. He took Stirling Castle, justly deemed one of the most impregnable forts of the kingdom, and where he found the regalia, which he transmitted to London. From Stirling he proceeded to Dundee, which he took by storm; and, not content with putting 500 or 600 of the garrison to the sword, he in cold blood murdered even the governor, after quarter given.§

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 447.

† Whitelocke, p. 509.

‡ Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 516 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 511 *et seq.*; Nichol's *Diary*, MS.

§ Ludlow, vol. i. p. 366; Nichol's *Diary*, MS.; Balfour's *Shorte Memories*, MS.; Whitelocke, p. 507 *et seq.*; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1370; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 493 *et seq.*

Scotland was now entirely subdued by the English arms: Argyle himself submitted, and sued for peace. The English parliament, conceiving that the safety of the Commonwealth depended on a union with Scotland, determined to incorporate that country with itself; yet proffered it, though conquered, all the advantages of the sister state. Commissioners were sent down to transact this important business, and it was concluded that representatives, elected on equitable principles, should be sent to the English parliament. The arrangement was most decried by the clergy, who declaimed against it as inconsistent with the Covenant and the divinity of their establishment, by bringing the kirk under subordination to the civil power, and introducing an ungodly toleration; but the people, who were now permitted the most unlimited right to exercise their religion, felt no displeasure at the restraint on their priesthood, a body that had lately rendered themselves terrible and odious by the attempt to engross all civil as well as ecclesiastical power, and, under the pretext of regulating the consciences of men, and attending to their spiritual welfare, really ruled them with a rod of iron. A considerable military force was maintained in Scotland, to preserve the new constitution, which was opposed by a large party.

An order had formerly been voted by parliament to allow Cromwell about 2,500*l.* per annum out of the Earl of Worcester's estate; and an additional grant of the same extent was now made, which raised his income to nearly 5,000*l.*—liberality fully adequate to his merits, and which ought to have bound him for ever to the public cause. His conduct forms a striking contrast with that of his son-in-law, Ireton. A grant was at the same time made to him, and the news reached him a little before his dissolution; but instead of expressing satisfaction, he cynically remarked, that he wished the parliament would mind the public business, and discharge the

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public debt, instead of thus voting away the public money, and that he would not have it, as he had enough of his own. It was believed by those who knew him best that his premature death prevented him from openly refusing it. Sir Harry Vane, too, showed his integrity. As paymaster of the navy, he was entitled to a certain percentage on the money which passed through his hands; but, far from deriving the advantage, he paid the whole into the treasury.*

Reduction
of the Isles
of Man,
Guernsey,
and Jersey.

The Isle of Man had been held out by the Earl of Derby, and the countess, in his absence, refused to surrender it, saying that she was bound to act by the orders of her lord; but she at last yielded it up. Prince Rupert, with the revolted ships, had acted the part of a pirate upon the merchant vessels; and, as the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly afforded a fit asylum for his fleet, it was deemed, both on this account, as well as to restore the isles to the Commonwealth, necessary to reduce them. The object was, with some difficulty, accomplished.†

Fleet.

The Earl of Warwick might easily have recovered all the revolted ships, or destroyed them at an early period; but, from an affected punctilio, he would not follow them into the Texel. This conduct little suiting the decided measures of the Commonwealth, induced the government to take the command from him, and bestow it on Blake, Dean, Popham, and Ayscue. The committee for naval affairs, of whom Sir Harry Vane was the chief, were men of uncommon talents and enterprise: after the revolt of part of the fleet, other ships were rapidly built, and the whole navy put under the best possible management. Before this time the commanders had conceived that they performed their duty if they brought their ships safe home again; but this no longer accorded with the genius of England: they were sent out with orders to destroy the

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 371; see further about Ireton, p. 381 *et seq.*

† Whitelocke, p. 511 *et seq.*

ships and fleets of their enemies, and the slightest appearance of slowness to engage was severely reprimanded. All the commanders—besides those mentioned, there were Bourne, Penn, Badeley, Lawson, Monk, Venables—were highly distinguished, each apparently emulous of the greatest glory; but Blake was the most eminent.* From the fame of his exploits, he has, in history, as rising a little above the others, eclipsed them; but those who narrowly study the age will find that some of the others were not far outstript, and that it was not Blake who created the naval glory of England, but the times and the inherent vigour of the Commonwealth which afforded a theatre for the display of his talents. Had he never existed, another would not have been wanting to perform the same memorable actions. This is no detraction from his merits, but the mere confirmation of a great truth—that there is never a want of talent in the community, if the field be open to generous ambition.

In this place we shall give a short account of that great naval hero. Of a good family, and born to competent circumstances,† he had, after having received a liberal education (and taken the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford), lived in retirement till the exigency led to the Long Parliament. He was then returned for *Bridgewater*; but he was little noted prior to the commencement of the civil war, when his country summoned him to her

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Character
of Blake.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 215 *et seq.*, justly shows the superiority of the English navy now to that of former times, and the difference of spirit; but he attributes too much to Blake. See an account of Blake's republican principles, *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 27.

† Though he was satisfied with his fortune, which made it competent, one would imagine it could not have been very great, as he had stood candidate for a fellowship at Oxford, and is reported to have lost it *in consequence of the lowness of his*

stature. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, old edition, vol. i. p. 203 *et seq.*; Bliss's edition (1815), vol. ii. p. 369 *et seq.*; *Biog. Brit.* Clarendon (*Ibid.*) tells us he was of 'a private,' which the first editors altered into 'an ordinary' extraction, with sufficient left to him by his father to secure for him a good education at Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A., as well as to maintain in the plenty he affected, &c., and that he was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession.

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defence: his conduct at the sieges of Wells and Taunton deservedly gained him a high character. After the mutiny against Rainsborough, it was intended to confer the command of the navy upon Cromwell, who doubtless would soon have distinguished himself in that department of war, as he did in the other; but the second civil war requiring his presence in the field, led to a new arrangement, and Blake was, along with Dean and the others, appointed to that station. He was at that time between fifty and sixty; yet such were the native powers of his mind, so much of the elasticity of youth did he retain, that the new element became, almost immediately, as familiar to him as if he had been trained to it from his childhood, and he made himself, as if by intuition, not only perfectly master of everything known in the profession, but, with inventive genius, struck out a new path, and carried the thunder of the English navy through every quarter of the globe. Land-batteries, which had been timorously shunned by former commanders, Blake silenced; and, entering into the enemy's ports, he destroyed their shipping where they thought it unapproachable: after one of his daring exploits the Spaniards believed the English devils, and not men. His temper was as open and generous as his spirit was valiant.*

Pursues
Rupert.

Rupert, after his escape from Ireland, proceeded to the court of Spain. Blake quickly followed him thither, and chased him thence into the Tagus; when the king of Portugal, though himself deemed an usurper by the Spaniards, from whom he had revolted, conceiving himself so far interested in the fate of kings as to resent the death of Charles Stuart, denied liberty to Blake to follow Rupert. The English resident complained to no purpose; but the parliament, apprised of this posture of affairs, sent out Colonel Popham with a reinforcement, and instructions to

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 215 *et seq.*, with the notes; *Ludlow*, vol. i. p. 290 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 381 *et seq.*;

Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 825; *Biog. Brit.*

apply to the Portuguese government for liberty to attack the pirate Rupert in the Tagus, and, in the event of the application being refused, to avenge the injury by immediate hostilities on their shipping. This decisive measure appalled the Portuguese government; and twenty of their large merchant vessels, richly laden, having been seized, they made all due submission to the English Commonwealth, and sued for peace. The French government had afforded an asylum to the exiled family, and shelter to the revolted ships; but its commerce was nearly annihilated, and it also sued for an alliance. All the boasted effects of ship-money had formerly not prevented the very British coasts from being infested with pirates; but, Rupert's squadron excepted, the seas were now cleared, while every court in Europe trembled at the English name.* Rupert having escaped from the Tagus, lost some of his ships on the Spanish coast, and sailed for the West Indies.

The royal interest had been so far preserved in Barbadoes; but Sir George Ayscue rapidly subdued it. The West India Islands all submitted to the parliament.† Prince Maurice had gone thither with some of the revolted ships; but his small fleet was wrecked in a hurricane; and Rupert subsisted by piracy, indifferently on English and Spanish vessels, till, during the subsequent war with the Dutch, he, intending to join them, returned to Europe: at the conclusion of the war he disposed of his shattered ships for a sum of money.

While the parliament subdued its enemies, it was not inattentive to secure proper commercial treaties, and the internal blessings of a cheap and speedy dispensation of law and justice. In England, as if the object had been

Measures
to reform
the law.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 390 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 449 *et seq.*; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1361; Thurlow's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 145 *et seq.*; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 18 *et seq.*

† Whitelocke, p. 474 *et seq.*; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1357; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 395, 610; vol. vii. pp. 65 *et seq.*, 68 *et seq.*; *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 109 *et seq.*

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to conceal from men the very laws by which they were to regulate their conduct, the law books and legal proceedings were in Norman-French. King James had been anxious to remove this absurdity, but all his influence had been ineffectual. The great Bacon, too, had suggested the propriety of a digest of the laws ; but such were the obstacles opposed to the change, and, particularly, such was the jealousy entertained of James, as desirous to substitute the civil for the English law, that these objects had never been seriously attempted. The first, however, was now attained ; and the last, including a simplification of forms, deeply interested the community. To men unacquainted with legal proceedings, nothing appears more inexplicably dull than the forms within which they are intrenched ; but the practical lawyer, who studies the science of jurisprudence philosophically, knows that forms are essential to its existence, and that they have sprung naturally out of the course of events as much as the laws themselves. It unfortunately happens, however, that in the progress of civilisation, when laws become multiplied with the complex affairs of life, new forms are superinduced upon the old ; and that yet the old are, with filial reverence, clung to, though inapplicable to the state of society. The forms thus become perfectly cumbrous ; and the people are hampered in the attainment of justice, from the tedious and expensive forms through which it must be sought. The vulgar lawyer, who has with difficulty acquired the forms, clings to them with affectionate solicitude, as connected with his own pre-eminence ; and few of those who perform the part of legislators are qualified to distinguish the useful from the unnecessary, so as to retain the first and discard the rest. The whole are, therefore, regarded with unmerited contempt on the one hand, as the established jargon of the profession, and yet zealously fostered, on the other, by the very same men who, under the language of contempt, are yet deterred, by reverential awe, from interfering with a system which

has all the claims of antiquity and stability to recommend it. But as, at the period we are now treating of, some men of very enlarged minds in the profession, and many who had studied the law without intending to practise at the bar, occupied the place of legislators, much would probably have accrued from their united efforts, had it not been for the subsequent usurpation of Cromwell. Yet it cannot be denied, that many crude notions on this subject had been entertained by a portion of the community. Speculative men who have never studied jurisprudence, conceive that nothing is easier than to frame a simple code of laws that may answer all the purposes of society;* but an intimate acquaintance with the science instructs us, that the subject is pregnant with difficulties which multiply as we advance in knowledge. Men, however, never stop at the exact line; and the vulgar lawyer will not hear of the practicability of extracting the essence out of all the ponderous tomes which adorn his library or encumber his table. Yet what has been attained in the way of institutes of the law, proves the erroneusness of this notion; and, indeed, if it were correct, it would just amount to this—that a knowledge of law is unattainable, since, if it be known at all, it must be systematically; and if the lawyer could not express what he knows, his knowledge would be useless. The law has been the progressive accumulated experience of ages; and what has thus been accumulated requires to be only comprised in a proper form. Such was the object of the parliament at this period, and England has to regret that it was not accomplished. She has to lament, particularly, the failure of another project—the full establishment of records for titles of land and deeds affecting it; a project that—considering the long and complete experience which Scotland has had of the beneficial tendency of such a system—we cannot sufficiently wonder

* See Swift's notions on this subject, in his *Gulliver's Travels*.

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has not since been executed. It was also fully resolved upon to make lands liable for the proprietor's simple debts, and to dispense with the tedious forms of fine and recovery in conveyances. Excellent regulations, too, in regard to juries, were devised, and would doubtless have passed into a law.*

Such were the grand views of this legislative assembly; but the historian to whom we have so often alluded, as if incapable of seeing one beneficial measure in a parliament which had successfully opposed the unconstitutional proceedings of a monarch, or as if his eye saw the happiness of a *modern* state only through the splendour of a court, has represented it as swayed merely by a gloomy and ridiculous fanaticism, while he has selected as a proof of its legislative capacity the chief circumstance which appears to confirm the charge. This was the famous Adultery Act, passed in the year 1650, which ordained the punishment of death for incest and adultery, and three months' imprisonment for simple fornication on the first conviction, while it was to be felony without benefit of clergy on the second. In Popish times, the spiritual courts only took cognisance of these offences; and the framers of the canon law are accused, even by Blackstone, of treating these crimes with an improper levity, in consequence of their own aptitude, from their constrained celibacy, to commit them; nor can it, considering the directness of the Levitical law, be denied to be a strange desideratum. The two first are by statute in Scotland still punishable capitally; but it is conceived that, with respect to adultery, the law is in desuetude. There was, anterior to the Act just referred to, no law in England against these offences; and, unfortunately, the statute was repealed at the Restoration without a substitute. The first crime is, happily, so abhorrent to the feelings of every breast, that the necessity of a law has been superseded by

* Whitelocke, p. 456 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 410; *Several Draughts of Acts heretofore prepared, &c.*, published 1653.

the common voice of mankind ; and, perhaps, if a case were to occur, it would be better for society that the guilty should receive their punishment in the execration of all their neighbours, than that the public ear should be polluted by the account of a trial for a crime which human nature had never been believed to be corrupt enough to commit. But adultery, when the marriage-bed is defiled by the wife, is of another kind ; and it is to be lamented that the principle of the Levitical law—of the law which prevailed in many of the ancient republics, and different empires—should not have been continued in Britain. Of the various crimes against civilised society, this seems one of the greatest. It poisons domestic felicity, it alienates parents from their children, and introduces all the train of evils attending want of parental affection, and of proper culture in youth. The man whose wife is seduced from him sustains an infinitely greater injury than he could have done from any loss of property ; since the children for whom he was daily toiling, anxiously accumulating, and exposing himself to privations, are now covered with their mother's shame, and must enter the world under reproach, while the tender father can no longer regard them with confidence as his own offspring. The punishment prescribed to fornication, however, was too severe ; and it was strenuously opposed by a great part of the House. But the statute would most probably have been soon corrected by a new one.*

* Whitelocke, p. 455 ; *Cob. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1346. Mr. Hume is admitted by his enemies to have been remarkably correct in his private conduct : it is therefore the more to be lamented that his extreme partiality for the French, or rather the courtly part of them, should have led him into the erroneous speculative notion that, adultery being considered in the light of an affair of gallantry, was not greatly to be deprecated. It is singular that

in another, and almost the only other proof of contractedness in this assembly — the prohibition of stage plays—the Presbyterians, headed by men of the highest rank, as the Earl of Manchester, &c., were the most forward. Manchester, Kent, and Mulgrave entered a protest in the year 1647, because the ordinance, instead of being perpetual, was only for a year (*Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 112).

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Not contented with reviling the parliament as composed of fanatics whose views were too absurdly confined for legislation, the same historian has represented the country as plunged into the wildest and most destructive anarchy. But, though men did speculate about the future constitution, while it was not yet fully determined on, all submitted to the present government. Every one was protected in his legal rights and property; and never had England beheld the time when law was dispensed with such even-handed justice. All monopolies and vexatious exclusive privileges being withdrawn, and people animated with the proud spirit of independence, manufactures and commerce—in short, every species of industry—advanced with the most wonderful rapidity. During the late reign, the direct taxes were indeed much smaller; but talent and enterprise, as well as ordinary industry, were then shackled, and the fruits of exertion insecure. Now, however, such a spring had, by the removal of these paralysing causes, been communicated, that the nation easily surmounted the assessments which had necessarily flowed from the protracted contest. Little, then, is that anarchy to be deplored which is accompanied with such effects.

Origin of
the Dutch
war.

The States of Holland seemed to be the natural allies of England; and one strong argument used to incite foreign states to assist Charles in subjugating his people was, that the republic in Britain would ally itself with the Dutch and French Huguenots against Catholic sovereigns. But the Prince of Orange, whose interest was opposed to this as hostile to his personal aggrandisement, and who was closely allied to the Stuart family, had a great influence over the councils of the country; for the republican party, in most of the States, had been aristocratical, and the prince gained the lower classes by judiciously favouring their interests. During the civil wars of Britain, the States had observed an ostensible neutrality; but there had ever been, through the prevalence of the

Orange faction, a leaning towards the royal side. On the death of Prince William, the republican party gained the ascendancy, but the other remained very powerful; and the exiled Stuart family and their partisans exerted all their influence and arts to foment a war with England, which they even wished to be carried on in the name of Charles. It was through the power of this faction that the Stuarts were so protected, and the assassination of Dorislaus so shamefully passed over. To prevent the recurrence of this detestable crime, after its perpetration on Dorislaus and Ascham,* so many of the Cavaliers who had not compounded, and were consequently still amenable to justice, were seized upon, with a threat of making them expiate the offence; while St. John and Strickland were sent to Holland as ambassadors. Some idea was now entertained of an alliance between the countries approaching to a union; but, as the Orange faction, supported by others who began to be inflamed with the jealousy of trade, overbore those who were inclined to cultivate a good understanding with the new Commonwealth, the ambassadors were treated by the States with, indeed, ceremonious politeness, but no friendly attention; and, while the Stuart family were allowed to reside there as the rightful governors of Britain, were insulted with impunity by the populace: St. John even narrowly escaped assassination, the attempt at which was little inquired into. Not only the closer confederacy was, therefore, rejected, and the proposals relative to the exiled family received with coldness, and evaded, but an ordinary alliance on fair grounds despised. All this occurred while the young king was in Scotland, and St. John told them that he perceived they were influenced by the notion of that prince's success; but that ere long they would sue in vain for what they

* See Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 449 *et seq.* for a proof of the way in which the assassination of Ascham was considered by the Spanish minister. He

applauded the deed, and regretted the crime had not been resorted to against the Portuguese revoltors.

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Navigation Act.

now contemned. An insult to an ambassador is always resented as offered, not to the individual, but to the power that sends him, and as a proof of hostility; and St. John and Strickland returned to England in disgust.*

The English parliament, attentive equally to the prosperity and honour of their country, determined now to adopt a measure that should not only advance the commerce of the British dominions, but humble the arrogance of the Dutch. The West India sugar islands held out at first for Charles II. and traded with Holland. To stop this—to promote British commerce and punish the States, the famous Navigation Act, to which there had been an approach at a very early period, was now framed. According to it, the importation of all colonial produce was prohibited except in British-built ships, of which, too, the master, and three-fourths of the mariners, should be natives. The transportation of the same produce from one place to another was put under the same restrictions, and even European produce and manufactures prevented from being imported but in British bottoms, except they were the growth or fabric of the particular state which carried them.† This struck severely at the Dutch, who were fast engrossing the commerce of Europe, by purchasing the various commodities of one state and disposing of them to another; and it was conceived by them to be a sort of signal for hostilities. The English, on the other hand, who fully prized the statute, and were probably affected with reciprocal jealousy, while they resented the meanness with which the States had acted during their civil broils, and particularly during the late invasion from

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 177 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 594 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 487 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. pp. 454, 466-71, 471-74, 491-92; Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. i. pp. 497, 446, 464; vol. ii. pp. 1, 2, 11-13, 18, 44-5; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 252 *et seq.*; Cobb. *Parl.*

Hist. vol. iii. pp. 1362-63; Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 344-46.

† Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 1374-5; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. pp. 75-6; Blackstone, vol. i. p. 418; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 596 *et seq.*; see English notions on trade in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 198 *et seq.*

Scotland, were not averse to war. But other motives have been assigned for the readiness of the parliament to engage in hostilities:—that it desired a pretext for not dissolving at the period it had limited for itself, and expected to find one in an expensive war, which it might pretend it wished to see brought to a conclusion; that it was anxious to quiet the civil wounds of the state, by withdrawing the public attention to foreign affairs, by inspiring the sense of honour for their country, and dazzling with the splendour of victory; and, lastly, that it was solicitous to give the superiority to the naval armament, that the popular affections might be so fixed on it, that it might employ some of the land officers, as well as common soldiers, in that service; and that, in the unavoidable expense of fitting out a fleet, it might have a good pretext for disbanding part of the military which it could not employ at sea, and thus have it in its power to new-model the army, and defeat the artifices of Cromwell, of whom it had become jealous. The first motive assigned is unworthy of the character of this assembly; the plausibility of the latter recommends them, though only matter of conjecture.

The prediction of St. John to the Dutch was now verified. Acting upon the navigation law, the English captured upwards of eighty of their merchant vessels; and the States, at length, apologising for their former conduct, sued for an alliance on the principles formerly tendered; but the parliament refused to repeal so beneficial a statute; and since matters had come to a species of rupture, they resolved to be satisfied with nothing short of full indemnification: they demanded reparation for, or at least complained of, the unatoned massacre of Amboyna in 1615; of the indirect support given to their late king during the civil wars; of the assassination of Dorislaus, which, though not perpetrated by the States, had been committed in their territories, and yet passed unpunished; and of the insults offered to St. John and

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Strictland, which had been connived at, while even the assassination of the first had been attempted without punishment. They also insisted on the exclusive right of Great Britain to the herring fishery. Disappointed in the attainment of their object by amicable means, the Dutch determined to second their proposals with a fleet of 150 sail—a fleet which would be justly regarded as perfectly astonishing in a small commonwealth, which had so lately struggled for existence, and with difficulty asserted her independence against Spain, did we not know that, under a liberal government, there seems to be no limit to the powers of a people.*

Dutch war,
and naval
success of
England.

Having equipped their fleet, the Dutch sent notice to the English parliament that they had no purpose of hostilities, but had merely adopted the measure for the protection of their commerce. The politeness of the intimation, however, did not, in the relative situation of the respective commonwealths, disguise the real object, and an event soon occurred to evince it. A fleet of fishing-vessels refused to pay the accustomed homage to an English man-of-war, which some affected to justify on the principle that the homage was given to royalty and not to the people, and therefore no longer exigible; but this plea was disregarded by the English commander, who sank one of their vessels in vindication of his country's honour. In return for this, the Dutch laid an embargo on all English ships in their ports; and, in the beginning of the year 1652, Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of fifty-five sail before Portsmouth, whither he pretended to have been driven by stress of weather. The English marine was not immediately in a situation to resent the insult which was unexpectedly given to it, and which the Dutch declared was not intended. The parliament immediately expended 800,000*l.* in fitting out the navy; and, on the 19th of May following, Blake taught the Dutch

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 207 *et seq.*

the respect due to England. Tromp appeared with forty-two sail in Dover Roads, and Blake having met him with only twenty-six sail, demanded the honours due to his country. The Dutchman, relying on his superior strength, not only refused it contemptuously, but is said even to have returned a broadside to the demand. The intrepid Englishman, without regard to the inferiority of his numbers, commenced a vigorous fire, and being joined during the engagement by Captain Bourne with other eight ships, he not only maintained the fight for five hours without loss, but took one of the enemy's vessels, and sank another. Night put an end to the conflict, and Tromp took advantage of the darkness to sail for the coast of Holland. This event was no less alarming to the Dutch than it was unexpected. They perceived that the English Commonwealth was equally powerful at sea as on land, and that, their domestic enemies quelled, their superiority could not be long withstood. A manifesto was published by Tromp, ascribing the battle to the overhastiness of Blake, who attacked him as he was preparing to pay the accustomed homage; but as the statement was contradicted by Blake and all the captains in his fleet, so, from the superiority of the enemy's numbers, it was improbable in itself. The States also sent an ambassador, in order to avert the war, when the parliament proposed as preliminaries, that every Dutch vessel should pay homage to the British ships of war, and that the States should give reparation for the damage England had sustained. The States agreed to the first, but demurred to the last; though it is alleged that they were ready to purchase at the price of 300,000*l.* sterling an indemnity from the search under the Navigation Act. War was therefore declared, and the herring-busses destroyed by Blake. Tromp pursued him with a hundred sail, and Blake, being joined with reinforcements, did not intend to decline the combat; but a violent storm prevented a battle. Blake took shelter in the English

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harbours, and suffered no loss ; but great was the damage sustained by the enemy. De Ruyter was famed as the greatest naval hero in Europe ; yet the English republicans soon tarnished his laurels. As with sixty sail he convoyed thirty merchant-ships, Sir George Ayscue, with little more than thirty sail, not only sustained the combat till night interposed, but sank ten of their vessels ; while the Dutch, whose object seems to have been an escape, directed their shot principally against the English rigging, in which they were so successful as to prevent the pursuit next day. Shortly afterwards, the same officer sustained a defeat from Blake, Bourne, and Penn ; his rear-admiral having been boarded and taken, other ten sunk, and one blown up. In the Mediterranean, Captain Badeley was attacked by Van Galen and defeated ; yet he fought with such desperate courage as to occasion great damage to the enemy, with the loss of their admiral. But the Dutch fleet were successful in a more important case. De Ruyter and Tromp having united, mustered eighty ships of war, and with thirty of their largest merchantmen, properly equipped, they entered the Downs. Blake had sent away twenty of his ships to convoy a fleet of Newcastle coal-ships, other twelve towards Plymouth, and fifteen up the river, leaving only thirty-seven under his command ; yet the council of war rashly ordered him not to decline the engagement ; and so desperately did he fight, that the battle was long doubtful : as, however, the Dutch behaved with uncommon gallantry, superiority of numbers at last prevailed. While, therefore, the Dutch admiral's ship was sunk, two of the English ships were taken, and a third burned : Blake himself was wounded ; and but for the approach of night, greater loss would have been sustained.

This success, the result entirely of superior numbers, so raised the arrogance of the Dutch, that their admiral, Tromp, affixed a broom to his mast, to denote that he

meant to sweep the seas clear of the English. But their pride was soon humbled. Levied with impartiality, and duly appropriated to the business of the state, in which the pride and prosperity of the nation were so deeply involved, the immense sums voted by parliament were paid without a murmur, and a grand fleet properly equipped, while the sailors were encouraged by an increase of pay. The command was entrusted to Blake, with the assistance of Dean, and likewise of Monk, who had for that purpose been recalled from Scotland. Sir George Ayscue having, in consequence of the terms granted by him to the Royalist party in Barbadoes, incurred a suspicion of a favourable leaning to the Cavaliers, was laid aside.*

The Dutch had suffered prodigiously in the capture of their merchant-vessels; and while they equipped them for war, they increased the strength of their convoys. Three hundred merchantmen, many of them carrying a number of guns, entered the English Channel, escorted by seventy-six men-of-war; and now was deemed the critical moment to strike an important blow. Blake and his coadjutors met them with eighty sail, and the conflict was one of the most obstinate recorded in history. For three days did the battle rage with unabated fury; but, in spite of the superiority of numbers—many of the merchantmen that carried a great number of guns having joined in the battle—victory declared in favour of the English. Thirty only of the merchantmen were taken; but eleven ships of war were either captured or sunk, 2000 of their men were slain, and 1500 taken prisoners; while the English, though many of their ships were greatly shattered, lost only one, which was sunk.

This was a terrible blow to the States. Their maritime power, obliged to acknowledge the superiority of England,

* *Clar. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 597 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 525 *et seq.*; *Ludlow, State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 86 *et seq.*; vol. i. p. 405 *et seq.*

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could no longer flatter them with the hope of compensating the immense losses they had sustained by overcoming the English navy, and recovering their trade. Upwards of 1600 of their merchant vessels had been captured by the English; their fisheries were destroyed, their commerce suspended. The people began to mutiny, and the Orange faction, taking advantage of the general discontent, tried to recover its ground, by proposing to advance the young prince to the station which had been held by his father. Under these circumstances, the States sued for peace; but the English parliament was high in its demands, and it was not concluded till after the usurpation. The followers of the exiled king, particularly Hyde and Nicholas, his most confidential ministers, had fomented the war with all imaginable arts. They even endeavoured to persuade the Dutch to proclaim it in the name of Charles II., and allow him to enter the fleet, representing that the English sailors were so disaffected, that if they knew their king was there in person, they would instantly strike. The Dutch, however, had formed too just an estimate of the British character to expect such an issue; and, while they were too prudent to run the hazard of directly espousing his interest, the prevailing party were restrained by other considerations, since they well knew that if the English king were restored by their means, he would endeavour to raise his kinsman to the same dominion in Holland. During the war, Hyde and his associates would give little credit to the accounts of Dutch losses; and with hearts not akin to those of Englishmen, they rejoiced at the victory Tromp had formerly gained. In the meantime, the court of the exiled monarch continued to be convulsed with faction, everyone being bent on the destruction of his neighbour, that he might obtain his place, and ready to pilfer the little treasure which had been destined to other purposes. The queen and her son, too, were at variance, because, instead of submitting to her government, he selected his

own counsellors, in particular Hyde, under whose direction he chiefly placed himself.*

The Commonwealth had now reached the most envied greatness: all its enemies at home and abroad were subdued, and its fame extended throughout the world; its commerce and manufactures daily proceeded with an accelerated progression; and the openings for talent and industry being so great, the younger sons of high families—who, though they had affected, with aristocratic pride, to despise the duties of life, had been, in a great measure, deterred from embarking in trade, from the small chance of success without capital, and had been constrained to enter the service of leading men as menials, where they were exposed even to personal chastisement, with all the train of degradation incident to servants who feel that, under their circumstances, a change of masters would be fatal to their prospects—now sought the road to wealth and distinction in the honourable walks of independent industry. The plans for reforming the law and the legal proceedings were daily maturing, while the scheme of the future government was agreed upon. The country was divided into new portions, according to the population and the amount of the direct taxes exigible. The number of portions, and consequently of representatives, was 400. To entitle any to the elective franchise, it was necessary that he should have property in lands, houses, or goods, to the value of 200*l.* Having fully devised the plan, parliament prepared for the act of dissolution; but the fall of the republic was determined by the hands which had fought for it.†

* Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 86 *et seq.*; *Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 602 *et seq.*, 268 *et seq.*, 312 with *n.*, 329 *et seq.*, 332 *et seq.*, 352, 334 *n.*, 361 *et seq.*; vol. vii. pp. 59 *et seq.*, 69 *et seq.*, 92 *et seq.*, 120 *et seq.*; vol. v. p. 195 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 553 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 116 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 426 *et seq.*

† How different was the state of France, with its despotical government, and the supposed quiet attending it!—‘I will say nothing,’ says Clarendon, in a letter to Nicholas from Paris, 6th July, 1652, ‘of the distracted condition of this place. I am sure Sir Richard Browne will give you a full and particular account. *All the rabble of London,*

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Ambition
of Crom-
well, and
design to
usurp the
govern-
ment.

Those who had intimately watched the conduct of Cromwell, had long suspected him of designs hostile to the Commonwealth; and, after the battle of Worcester, these became so apparent, that Peters intimated to some of the steady Republicans that Cromwell meant to make himself a king.* The general's consultations about the future government prove that Peters had not been mistaken. A meeting, at which St. John, Whitelocke, and other great lawyers, with some of the principal officers, attended, having been held at his desire, he, with all apparent humility, started the question, whether it should be monarchical or republican; insinuating that, in his opinion, a government with something of the kingly temperament was best suited to the genius of the people. The idea was taken up by St. John and Whitelocke, who proposed to recall one of the late king's sons, under proper restrictions; but the officers of the army were all decidedly for a republic. The consultation had the effect of evincing the respective dispositions of the men, and thus of enabling him to regulate his future conduct. In the lawyers he was disappointed: the reformation of the legal proceedings which was contemplated, as it threatened to lower the importance of the profession, by rendering the law accessible to everyone, and simplifying the forms, is alleged not to have been acceptable even to these eminent individuals, while it was greatly disliked by the more vulgar practitioners, who had no ideas beyond the dull routine of their little practice; and Cromwell had flattered himself, that, in their anxiety to preserve the monarchical form of government, and, along with it, the old state of the common law, they would willingly assist him to the throne. He now sets more than ever about a new model of the army, taking every opportunity to

when they went highest, were not worthy to be named with this people, who will burn, kill, and slay all who oppose them' (*State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 81; see elsewhere).

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 446 *et seq.*; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 288 *et seq.*; *Old. Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 244 *et seq.*; vol. xx. *Journals.*

remove the conscientious officers, and to substitute his own creatures. Those whom he chose to retain, and yet could not corrupt, as Harrison and Rich, he deceived and overreached.

The measures of a parliament which had continued so long, and under such circumstances, had necessarily encountered much opposition from clashing interests. Its intentions had been misrepresented, and widely suspected; and Cromwell knew how to address himself to the interests, prejudices, and fears of the different parties and classes. Conceiving that the attachment of the Royalists to monarchy was to the thing, and not to the person, and that, provided they enjoyed the same privileges under him, they would desert the exiled family, he took every opportunity to favour them, and to have the compositions of delinquents lessened. The apprehensions of the lawyers of the injury which would be done to their practice by the projected innovations, he availed himself of; to the clergy, he artfully insinuated, that the party in the House who wished a commutation of tithes might attain their object, and thus gained that body; some of the higher classes he easily alarmed by the danger of levelling principles, unless the populace were kept down by a stronger government; while the leading officers, as well as the people at large, he endeavoured to gain, by inveighing against the parliament, as composed of a body of men who meant to perpetuate themselves in power, though he knew that the act of dissolution was preparing—who imposed heavy burdens on the people, that themselves might share in the spoil, though they appear to have been remarkably conscientious in money affairs; in short, as a body who would never perform the many good actions which had been expected of them, but who sedulously cultivated their own advancement.*

The Royalists, who not only preferred the dominion of

* Whitelocke, p. 548 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 447 *et seq.*; Hutchison, vol. ii. p. 167 *et seq.*

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an individual as the foundation of their exclusive privileges, but wisely inferred that, if the government were usurped by any man, the nation would look back to the exiled family, did everything in their power to encourage Cromwell's present schemes, in the hope of rendering him an instrument for the attainment of their own object; the clergy zealously advocated the cause of the general, and many of them even prophesied the destruction of the parliament; while many well-meaning people, jealous of the integrity of that assembly, and deceived by the hypocritical arts of Cromwell, wished it brought to a period. All this time he professed to the parliament more than usual respect for it, declaring, that if it commanded the army to break their swords, the soldiers would obey. But to others he used a different language, suited to their respective views. To some he pretended to lament the violence of the officers, and the unreasonableness of the clergy and lawyers, who would not be satisfied with the parliament; telling 'Quartermaster General Vernon, that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair stand on end.' 'One of these,' said he, 'is headed by Major-General Lambert, who, in revenge of the injury done to him, in not permitting him to go to Ireland with a character and conditions becoming his rank, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution; of the other, the chief is Major-General Harrison, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, but will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.' 'Thus,' says Ludlow, 'did he craftily feel the pulse of men towards this work, endeavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, and reserving to himself the appearance of tenderness to civil and religious liberty, and of screening the nation from the fury of the parties before mentioned.'*

Having infused jealousy and discontent, and filled the

* Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 449-50.

army with his creatures and dependents, Cromwell moved it to petition the parliament for a dissolution, and the appointment of another; expecting that that assembly would, to avoid force, instantly dissolve, without adopting sufficient precautions for a new parliament, and that, in the interim, he might find an opportunity to usurp the whole power of the state. The petition was alarming; but the parliament civilly answered the military, that it was just engaged in that business. Cromwell, however, could brook no delay, and was particularly inflamed at the intention of selling Hampton Court and other palaces, that the crown, divested of its vain adjuncts, should be less desirable. Some regiments had already been sent to the navy as marines; the sea service began to be most respected, the soldiery to be disliked by the people as burthensome; and as it was most probable that the army would be quickly much diminished, he plainly perceived that, if he did not strike now, the opportunity might be lost. But even his nerves faltered under so hazardous a measure. His very intimate favourers proposed a council of forty for the executive; and Whitelocke, a friend to monarchy, depicted the danger he ran. That great lawyer and statesman having been again consulted on the subject, dissuaded him from the attempt to usurp the government, as a measure which would inevitably end in his own or his family's ruin; for that the dispute would then be no longer, which kind of government was most eligible, but whether Charles Stuart or Oliver Cromwell should be king; and then men, taught that the monarchical form was, after all, to be obtruded upon them, would cling to the old family as best entitled to fill the throne. Thus far the view was sound; but the advice which followed was not consonant to the usual perspicacity of Whitelocke,—that he should recall the exiled king, under the condition that the command of the militia should be lodged in his own person, whence, the power of the realm being thus centred in him, he might raise himself

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and his family to whatever grandeur he pleased. The absurdity of such a scheme could not escape the penetration of Cromwell. No army can long withstand the united wishes of a people; none which he could ever command would have been sufficient to overpower the whole population of Britain. But all classes, with the monarch at their head, would ultimately join in detestation of such a military establishment, while even the troops might be seduced by the combined efforts of king, parliament, and people; and supposing that his own talents might resist all these concurring powers, it was not to be expected that his children should; and then assured would be their destruction. Another advice, which had been formerly recommended—to confer the crown on one of the younger sons of the late king—was again strenuously advised by the same individual; but Cromwell, having already all the power and honour which any subject could either attain or desire, was not disposed to abandon his principles, and re-establish monarchy for the behoof of another; and, in his circumstances, it was impracticable: for many now supported him from a thorough conviction of the truth of his protestation—that he aimed at no aggrandisement, but merely at the establishment of that just republic for which they had all fought and bled—and would have instantly fallen off from him had he manifested such a purpose.

Cromwell
dissolves
the parlia-
ment, April
19, 1653.

The demand of the army for an immediate dissolution not having been complied with, Cromwell, who afterwards confessed that he knew of the purpose to dissolve, persuaded Harrison, Rich, and some other independent and virtuous, though in this instance short-sighted men, that the declaration by that assembly was a mere pretext, their object being to reduce the army, when they might perpetuate their power without obstruction, as they would not fail to discover a reason for recalling the vote and continuing their authority. In this way he obtained their concurrence to his designs against that assembly, if

it should not save him the trouble and danger by dissolving itself. News having been brought to him by Colonel Ingoldsby that some fresh business would require other meetings (for he had flattered himself that the parliament would dissolve), he determined to delay no longer. Having, therefore, ordered a body of 300 soldiers to attend him, he placed some in the lobby, others on the stairs, and, with Harrison, entered the house. There he met with St. John, to whom he lamented the sad but necessary duty devolved upon him—a duty which grieved him to the soul, and which he had earnestly, and with tears, beseeched the Lord not to impose on him, but which was unavoidable for the glory of God. He then took his seat, and listened for some time to the debate; when, beckoning to Harrison, he told him that he now conceived it to be the time for the execution of his purpose. ‘Sir,’ said Harrison, ‘the work is very great and dangerous: I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it.’ ‘You say well,’ returned Cromwell, and kept his seat for about a quarter of an hour; but when the vote was to be put on the subject before the House—which regarded the act of dissolution—he said to Harrison, ‘Now is the time, I must do it;’ and, starting up, he loaded the assembly with every species of abuse, telling them they had sat long enough there for all the good they had done; that they had espoused the corrupt interests of Presbyterians and lawyers; and that they had only adopted the measure of dissolution when they perceived it could not be longer avoided, but that, were the necessity removed, they would recall what they had done: that some of them were whoremasters; and on this he looked to Henry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth, who had incurred the reproach of irregular lives—reproach very probably, at least, much increased, by their opposing the Adultery Act: that others were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust, as well as scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should

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continue longer as a parliament. 'I tell you,' said he, stamping furiously, and pacing up and down the house—'I tell you, you are no longer a parliament.' Taking up the mace, he said, 'What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away.' The Speaker kept his seat; but Harrison led him out. Some members rose to answer Cromwell, and vindicate their integrity: he, however, would allow no one to speak but himself, 'which,' says Whitelocke, 'he did with so much arrogance in himself, and reproach to his fellow-members, that some of his privadoes were ashamed of it.' Sir Harry Vane exclaimed, 'This is not honest—yea, it is against morality and common honesty;' but Cromwell fell a railing, crying out, 'Oh, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!' 'It is you,' said he to the House, 'that have forced me to this; for I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me to this.' Alderman Allen told him that matters were not yet irretrievable; that if the soldiers were dismissed, all might be well: but Cromwell having gone too far to recede, instantly changed his tone, and charged the alderman with the embezzlement of some hundred thousand pounds, which, as treasurer of the navy, he alleged Allen had not accounted for, and ordered him into custody. Allen coolly replied, 'that it was well known not to have been his fault that the accounts were not yet passed, as they had been repeatedly tendered to the House.'

Having acted this treacherous part, he ordered the guard to clear the house, and carried off the records with his own hands. Amongst these was the bill for dissolution, which, as he had now an opportunity of misrepresenting it, he gave out, was calculated to continue the present parliament by filling up the vacant seats, and then, by rotation, to allow new elections for so many places at a time.

In the afternoon, the council of state met; but Crom-

well, accompanied with Lambert and Harrison, repaired thither, and told them that, if they met as private persons, they might sit unmolested, but that there was no place for them in an official capacity—that they could not be ignorant of what had occurred in the morning, and that their powers had determined with the parliament. Bradshaw answered him thus : ‘ Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear of it ; but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved ; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves.’ Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot spoke to the same effect ; but, as there was no contending with military violence, they departed.

The council of war had no sooner heard of this strange occurrence, than it met to take it under its most serious consideration ; but Cromwell informed them that the business was done ; and, still continuing the mask, he professed more self-denial than ever, assuring Colonel Okey, and other upright officers, who desired satisfaction in a measure which they conceived to be fraught with public ruin, that he would do more good than could be expected of the parliament. This constrained them to silence ; but Okey, still dissatisfied, inquired of Desborough what could be his meaning for thus dissolving the parliament with such scorn, when he had publicly opposed the petition of the army ? Desborough replied, ‘ that if ever he had drolled in his life, he had drolled them.’

‘ Thus,’ says Whitelocke, ‘ it pleased God that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their servants ; and those whom they had raised pulled down their masters.’ But as a great portion of the people were deceived, he is not correct in saying that ‘ all honest and indifferent men were disgusted at this unworthy action : ’ a great portion of the clergy rejoiced ; most of the officers

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of the army were pleased; and the Cavaliers, who expected that the dominion of an individual would ultimately lead to the re-establishment of the old dynasty and its principles, and consequently of their own power, were elated with the event. The Dutch, too, who are said to have been busily intriguing to effect the object, now flattered themselves with the prospect of a speedy peace, since the public burdens, which had been cheerfully borne for the general good, would be productive of discontent when the people perceived that they served only to exalt a treacherous individual. The commissioners of the navy, however, though they detested the usurpation of Cromwell, determined to continue their office to humble a foreign enemy; and to their judicious exertions are to be attributed the further achievements of the British navy.*

* Whitelocke, p. 550 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 450 *et seq.*; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 1 *et seq.* (but Clarendon is not to be depended on); Thurloe's

State Papers, vol. i. pp. 236, 249; Cobb. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1331 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 128 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF THE NATION UNDER CROMWELL'S USURPATION—BAREBONE'S PARLIAMENT—CROMWELL MADE PROTECTOR—PEACE WITH HOLLAND—ANOTHER PARLIAMENT—INSURRECTION OF THE ROYALISTS—STATE OF EUROPE, AND WAR WITH SPAIN—CROMWELL'S THIRD PARLIAMENT—HUMBLE PETITION AND ADVICE—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—STATE OF THE NATION—CONQUEST OF JAMAICA—SUCCESS AND DEATH OF BLAKE—CAPTURE OF DUNKIRK—SICKNESS AND DEATH OF CROMWELL.

THOUGH Cromwell usurped the sovereign power, he was not in a condition to become absolute. The immense diffusion of political knowledge, with the more equal distribution of property, had so deeply fixed the principles of freedom in the public mind, that he never could expect to eradicate them ; and he was well aware that his army, without the support of a considerable portion of the community, would be soon inadequate to preserve his pre-eminence. It was by traducing the late parliament, as occupied only with contemplating the means to perpetuate their own power, and to promote the individual interests of the members, and by his ardent professions of patriotism, and real or affected zeal for a general liberty of conscience, that he succeeded in blinding the public eye to his selfish views of aggrandisement, while he does not seem himself to have projected more than to establish himself on the throne, under limitations short of the theory of the old government, and sanctioned by new parliaments. By balancing parties, he retained power for five years ; but, even during that period, he was exposed to endless plots, and obliged to delude the people with, at least, the semblance of liberty, while, by the selection of eminent lawyers to fill the bench, he (till the appointment

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of the major-generals of the twelve districts marred his plans) endeavoured to attach the great body of the population, by the strict dispensation of justice, and the most ample enjoyment of civil, though not of political liberty. To the Royalists he held out the hope of enjoying, under him, the exclusive privileges which they possessed under the late dynasty, and insinuated his dislike of measures pursued by the parliament, as tending to confound ranks. The Presbyterians he flattered with the prospect of securing them fully in their tithes, as well as in the ecclesiastical power. To the Independents he inveighed against the parliament's slowness to reform abuses, civil and ecclesiastical, accusing them of carnal self-seeking and undue attachment to the intolerant forms of presbyteries. Many of the Republicans he for some time deceived, by assurances that his only object was the establishment of that pure commonwealth for which they had struggled, but which he represented as unattainable under the late parliament. The very Catholics, against whom he had railed so furiously, were now assured that the penal laws would be suspended. In the progress of his government, as one party aimed at his destruction, he endeavoured to alarm all the others, and terrify them into a union with him, in order to crush a faction whose success would be so pernicious to themselves. To the Presbyterians he insinuated that, as the success of the Royalists, on the one side, would be attended with the re-establishment of episcopacy and the service-book, they would not only lose their livings, but be exposed to severe vengeance for having so long enjoyed them, to the exclusion of the others; and, on the other hand, that the success of the Independents and Commonwealth's men would probably lead to some arrangement prejudicial to their right of tithes. To the Independents he held out the prospect of intolerance under the Presbyterians, and, if the Royalists succeeded, under the hierarchy, with the danger of vengeance from the ascendancy of men who had been so long

infuriated by successful opposition. The Republicans, whom he most dreaded, he alarmed with the terror of an unconditional restoration of the exiled family, accompanied with murders, banishments, and confiscations. The Royalists stood thus much alone, and he inspired them with fear of joining the Presbyterians (as he had done the Presbyterians of joining with them), representing that, how much soever the Presbyterians might be disposed to restore the exiled family, it was only on condition of the king's submitting to their terms, which were absolutely intolerant to all the Cavaliers. The balancing of parties was his safety; and able coadjutors performed the ostensible part.

Many consultations were held by Cromwell and his officers about the future form of government; and he pretended at first to lament that he had incurred a responsibility beyond his powers, and which exposed him to many temptations. The reply of Major Saloway evinces the spirit of the man, and was not calculated to flatter the usurper: 'The way to free you from these temptations is for you not to look upon yourself to be under them, but to consider that the power is in the good people of England, as it formerly was.' Various plans for the executive were proposed: Lambert was for vesting it in twelve councillors; Harrison in seventy, in imitation of the Jewish Sanhedrim; but, after much consultation, the extraordinary device was adopted of summoning a person from every county, to whom should be submitted the plan and constitution of the future government. The writs were directed in the name of the general, as if he had been a sovereign prince, and such elected as might be consonant to his views. But though this device was adopted, there seems to be little ground for the ridicule cast upon the assembly, as composed merely of men raised from the lowest walks of life, and altogether destitute of the intelligence necessary for their situation. There were in the assembly several men of known distinction; and it would have defeated

The convention, called a parliament, summoned.

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Cromwell's own scheme to have brought forward so inferior a class, when it was his object to obtain such a recognition of his power as might remove the odium of usurpation, and make his government respected.*

Meets July
4, 1653.

When this assembly met, Cromwell addressed them in a long and artful speech, though in some things he seems to have laboured to be unintelligible, while he desired them to encourage a pious ministry, and congratulated them as introductory to the reign of the saints. To this assembly was proposed an instrument of government by which the executive was to be vested in a council of

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 461 *et seq.* 'Many of the members of this assembly,' says this author, 'had manifested a good affection for the public; but some there were among them who were brought in as spies and trepanners, and though they had been always of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty and the service of the nation. This assembly, therefore, was composed, for the most part, of honest and well-meaning persons.' Whitelocke says—and his impartiality is admitted by all, while his opportunities were questionless the best,—'It was much wondered by some that these gentlemen, *many of these being persons of fortune and knowledge*, would at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation' (p. 559). Now mark Clarendon's account (vol. vii. p. 12 *et seq.*): 'There were amongst them some few'—even the original editors have been ashamed of this, for they substituted the word 'divers' for 'some few'—'of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates of such a proportion of credit and reputation as could consist with the guilt they had contracted.' Many of these who had contracted the guilt alluded to, were by far the author's superiors in credit and reputation at this juncture. 'But much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the

meanest trade, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by *all* degrees of men, *but scholars*, throughout the kingdom.' That was indeed a deplorable state of things to such as Clarendon, who looked to *the church* as the ladder of their own political ascendancy. But were there no scholars amongst the number who prayed and preached? See what Whitelocke says on the subject, and recollect *his* learning. 'In which number that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leather-seller in Fleet Street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's parliament. In a word, they were' (the editors had here interpolated the word 'generally') a pack of weak, senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower *than it yet was*.' We shall afterwards speak in the text, as well as by way of note, relatively to Barebone and his name. Had the convention corresponded with this description, the result would be that Cromwell must be pronounced to have acted from insanity, since, instead of promoting, such an assembly must have defeated, his object.

forty, afterwards limited to thirty-one, of whom nine were to be a quorum. The convention appointed various committees for public affairs, with power to inquire into the abuses of church and state, and the means of rectifying them. These committees were proposed by Cromwell's friends, and the pretended object was to have the law reformed, and the church reduced to a more evangelical constitution; but bodies of men, however selected, are not to be depended upon by any individual in power, unless he have the means of retaining them as his instruments by immediate interests, or by the prospect of honours and rewards for themselves and their families; and this convention, having been invested with authority, taught Cromwell that it knew how to exercise it. The committees on law and religion alarmed both the lawyers and the clergy; and Cromwell, who perceived that the convention really proceeded with a determination to vindicate its own authority, and reform what it deemed to be amiss, used all his influence to terrify these bodies into a union with him against this new power, whose immoderate zeal, he predicted, would otherwise bring everything into confusion. Nay, he had the effrontery to allege, that he was afraid of their proceeding to extirpate even the law and the gospel, and subvert the rights of property, alleging, as a proof of the last, that they denied the patron's right of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices, and were for vesting it in the parishioners. A powerful body, however, perceived it to be their interest to support Cromwell against the convention; for it was proposed by some, that, as the great officers of the army had already made plentiful estates out of the public stock, they should thereafter serve without pay,—which was evidently intended for the removal of officers whose interest with the military was thought dangerous to the state; that the salaries of officers of the excise and customs should be reduced, and the exorbitant fees of the law diminished; and that all who solicited places should

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be considered incapable of holding them: but there was one grand measure proposed, that of abolishing the court of chancery, which gave the handle that Cromwell wanted to charge them with an intention to overturn all the legal authorities in the country, and which has generally afforded a subject of ridicule to historians. In forming a judgment on such a question, it is necessary not only to inquire into the origin of that court, but into its condition anterior to that period. This court has unquestionably been found extremely useful in granting relief in cases where the ordinary courts of law have no cognisance; but it cannot be denied that, by a new arrangement, the necessity for such a tribunal—which owes its power to the strict technicalities observed in the ordinary courts, and the limited nature of their jurisdiction—might be superseded. The first object of the court was to temper strict law with equity; but a long train of decisions has now reduced the principles of equity into such a clear body of law, that the judge is no longer at liberty to follow out his own abstract views of justice; while the subject can ever refer to that body of law for the regulation of his own conduct, and rely with confidence on a decision, whenever a similar case has already been determined. But it would be the last degree of unfairness to pass judgment upon the views of men in a former age by the standard of our own times, when circumstances are completely altered. At a former period, the courts of law and the court of chancery had ever been wrangling about their respective jurisdictions. It is true that the chancellor might then occasionally walk by a precedent; but, generally speaking, there was, under the pretext of equity, no injustice too gross not to be committed, and the man who bribed highest was sure of gaining his cause. The corruption of Bacon is well known, and, after his fall, the house of the Duke of Buckingham was a general resort for litigants in chancery, while his retainers, in defiance of every principle of honesty, besieged

the court, that, by their presence, they might overawe the judge to decide according to their master's mandate. It is perfectly evident, then, that the court of chancery at that period, and the court of chancery now, agree only in name: hence, the historians who ridicule the convention upon the ground of their design to abolish this court, as if it had been the same with that now known under the same denomination, are either unacquainted with the spirit of that age, or guilty of an imposition by the abuse of words. In the course of the debate on that subject, the court was pronounced the greatest grievance in the nation; and it was said that, for dilatoriness, and bleeding the people to their utter perishing and undoing, it might compare with, if not surpass, any court in the world: it was confidently affirmed, by a gentleman of worth, that there were, at that moment, before that court, nearly three thousand causes, some of which had depended for five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty years, and even more; that many thousand pounds had, to the utter ruin of families, been spent on these causes; and that there occurred, in almost every question before the ordinary tribunals, a pretext for carrying it thither, where the remedy was worse than the disease, as what was done one day was contradicted the next, so that, in some cases, there had been no fewer than five hundred different orders; the consequence of which was, that most causes never came to a decision at all, but ended in a reference, when the litigants had no longer money to continue the process. Surely such a state of things as this required a remedy;* and though men of great

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. pp. 198-9. Though written at so early a period, I have no alteration to make on this. What has been revealed to us by the *Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon* (vol. i. p. 343 *et seq.*) seems to me corroborative of what I have said. The sneers of certain historians evince their shallowness. Why meddle

with what they did not understand?

The statement in the text presents a complete answer to the defence so injudiciously set up for Bacon—that he was bribed merely into interlocutory orders, and not final judgments, as few of his decisions were reversed; since, by such a course, he really

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ability at this moment held the seals as commissioners—Whitelocke, Widdrington, and Lenthall,—yet the proposal to appoint commissioners, under new powers, to decide the causes, which was intended, appears to have been at least not very objectionable.

The convention surrender back their power to Cromwell, December 19, 1653.

Having gained many parties in the convention, as well as out of doors, Cromwell determined to put a period to an assembly which threatened to blast his own prospects, and, in particular, to abridge the power of the army. He therefore gained a corrupt party, with the Speaker, Mr. Rouse, who was provost of Eton College, at their head, to meet at an early hour, and resign their authority into his hands. Some, however, suspecting the design,

inflicted grosser injustice than by deciding unfairly at once. It is, indeed, extraordinary that such a plea should have been urged for that great philosopher, but profligate member of society. Can any injustice be more heinous than that of keeping a man out of his right, ruining his family by tedious litigation, and enormous expense; though the judge, to save his own character, does not put his hand to the final judgment? But I do not comprehend what is meant by reversal in the House of Lords, when the same judge was to sit on the woolsack, supported by all the corrupt influence of the crown, to hear and determine those very causes which he had already so basely decided in the court below. I am the more particular on this subject, in consequence of the attempt which is too visible in certain precise gentlemen, to uphold Bacon's moral character from the splendour of his philosophical. These gentlemen would, I suppose, even defend his ungrateful and treacherous conduct to Essex, who had patronised him when his own friends would not, and had bestowed on him a good estate as a gratuitous donation, and whom he yet, afterwards, in order to ingratiate himself with the queen, acted against as an adviser, a lawyer,

and an author. (See still blacker and more revolting stories imputed to Bacon in *Bibliotheca Topogr. Brit.* vol. vi.; a character of him by Sir Simmonds D'Ewes. See also, on same subject, Whitelocke.) The precise gentlemen, however, who unscrupulously defend the character of Bacon, deceive themselves if they imagine that their own motives for thus clinging to a philosophical name can escape detection. Virtue, forsooth, ever accompanies genius; but they are virtuous, and therefore men of genius; while, if their genius be acknowledged, their failings must be overlooked! There is not, in my opinion, any practice more baneful to society than thus defending the errors of genius; since young men who have little talent to boast of encourage themselves in vice and irregularities, in imitation of those whom they are taught to admire. It is common for, though unfortunate and injudicious in, certain bodies of men, to defend a false brother of their party, out of a fear of bringing reproach upon the whole class: by casting him off, however, they would prevent the possibility of imputation against their party; by screening the guilty, they encourage others to similar acts, and thus justly fasten the reproach.

attended the meeting, and, in a long debate, vindicated their proceedings. They argued that, all the public enemies being subdued, there was no necessity for continuing so large a military force; that, as to the reformation of the law and the church, it was the object for which they had been called together; and little did it become those who condemned them now to use the language they did, since they had been the very men to advise still stronger measures than the House had contemplated: that, as to the allegation, that, because they proposed to take the power of presentation from the patron and confer it on the parishioners, they invaded the right of private property—it was unfounded, since the parishioners who supported, ought in all fairness to have the right in electing the minister; and the practice of the patron's obtruding one upon them, came fraught with the consequences of his having it in his power to prescribe religion to the parish. As the debate continued, the house began to fill, and Cromwell's creatures, dreading the result, exclaimed, that this was not a time for debate, but for considering the means of avoiding the evils which had been complained of. But Mr. Rouse, the Speaker, took the most effectual course to serve the usurper: leaving the house, with the rest of the cabal, he repaired to Whitehall, and stated to the general that, as they had been called together, as well as entrusted with power by the army, for the public good, and now perceived their inability to perform what had been expected of them, they resigned their authority into the hands of him from whom they had received it.

The rest of the convention continued together until they were dismissed by a guard. Among these was Harrison, who, like Milton and many others, had been deluded by the ardent professions of Cromwell to assist him in usurping power, and of whom, to make the meeting appear ridiculous, a foolish and unauthenticated story is told, that the guard having asked what they were

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about, he answered that they were seeking the Lord in prayer; to which the other replied, that they must seek the Lord elsewhere, for to his knowledge he had not been there for a long while. To ridicule this convention, too, it has been ironically called Barebone's parliament, from the circumstance of one of the members having that patronymic, with the Christian name of Praise-God. This species of Christian name is alleged to have been common; and we are informed by Mr. Hume, that the pretended saints changed their names from James, Anthony, &c., to scripture phrases: the fact, however, is, that it was not the individuals who changed their names, but the parents, according to a practice which had subsisted for some time, that gave such names at christening their children, conceiving that the Christian name could not be better derived than from the fountain of Christianity.

Cromwell used all his influence with the independent members to prevail on them to subscribe a renunciation of their power, but they resolutely refused it; and he discovered, what was to him a melancholy truth, that a convention summoned by his own authority, and composed even of individuals of his own selection, was not to be converted into an instrument for confirming his power. The circumstance, however, is the less to be wondered at, when we reflect that he had no means of gaining or retaining the affections of individuals by places, jobs, and pensions. Some new device, therefore, was requisite, and it was soon resorted to: but before we proceed to the relation of that, we must detail the events which, in the meantime, occurred in the Dutch war.*

* Hume's account of the proceedings of this assembly is partly supported by Clarendon, partly without the shadow of authority, and, upon the whole, utterly groundless. There is no foundation for his statement relative to the law; on the contrary, they took up the ground of their

predecessors, the Long Parliament. His statement relative to the clerical function is likewise unfounded, and tithes were expressly voted to be the right of incumbents (see *Journals*, which, from certain pencil-marks, I am satisfied Hume had before him). Those who know anything of the

Notwithstanding the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, the commissioners of the navy, who had been nominated by the legislature, conceived it to be their duty to continue in the discharge of the important function committed to them, since there was a wide difference between measures requisite to reduce a foreign enemy to reasonable conditions, and such as tended to the oppression of the people at home, or the support of unlawful authority. An alliance which had been projected was effected with Sweden; and as it enabled the English to

law of marriage will not be surprised at being told, that it was allowed to be constituted by a justice before witnesses; but that a proper record of marriages and baptisms was to be kept, and a parchment certificate granted by the magistrate on the marriage. The civil law, the canon law—the law of England, prior to the Marriage Act, all held that marriage is constituted by the mere consent of the parties, as well as *facie ecclesie*; and such is the law of Scotland at this day (see my commentary on this subject in my edition of *Stair*: subsequent decisions have confirmed what I have laid down).

What Hume says about the notion entertained of rooting out the Dutch, as worldly-minded men, is utterly groundless. He quotes Thurloe's *State Papers*, and the following passage is the one he relies on. It is a letter from a Mr. Edward Bernard to Strickland, dated Adle, 4th June, 1653, (the parliament did not meet till 4th July,) in which the writer gives an account of a great naval victory, and proceeds thus: 'The very noyse of the gunns, which was heard very plaine for three days together in some of those parts, hath strucke a very great terror into moste hearts; *insoemuch, that the moste judicious amongst them doe begin to consider, and to contemplate, in case these two mighty potentates should join together, what would become of the kings of the earth.* Doubtless Babilon is upon his fall, and that is likely to

be the success and issue of this warre with Holland: *although it is strong upon my hearte* to conclude that the Hollander is not yet low enough to helpe to carry on the work that God hath cut out for them to doe. They minde only the carryinge on off their trade. They judge that worke enough for them to doe; *but I am confident God, in his due time, will fit them for higher employment*' (vol. i. pp. 272–3). This is the sort of evidence which Mr. Hume thinks fit to adduce in proof of his assertion that the parliament meant to exterminate the Dutch. In p. 591, also referred to, there is not one syllable to countenance the statement; and as Mr. Hume's pencil-mark is also there, I cannot conceive what he was dreaming about (*Scobell's Collection*).

Clarendon's relation does little credit to his veracity, but that is not extraordinary. He groundlessly accuses them of being enemies of the universities and of learning, &c. (see *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 330 *et seq.*; *Ludlow*, vol. ii. p. 463 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 559 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 151 *et seq.*; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii.). But, indeed, when we consider the testimony, borne by Hume himself in favour of *Whitelocke*, there cannot be conceived a shadow of excuse for him. (See about tithes, p. 570; see *Journals*, which entirely contradict Clarendon's statement.) Barebones, too, would rather appear to have been a man of consequence (see *Whitelocke*).

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procure the materials for ship-building on easy terms, a fleet, superior to any which had yet appeared in England, was equipped. The Dutch were no less active, and their efforts were prodigious. On the 3rd of June, 1653, the English fleet, consisting of ninety-five men-of-war and five fire-ships, under the command of Dean and Monk, assisted by Penn and Lawson, encountered the Dutch fleet, consisting of ninety-eight sail and seven fire-ships, under the command of Van Tromp, De Wit, and De Ruyter, and the contest continued for two days with unremitting fury. The English were, as usual, successful, the enemy having been driven, with great loss, into their harbours: but their joy was not unalloyed, as they lost Dean, a steady republican, and some other brave officers. Peace became more than ever necessary to the States, and they had despatched ambassadors to the late convention, called a parliament; but the terms proposed by the English were deemed too rigid, while a plan for incorporating the two republics was rejected. The negotiation, therefore, failed; and the Dutch gave a convincing proof of their vast resources, by soon fitting out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, of which many were larger than any they had hitherto built. This immense fleet having been sent to sea, was opposed on their own coast by an English one of ninety sail, commanded by Monk, Lawson, and Penn, when a battle, still more bloody than any of the preceding, was fought; and the Dutch having lost their admiral, Van Tromp, who fell by a musket-shot, and twenty-four of their ships, with 4000 men killed and 1000 as prisoners, retired: but they had done such damage to their adversaries, that they were unable to follow up their success, and were even obliged to quit that coast. The English, however, only lost one ship in the engagement, and 700 men. These reiterated losses by the Dutch raised up in the States hostility to the prevailing party there, and afforded the Orange faction a pretext for turning men's eyes towards the young prince

as a resource against their domestic adversaries, for their mismanagement of public affairs. Peace was not concluded between the two commonwealths till the Protectorate, and therefore we must return to our relation of civil transactions.*

The hypocritical pretences of Cromwell for dissolving the Long Parliament, and his ardent professions of desiring only the public good, had misled a great portion of the people; but when they perceived that, instead of calling a parliament duly elected to take the full management of affairs out of his hands, he summoned a number of individuals selected by himself for their supposed aptitude to promote his designs, they began to alter their opinion of the usurper. The respectability of many of the members, however, which Cromwell was obliged to attend to as the very basis of his scheme, made them suspend their judgment till they saw the result of that assembly's deliberations; but when they perceived that even this meeting must be ignominiously dissolved, because it asserted a right to independence, and devoted itself to the affairs of the Commonwealth instead of promoting the unprincipled views of the man who had congregated them, their confidence in him was in a manner lost, while the members returned to their respective counties to spread dissatisfaction at their treatment. But his ambition soon manifested itself in stronger colours. The title of general did not suit his arrogant pretensions, and a new scheme of government must be devised, and a higher character assumed by him. After the dissolution of the late convention, therefore, a new plan of government was prepared by Lambert, which, as it differed little from the old theory of the constitution, it is not surprising should have been conceived, as it is reported to have been, in four

New form
of govern-
ment.

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 465 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 20 *et seq.*; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 272 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 536 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 193; Gumble's *Life of Moncke*, p. 58 *et seq.*; Skinner's ditto, p. 46. Monk and Dean were in the same ship. Lawson, Jordan, and Goodson, performed the most praiseworthy service on the first occasion.

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days. When this form was proposed in the council of officers, Lambert, according to concert, expatiated upon the mischiefs which had accrued from the republican form of government, and the necessity of appointing one executive magistrate, who should hold his office not only under certain restrictions, but the usual control of parliament. The proposition was not heard with the spirit which had been expected. Some of the council, who had never anticipated such a result to all their labours, finding it to be impossible to frustrate the project of nominating one chief magistrate, insisted that the office should not be vested either in any of the exiled family or a general. It was not deemed expedient at that meeting to agitate that point further; but the new scheme was carried, and the council of state nominated. The arrangement was to this purpose. That the legislative power was to be preserved for the people, and exercised through their representatives, in conjunction with the individual who, with monarchical power, should hold only the humble name of protector. That a parliament should be elected every third year, according to the arrangement devised by the Long Parliament, and that each should be entitled to sit five months without interruption, the first meeting to take place on the 3rd of September following. That every bill be presented to the protector for his assent; but that, in the event of its containing nothing subversive of the constitution, it was, after it had been submitted to him twenty days, to have the force of a law whether he agreed to it or not: if, however, it affected any principle of the constitution, a negative should be allowed to him. That the executive power should be vested in the protector and his council, though the power over the militia should be jointly lodged with the protector and parliament; and with regard to the council, which was nominated at this time, its numbers should be in this manner filled up on any death or removal: the parliament, on any vacancy, should nominate six, of whom the council should select

two, and the protector one of these. That in the event of corruption or misconduct in any member of the council, the parliament was authorised to appoint seven members, and the council six, who, with the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, should be empowered to try the case. The protector might also add to the council by the consent of the majority. All writs were to run in the protector's name, and honours flow from him; but the chancellor and other judges were to be appointed by parliament, and in the intervals of parliament by the council, whose choice, however, should be subject to the approbation of the next meeting of that legislative assembly. The council was composed of the following individuals: Philip, Lord Lisle; Generals Fleetwood and Lambert; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, baronets; and Montague, Desborough, Skippon, Strickland, Laurence, Sydenham, P. Jones, Richard Mayor, and Francis Rouse. A military establishment of 10,000 horse and dragoons, and 20,000 foot, with a sufficient navy to guard the seas, was agreed to at the same time; while it was arranged that the Protector and his council should raise money for the support of it till the first meeting of parliament. The sum of 200,000*l.* was allotted for the administration of justice and the incidental expenses of government. A full toleration was also provided for all sects which neither practised nor professed licentiousness, except Papists and Episcopalians.*

This plan of government having been agreed to by the ruling powers, it was not long till Cromwell was appointed for the protectorate. On the 16th of December, he was inaugurated, with a degree of pomp which little accorded with the moderation he had hitherto professed, and he evinced his ambition of royalty by his care of the pompous accompaniments. He issued out a commission for taking

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 476 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 571 *et seq.*

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charge of the palaces and forests, while he removed his family to Whitehall; fully evincing that he had not opposed the sale of the royal houses, &c., without the selfish motive of which he had been suspected.*

This constitution, defective as it was, appeared to be accompanied with certain safeguards to liberty which the government under the late king did not possess. Cromwell's idea was, that the statute of Henry VII. which enjoined obedience to a king *de facto*, though not *de jure*, strongly supported his usurpation, and many, perceiving that the old constitution by parliaments, whose powers were enlarged to such a degree as might now make them the organ of the public will, was still to be continued, imagined that much had been gained by the change, as the usurper, having no inherent right in his own person to the supreme magistracy, could only expect to secure his pre-eminence for himself and his family, by a rigid adherence to constitutional principles and a stricter dispensation of justice. It is possible that, could the parliaments which he summoned have brooked the power that he usurped, the view might not have been altogether so incorrect; but the usurpation was as unwise as it was criminal. By recalling kingly power, it taught mankind to consider that his object in all the late struggle had been self-aggrandisement; and that, if monarchical government was to be re-established, it should be under one of the late king's family. When a parliament was assembled, therefore, it, feeling its own power, directed the exercise of its authority against the usurper himself, and left him no alternative but either to dissolve the meeting or resign his usurped power. The authority of parliament and that of the protector immediately clashed, and he had no means of gaining a party by undue influence. If, however, his power were superseded, he sank at once into the private citizen, and might, divested of military command,

* Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 480-1; Whitelocke, p. 577.

be brought to justice for his dissolution of the former parliament.

The Royalists exulted in the change; but when they perceived that the protector established his government, and that the people still adhered to their principles, of either not restoring monarchy at all, or of doing it under conditions which excluded the Malignants, they, conceiving now that Cromwell, at the head of his army, was the grand obstacle to their recovering power, devised plots against his life. The exiled king himself issued a formal proclamation recommending, as an act acceptable to God and good men, the assassination of the protector by any means whatever, not omitting to specify poison itself, and proffering great rewards for the perpetration of the atrocious deed. The counsellors whom Charles II. mainly relied upon were Ormond and Hyde on the spot, with Nicholas at some distance; and this step could not be unadvisedly taken.* Let us, however, hear the language of a prelate on this subject: 'But wherefore do we quarrel the remiss-

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 248 *et seq.* The proclamation is dated from Paris, 3rd May, 1654. See *Id.* pp. 341 *et seq.*, 353, 398, 502, 510 *et seq.*, 533: see about his counsellors, &c., 556-579; vol. iii. p. 659. See a period somewhat later.

Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 165; *Life*, vol. i. p. 308; see again p. 278 *et seq.*, and compare what he says with the real facts as evolved in his own *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 247, in which ignorance of atrocious designs is affected both for himself and his master, though his friend Nicholas appears to approve of them; 311 (Father Talbot makes a direct proposition to the then exiled king for the assassination of Cromwell by Saxety); 312 (Hyde's own letter to Talbot), pp. 315 *et seq.* (where the *instructions* are doubtless the production of Hyde), 325 (a letter to Hyde himself), 331 *et seq.* (also to Hyde, and alluding to Syndescomb's design as well as Saxety's), 335 (Capt.

Titus to Hyde), 338 (Saxety to Talbot), 339 *et seq.* (Titus to Hyde), 357 (Father Talbot to Hyde). The date of this last letter of Talbot is 18th August, 1657; and Hyde, in a letter to Nicholas dated 13th September, says,—'You and I shall never differ in opinion on *what should be done with or against Cromwell*; yet there will or may be very wise men who dissent from us in the particular you mention, and give very solid reasons for doing so,' &c.

Of the temper of Charles's court, some idea may be formed from the correspondence between Nicholas and Ormond: 'But I must tell your lordship,' says the first, 6th April, 1651, 'the harangues in council and discourses in the court at Breda were, that honour and conscience were but bugbears, and that the king ought to govern himself rather by the rules of prudence and necessity' (*Carte's Let.* vol. i. p. 435.).

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ness of princes abroad, since there is not among ourselves that hath the courage of a gallant man to meet with Cromwell, who jets up and down, and strike him to the heart? But it is our shame that every one wisheth that done by another's hand which he dare not, for fear, do himself.*

Peace with
Holland.

We have already recorded the victories gained against the Dutch, and it is now time to state, that peace was concluded with Holland in the beginning of the year 1654. The terms were, that a defensive league should be established betwixt the two republics, and the superiority of the flag be yielded to the English; that the authors of the massacre at Amboyna, if yet alive, should be brought to punishment by their own country: that commissioners should be sent to London to adjust the disputes of the India companies of the respective nations; that the losses sustained by the English in the East Indies, the Brazils, and Muscovy, should likewise be settled by these commissioners, in order that restitution should be made by the States-General; and that, in the event of a dispute betwixt the respective commonwealths, the decision should be left to the Swiss Cantons. The king of Denmark had shown hostility to the English nation, and seized some of their ships at Copenhagen; but, as the Dutch proposed to compensate the loss thus sustained by the English, Denmark was included in the treaty. The state of Holland, headed by De Wit, being now the ruling one, an article was agreed to between that state and Cromwell, that the prince should be excluded from the office of stadtholder, admiral, or general. When the commissioners arrived, they agreed to restore the island of Poleron to the English, to make reparation to the heirs of those who had been massacred at Amboyna, and to pay nine hundred thousand livres, by two instalments, for the various losses sustained during the war.† These terms

* Hackett, in *Life of Williams*,
part ii. p. 225.

† Thurloc's *State Papers*, vol. ii.

p. 28 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 580 *et seq.*; Lud. vol. ii. p. 487; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 22 *et seq.*

were much inferior to what the parliament could have obtained; yet not only the usurper's creatures, but the Royalists, who saw that the exaltation of an individual would most probably lead to their own restoration, with power and place, did not scruple to attribute to him the honour of the peace, as well as the glory of the war. Of the latter he deserved no share, since it was under the councils of the committee appointed by the parliament that all exertions for fitting out the fleets were made, and by the skill and bravery of the commanders and of their men that the victories were gained. Medals were, however, struck in honour of the peace, and poetic panegyrics composed on Cromwell. The universities had been silent to the republic, but they could no longer be so to him from whom they expected benefices; and, in the true style of men of the world, they paid the same adulatory addresses to the protector that had been made to any sovereign of England.

The council, under the pretext that parliament was not yet assembled, usurping the legislating power, issued several ordinances of the last importance: by one, all writs were ordained to run in the name of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging; by another, the engagement against the government of a House of Peers was recalled; and, by a third, it was declared high treason to compass or imagine the death of the lord protector, or to raise forces against the present government, or to deny that he and the people assembled in parliament were the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy was centred in him; or to assert that the government was tyrannical, usurped or illegal, or that there was any parliament now in existence.*

Acts of the
council of
state.

These arbitrary proceedings created great disgust; but the jarring interests of different parties, with other causes,

State of
the public
mind.

* Scobell's *Collection*; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*.

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concurred to induce the people to submit. Many desired peace: the Royalists were afraid of the Republicans, the Republicans of them; while each was deterred by the apparent hopelessness of succeeding to overturn the present government. The following passage by Ludlow is worthy of a great character: 'That we ought to be very careful and circumspect in that particular' (opposing the government), 'and at least be assured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise I should account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruction of all those I should induce to engage, though the cause were ever so just.*' Such was the language of a republican, and we may conclude that it expresses the sentiments of the party. But though they did not disturb the government, they would not recognise it, notwithstanding all the efforts of Cromwell to gain them over to such a measure. The answer of Ludlow to such a proposition was, that he would never come under an engagement to the usurped government, which should afterwards put it out of his power, as a man of honour, to adopt the means which God might present for vindicating the liberties of his country. Harrison and Rich, who, deceived by their blind confidence in the professions of Cromwell, had concurred in the dissolution of the Long Parliament, now raised their voices against the usurpation, and were sent to different prisons.†

Nature of
the admini-
stration
of govern-
ment.

Let us not, however, be misled by the name of a usurpation, to believe that the spirit of England did not manifest itself in ordinary proceedings. The firm integrity of English juries during that period affords a strong contrast with their servility during the preceding reigns, evincing equally the nobler notions that had been diffused, and the purer principles which had been acted upon:

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 556.

† *Ibid.*

indeed, the abolition of the Court of Star Chamber, and the usurped discretionary power to fine juries, were a sufficient reason for their independence. The case of the famous John Lilburn, during the Long Parliament, has already been alluded to. Charged with sedition, he was tried by a London jury, when he obtained an honourable acquittal; and no sooner was the verdict announced to the crowd at the door, than the air rang with the acclamation of thousands. The parliament, deeming his well-meant proceedings injurious to their plans, banished him by ordinance; but, partly out of confidence in the professions of Cromwell to perform his engagement to the people, and partly out of his own native intrepidity, he returned after the dissolution. Cromwell, however, dreaded him no less than the parliament had done, and therefore had him arraigned for returning against the late ordinance. Lilburn pleaded his cause with a spirit so truly English, that the jury acquitted him in spite of all the usurper's influence, and again the popular voice was raised in favour of the accused.* A foolish plot, however, having been formed by some Royalists, which was easily defeated, their leaders, Gerard, and one Vowel, a schoolmaster, were apprehended, when Cromwell, afraid to trust them before a jury, tried them before a high court of justice erected for the occasion.

The vigour of the government and the spirit of the people were manifested on another occasion. Don Pantoleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, who, as brother-in-law of the Portuguese ambassador, had come to England, included in the commission from the King of Portugal, having quarrelled with the individual Gerard whom we have just mentioned, and conceiving that the sacred character of ambassador would protect him in villany, determined

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Case of
Lilburn.

Case of
Don Pan-
toleon Sa.

* Howell's *State Trials*; Clar. (*Hist.* vol. vii. p. 44 *et seq.*) says that 'this man, before the troubles, was a poor bookbinder,' &c.; and the statement

is worthy of him. He was of good family (Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 553; Whitelocke, p. 558 *et seq.*).

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to murder his enemy. For this purpose he armed his followers, and went to the Exchange, where having mistaken a London merchant for Gerard, he immediately ordered him to be murdered. So daring an outrage upon a respectable citizen enraged the people to such a degree, that they instantly rose and pursued them to the ambassador's house, where the Don took refuge. The usual course would have been to have sent him home to his own government, and have demanded reparation; but, as it was Cromwell's interest to conciliate the affections of the English more than of the Portuguese court, he resolved to allow the matter to be determined by a court of law. After some delays, in consequence of the application of the Portuguese ambassador, and the intervention of that court, the legal point regarding the privileges of ambassadors, by the common law, the civil law, and the law of nations, was argued at great length, before a court of oyer and terminer, and the jurisdiction of the court was sustained. The trial, therefore, proceeded before a jury composed of one half of English and one half of foreigners. The murderers were convicted and sentenced to be executed. An English boy concerned in the crime was hanged at Tyburn: Don Pantoleon himself was ultimately, after some reprieves, beheaded on Tower Hill, along with Gerard, whom his design was against. The rest were pardoned.*

Cromwell's
second par-
liament
meets,
Sept. 3,
1654.

The 3rd of September, 1654, a day of the year accounted by Cromwell fortunate, was the time for the meeting of the new parliament, and all men's eyes were turned towards that event. Cromwell and his party exerted themselves to the utmost in elections, yet, in spite of some gross instances of partiality, the general choice of Republicans who had eminently distinguished themselves in the service of the Commonwealth indicated the national sentiments.† But it must be observed that all

* Whitelocke, p. 592; Howell's *State Trials*; *Ciar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 28 *et seq.*

† Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 497-8.

Papists and all Royalists, who had borne arms, or been engaged in civil departments during the wars, were excluded. Two hundred and seventy of the members were elected by the counties, the other English members by the towns. Scotland, according to the terms, sent thirty; and Ireland, which had also been incorporated, sent as many: but as the government had greater power in Scotland and Ireland, so it exerted greater partiality. When the parliament met, Cromwell, who had uncommon dexterity in discovering pretexts for the justification of his conduct, and exciting the fears of the timid and well-meaning, harangued that assembly as on the state of parties, singling out everything foolish or absurd that the fanatics of any party—and every party does contain bigots or fanatics—either entertained or lay under the imputation of, and inferring that his assumption of the government had been necessary, in order to prevent a total anarchy, and general overturn of property—nay, the overthrow of the church—by Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy men, and Levellers. Pretexts are frequently not so valuable in absolutely deceiving those to whom they are used, as in affording to all who are determined to support the establishment a colour for adhering to it; and this was fully verified on the present occasion.

His creatures took up the same grounds; but the majority were not to be imposed on. They well knew that there was no class of any importance in the nation who ever dreamt of invading the rights of property, and that the word leveller was the reproachful epithet bestowed by him, as well as by the Royalists, upon the Republicans, whom, as a self-willed set of men, he most hated: that, as for the Anabaptists and Fifth-Monarchy men, they were both limited in number; and as to the first, the reproach which had been long continued against them by all parties was altogether inapplicable to their present condition: that their idea of baptism was innocent in itself, and there was no reason for presuming that because the Anabap-

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tists of Munster had acted upon principles destructive of civil society, their tenets in regard to government and laws, and rights of property, had ever been embraced, or even contemplated, by those in England who held a similar opinion regarding the simple point of baptism; and that, as to the Fifth-Monarchy men, who believed that God would finally establish the reign of the saints, when all mankind would live in peace and mutual charity under the benign influence of the gospel, there was as little to be apprehended from them. Indeed, he allowed that amongst them there were many well-meaning people. The pretexts used by Cromwell, too, were the more glaringly false, from their having been directly against those which he had employed to justify the dissolution of the Long Parliament. The present assembly, therefore, discharged its duty in a tone that appalled him.

In vain did he pretend to have been raised by the overruling hand of Providence, and bestow a fulsome panegyric on his own plan of government, desiring them to believe that he did not speak to them as one that would be a lord over them, but as one that had resolved to be a fellow-servant to them in the interest of this great affair; and that he had resolved to submit himself to their judgment. He affected to rejoice to see so free an assembly; but the members well knew that Lord Grey of Groby, and other republicans, had been excluded. The person chosen as Speaker was Lenthall, who, for opposite reasons, was agreeable both to the protector and the popular members: to the one, because he expected to find him instrumental in promoting his views; to the other, and particularly Bradshaw, because they conceived that, by having him in the chair, they might have some pretext for recalling the Long Parliament and overturning the usurpation. The first subject which occupied their attention was a most alarming one to the protector—the expediency of recognising his usurped power, and the new plan of government. His party insisted on an approba-

tion of the whole scheme ; but the assembly determined to consider its component parts separately, and the first question referred to a committee was, whether the executive should be vested in a single person or in the parliament. In this debate Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Scot, and many others, but more particularly Bradshaw, spoke with such effect against the dominion of an individual, that the party gained daily the accession of young members. Cromwell having received intelligence of this, and of the probable issue—that a vote would be passed for his deposition—set a guard on the House early in the morning, and dispatched a message to the lord mayor, that precautions might be taken to preserve the peace of the city. The members came to the house ; but, instead of access, they were required to attend his highness in the Painted Chamber. On their arrival there, Cromwell told them that he was surprised at the subject of debate, and had summoned them thither, because the question was one which, as it involved the nature and existence of the constitution, was contrary to parliamentary privilege ; that, by allowing themselves to be returned members under this instrument of government, they had recognised it, and, consequently, by disputing his authority—that by which they had been convened—they declared themselves to be no parliament, and therefore that he would permit no member to return to the house until he had acknowledged the plan of government by his subscription. Some who had regarded the exclusion of Lord Grey of Groby and others as an act of violence on the assembly, had absented themselves from the beginning ; but, now that force was visibly used on the great body, the example was followed by many of the staunch Republicans, who conceived that they should render a greater service to their country by shunning the assembly, than by legislating under fetters. About a hundred and twenty, however, subscribed the Engagement, and were followed in a few days by others ; but no sooner was the house open to

them, than they declared that their recognition of the plan of government extended only to that part of it which allowed to an individual a right of governing by successive parliaments. They yet declared that Cromwell should be protector during his life, 'hoping,' says Ludlow, 'that by this compliance he would have been satisfied, and would, in gratitude, have judged the people, after his death, to have sufficient wisdom to govern themselves.' The parliament further agreed upon the number of ships to guard the seas, and voted two hundred thousand pounds a year for the support of the protector himself, and the salaries of the council (each councillor was to have a thousand a year), and of the judges, with the expenses of foreign intelligence and the reception of ambassadors. But they, at the same time, voted a declaration of the rights of the people, and, in particular, that no money should be raised unless by the authority of parliament. By the instrument of government it was provided that, on Cromwell's death, the council should choose his successor: the parliament, on the contrary, determined that nothing should be done by the council in that event except summoning the parliament; and lest one part of the bill prepared by them should be used in support of the instrument of government without the other provisions, they added a clause, that no part should be obligatory unless the whole were consented to. Cromwell perceived that, like the former, this assembly was, even after the exclusion of so many members, unfitted for his purpose. It neither transferred the office of protector to him and his family for ever, nor voted any permanent revenue by which he might establish his power without a direct violation of the form of government; while the temper of this convention gave him an earnest of what he was to expect in future. But he was also afraid that they would abridge the power which had been prescribed by the new constitution; and, lest this should occur, he formed the determination, in which he

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tion of the
parlia-
ment, Jan.
22, 1655.

was seconded by many of his officers, of dissolving the parliament. Having taken his resolution, he summoned them to the Painted Chamber, on the 22nd of January (1655), and addressed them in a speech wherein 'he made up in words and passion what he wanted in matter to charge them with.' The late king had pretended to derive his authority from heaven, and to be the vicegerent of God upon earth, founding this character upon arguments drawn from kingly power and hereditary succession. Cromwell attained his end by a nearer route. Instead of deriving his claim through a long succession of sacred loins, he referred at once to his own exploits, declaring his success to be a sufficient manifestation of divine favour—a proof of the assistance of the Deity, which all pious men must acknowledge, and which he was himself so sensible of, that he should conceive himself guilty of flying in the face of Providence were he to resist the call. He therefore dissolved the parliament; but the prediction of some of his own friends—that, as the measure reminded men of the unhappy dissolutions of parliaments during the late reign, the consequence would be increased disaffection—was fully verified. One cause assigned for the dissolution, was intelligence which he had received of a deep-laid conspiracy, in which some of the Republicans—headed by Major Wildman, who having received a most liberal education at one of the universities, wrote with great effect—had joined.*

Determined, if possible, to centre the power in himself and his children, Cromwell cunningly sent his son Henry to take the command of the Irish army, over even Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, Ireton's widow; but, to gratify that individual, he gave him the title of lord deputy, as if he meant only to honour him by the change. The army there having been new-modelled, the

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 291 *et seq.*; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 124 *et seq.*; *Ludlow*, vol. ii. p. 497 *et seq.*; *Whitelocke*, p. 518 *et seq.*; *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 461 *et seq.*

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island was secured for the protector. In the commission sent to Fleetwood, those who were formerly called commissioners were now only styled councillors.*

Scotland.

In the United Provinces, the Orange party, who perceived that the state of Holland would, by the depression of the prince, obtain the pre-eminence over the others, as the republican party was chiefly strong there, for some time obstructed the signing of the articles of the peace with England; † and, before it was finally concluded, the exiled king obtained assistance to his party in the Highlands of Scotland. Seventeen Dutch ships carried thither 1500 foot, 200 horse, and a large supply of arms; and General Middleton, having arrived with still more supplies, was soon at the head of an army of 5000 men. Monk, Cromwell knew to be an individual who would unscrupulously serve him as long as it should be for his interest; and, availing himself of the present juncture as a pretext for giving him the command, he sent him again to Scotland, that he might control the other officers, rather than from any apprehension which he entertained of the insurgents, who, he was well aware, could be easily suppressed. Monk successfully pursued Middleton into the Highlands, and utterly dissipated his forces; Middleton himself escaped with difficulty, and the principal insurgents submitted to the government. The protector was then proclaimed; and while the union of the two nations was continued, the government of Scotland was committed to a council, chiefly English. The chief judicature was committed to seven judges, of whom four were English. Justices of the peace were also established, and vassalage abolished. The proportion of the public burdens payable by Scotland was likewise settled. Monk, besides being made commander-in-chief, was appointed one of the commissioners for civil affairs.‡ While, however, Cromwell

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 503 *et seq.*

† Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 28 *et seq.* The state of Holland

had resolved to act separately, if the others did not comply.

‡ Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 504 *et seq.* ;

apparently placed such confidence in that individual, he had too much knowledge of character not to send others of a different description, who might control his actions in that country; men who, though hostile to himself, abhorred still more the restoration of the Stuarts, and whom it was thought expedient to remove from England. Colonel Adrian Scroop, a steady republican, and Colonel Wheathem, were joined with him in the commission. A remark by the latter, in regard to a purpose of making Cromwell king, having been reported, taught the usurper that Wheathem was sufficiently long in England: he had exclaimed with the prophet, 'Hast thou killed and also taken possession?' Lord Broghill was made president of the council, with a salary of 2000*l.* a-year, and a promise of continuing the salary for life, while his services should be dispensed with in a twelvemonth.

Low as was Scotland reduced in point of power, the clergy still maintained their principles. Cromwell ordered a fast; but they, denying the authority of any temporal power to ordain fasts, refused compliance, and appointed fasts of themselves, while they exhorted the people to seek the Lord to preserve the ministry amongst them, to forget the offences of the house of Stuart, and to turn from his people the sad effects of a late eclipse.

While Cromwell was thus using all means to consolidate his power, and paving the way for a diadem, he had nearly fallen a sacrifice to a love of distinction in trifles. By all the foreign states to which he had sent his ambassadors, he had been courted; and amongst their presents to him, were six grey Friezland coach-horses. With these in his coach, attended only by Secretary Thurloe and by his guards, who were now, by his enemies, called his Janizaries, he took an airing in Hyde Park; and, 'not doubting,' in the sarcastic language of Ludlow, 'that three

Nichol's *Diary*, MS.; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 52 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 563 *et seq.* The reader may find much about Middleton, &c., in Thurloe's, and also in Clarendon's, *State Papers*.

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pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were driven by him,' he displaced the coachman and took the reins himself; but, with his accustomed impetuosity, he lashed the horses furiously on, when they, unused to so rough a driver, became perfectly unmanageable, in spite of all the efforts of the postilion to restrain them, and, breaking off at full speed, overturned the carriage. His foot having been entangled in the tackling, he was dragged a considerable distance, and, from the concussion, a pistol in his pocket went off; yet his general good fortune did not desert him here, as he sustained no serious injury from the accident. The event gave rise to much conversation, and many jests at his expense, for having thus, at his years, attempted for the first time to drive four-in-hand. The anecdote is, however, chiefly valuable as illustrative of his character. Distinction in small affairs, as well as in the highest dreams of ambition, was eagerly sought by him. Following out the characteristic humour of England, he excelled in what to our apprehension would be deemed buffoonery: extemporary verses with men of wit he fondly indulged in, and now he must perform the part of a coach-driver.*

Exploits of
Blake in
the Medi-
terranean.

Raised himself by the times, he partook, in an eminent degree, of the vigour inspired by them, while every department was in some measure still filled with kindred genius. At the head of affairs he obtained the credit of the general measures of the administration, and his name daily became, if possible, more respectable in the eyes of Europe. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had harboured Prince Rupert's ships, and injured the British commerce; but Blake, having been dispatched into the Mediterranean, not only procured satisfaction, but rendered the English name terrible in all that sea. After having mastered the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he determined on curbing the

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 652-3; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 508; Whitelocke, p. 656, about Cromwell's making verses.

lawless power of the piratical states of Barbary, from which the British commerce was, during the late reign, so much annoyed, and had not become quite secure. Sailing to Algiers, he compelled the Dey to enter into a peace, upon condition of freeing all the English captives, and solemnly engaging to abstain from all further violence. From Algiers he proceeded to Tunis, and demanded restitution of an English ship with its crew. The place, however, being deemed impregnable, the Bey not only refused compliance, but insultingly bade the English commander look to his forts of Porto Farino and Goletto. In spite of the supposed impossibility of the achievement, Blake determined to undertake it. Sailing, therefore, to a little distance, to mislead the Bey into the idea that he had retired from the conviction of the impracticability of reducing the place, he returned in a few days, and, with the loss of only about twenty of his men, he battered down the forts, and burned every ship in the harbour. This intrepid action, which filled the whole of Europe with amazement, compelled the Bey to submit to his demands. The governor of Tripoli concluded a peace; and the Grand Signior himself was disposed to court the alliance of England.*

While the external success of England reflecting upon the protector, at least preserved his high character abroad, his enemies increased at home; and the confirmation of his power at this juncture may not be improperly ascribed, chiefly, to an injudicious insurrection of the Royalists. That party, corresponding with the exiled monarch, exaggerated each his own power and resources, till they flattered themselves that both were in some measure commensurate with their wishes. Many of the popular party, disgusted at the usurpation, began to express themselves as not even hostile to the restoration of the Stuarts on proper conditions; and a few imagined that

Insurrec-
tion.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 178 *et seq.*; Blake; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 321, 326, 390.

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if the Royalists were to rise and make some head, they should themselves, when the protector's power was assailed by both parties at once, be enabled to take the lead, and, overturning him, again re-establish a republic. Of these, some therefore began to hold a correspondence with the Royalists for an insurrection; and the latter eagerly encouraged them, trusting that they might prove useful auxiliaries, and yet be cast off in the hour of triumph. With this view, Major Wildman, and a small party who, as strenuous Republicans, were branded by the protector with the name of Levellers, had engaged to rise, while the Royalists had concerted to begin the insurrection in various quarters at once. Cromwell, however, was apprised of the whole conspiracy; and his measures to meet it were full of the vigour and decision for which he was so remarkable. Wildman and his friends were apprehended; and the principal rising, under the direction of Sir George Penruddock, Sir Joseph Wagstaff, and More, was so insignificant, that they never mustered 400 men. The leaders having, with about 200, entered Salisbury, seized the sheriff and the judges then on the circuit, when Wagstaff proposed immediately to hang them; but, fortunately for the memory of the rest, and doubtless, too, for the royal cause, as such a measure would have excited universal execration, they opposed the detestable purpose. The sheriff, however, was threatened with the loss of life unless he proclaimed Charles II.; but, though fully sensible of his situation, he refused to comply. Before this party had amounted to 400 it was put down. The majority were seized, and Penruddock and some others suffered capitally, while the privates were transported to Barbadoes. Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir T. Maleverer were seized in Yorkshire, and others elsewhere.*

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 41 *et seq.*, 134 *et seq.*, 137 *et seq.* This noble author censures Penruddock's tender-heartedness in not at once hanging up the judges. That valiant cavalier, for-

tunately for his own memory, wanted the civilian's cold-blooded cruelty. See also vol. v. p. 187, among other passages, for another proof of Clarendon's disposition. Yet this same

Nothing could have proved more fortunate for Cromwell. Though Wildman and some other popular men were carried away by the idea that an insurrection by the Royalists would, by counterpoising the protector's power, enable the republicans to regain the ascendancy, the great body, including those inclined to a limited monarchy, were fully aware of the danger of allowing the Cavaliers to assemble an armed force. The usurpation might terminate, and different measures be pursued; but terrible would be the result of permitting the Royalists to restore the Stuarts, and engross the power of the state. All the other parties, then, Presbyterian and Independent, rallied in general round the present government, under an apprehension of a worse; and Cromwell was enabled to fall upon a most extraordinary device for at once quelling the Royalists, gratifying the other parties, and filling his own coffers. He divided England into twelve districts, over each of which he appointed a major-general, with power to keep the district in order, while he subjected each of the Royalists who had ever borne arms for the king to a fine of the tenth part of his estate. He prohibited them, too,—for the unquietness of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they administered, an act, certainly, of tyranny and injustice, though endless were their plots,—the use of arms, and even published an interdict against their employing, as chaplains or schoolmasters in their families, such of the clergy as had been ejected for scandalous lives. Such conduct was worthy of a usurper. Some of the major-generals were guilty of a gross abuse of power; and, as

Appoint-
ment of
the major-
generals to
govern dis-
tricts.

historian tells us, that Rolls, the chief-justice, whom he would have hanged, was turned out of his place for refusing to officiate against Penruddock; but he would ascribe his conduct to the fear inspired by the affair at Salisbury—as if a coward were not always cruel when he had the power (p. 559). Rolls' reason

for refusing was, that he might not be thought to act out of personal resentment (Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 575). Similar regret at the absence of cruelty not unfrequently stains the pages of the noble historian (Whitelocke, p. 618 *et seq.*: Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 147 *et seq.*, 237, 248, 263, 384, 394, &c.).

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we shall find in the sequel, it was not long ere Cromwell was most anxious for the recall of authority from men who, while they alienated the affections of the people by their illegal and rapacious proceedings, became formidable to himself.*

The exiled family and their advisers had relied much on this insurrection, and proportional was their mortification, not only at its suppression, but, at what was far more blasting to their hopes, the insignificance of the number that had appeared in arms. The French court had entered into an alliance with the protector, by which it had engaged not to afford the Stuarts an asylum in France. Charles II. had therefore fixed his residence at Cologne; but, immediately previous to the late insurrection, he went to Zealand, where he lay concealed, to be in readiness to pass into England on any prospect of success. On the issue of the affair he returned to Cologne.†

Alliance
with
France,
and war
with Spain.

The alliance which Cromwell formed with France, and a war that he entered into with Spain, having been generally condemned by historians, as impolitic, since it was calculated to give too great a preponderance to France, it will be necessary in this place to enter into a particular relation of those affairs.

The war that, with such a loss of human blood, had raged in Germany for upwards of thirty years, was, in 1648, terminated by the peace of Westphalia, by which the Lower Palatinate was restored to the elector, and the Protestant faith secured in several principalities. Though, however, the whole empire was again nominally united, it was too much divided in interest, as well as split into separate states, to make any great exertion; whence that branch of the house of Austria, though apparently power-

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 519; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 160 *et seq.*; *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 436 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 634. Yet Cromwell continued liberal to some of the episcopal clergy, and even gave 200*l.* to defray

the expense of Archbishop Usher's funeral in Westminster Abbey (see Bates, p. 300).

† *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 49 *et seq.*, 80 *et seq.*, 95 *et seq.*, 135, 148 *et seq.*; *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 370 *et seq.*

ful, had little inherent strength; but the Spanish branch was in a still worse condition. Catalonia had revolted, as well as Portugal, and sought the protection of France; while the Low Countries were invaded by a superior force. The once formidable house of Austria, therefore, was no longer in a condition to menace the rest of Europe. On the other hand, we are extremely apt to overlook the relative situation of France, in consequence of its subsequent exaltation. Under Henry IV. she had made great exertions; but her powers seemed to be withered by his death, while the Huguenots maintained an empire within an empire. To overcome that body was the obvious policy of the French court, and it was steadily pursued by Richelieu and his successors, who kept little faith with that unfortunate party. As the Huguenots were depressed, men saw clearly that France would soon become perhaps no less formidable than the house of Austria had formerly been; and the danger apprehended from that source, as well as from the intrigues with the English court during the civil wars, had raised up a spirit of hostility against the nation: but then came the civil convulsions of France—convulsions undignified even by the pretext of public liberty; and these displayed internal imbecility. What course they might take, it was not easy to predict; and mankind in general could not foresee the eminence which France would attain in the maturer years of Louis XIV.; a fact the less strange, as it would appear that such was the state of the finances at that monarch's death, as to infer the most serious apprehensions of a convulsion. It would not be wonderful, therefore, if Cromwell really believed the house of Austria to be formidable; but he had other motives for joining with France against Spain. England had no cause to apprehend danger from any foreign power when her navy carried terror to every shore. The protector, however, had reason to dread the Royalists, if supported with foreign aid, and was naturally apprehen-

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sive of a co-operation between them and France. But, to please him, the French court refused the exiled family even an asylum in their territory; while Spain, though it had received ambassadors both from the parliament and the protector, had zealously countenanced the Stuarts. Cromwell's situation required of him to dazzle the public eye by brilliant exploits, and to keep the soldiery employed, both to prevent the consequences of their discontent at home, and to afford a pretext for raising a fresh body, which he might, as less obliged to them, assume greater authority over, and model on principles more consonant to the usurpation. The neighbourhood of France rendered it formidable in any conjunction with the Cavaliers; but, besides the distance of Spain, there was another reason for apprehending less danger from her. The only party in the British empire attached to the Spaniards were the Papists; and it was of importance to Cromwell to force the exiled family into a union with that court, as the measure seemed to evince to Englishmen by what religious feelings they were actuated. He had, however, another grand object—to obtain possession of Dunkirk and the Spanish West India colonies. A squadron was fitted out to subdue the Spanish force in the latter.*

Expedition
to the
West
Indies;
failure in
Hispani-
ola, and
taking of
Jamaica.

Having taken his measures, and formed his alliance, he sent to the West India islands a squadron under the command of Penn, Venables carrying a considerable land force. Hispaniola, now, from the name of the capital, called St. Domingo, was, as the largest of the islands, the object of his ambition. The squadron accordingly directed itself thither; but, great as had been the ability shown by the commanders at sea, they did not display much talent on land. The conduct of the soldiers was on this occasion entrusted to Venables, between whom and Penn a misunderstanding existed. The troops were

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 579 *et seq.*; *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.* par Voltaire, ch. v.

ill provided, and he, landing at an improper place, and destitute of guides, marched his small army in a rude country, under an arid sun, and without provisions, or even water, while they were exposed to an ambuscade from the Spaniards. They reached St. Domingo, however; but, having been decoyed into a defile, they found it necessary to desist from the enterprise, and, exhausted by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, to retreat with loss to their ships. From Hispaniola they directed themselves to Jamaica, which surrendered without a struggle, but never was regarded by the protector as a compensation for the loss of the larger island; and deeply did he resent the mismanagement of the expedition.*

The Spaniards were dreadfully alarmed at these proceedings, which came unexpectedly upon them, though they complained with little justice of a breach of treaty, considering the perfidious part they had acted in regard to Ireland. They immediately declared war, and seized all the ships and goods belonging to the English, while they were so fortunate as to secure a rich fleet from Blake. This war, as it multiplied the necessities of Cromwell, seemed to afford a fit opportunity for calling a parliament, he conceiving that the people would be inclined to support him against a foreign enemy, and that, in doing so, they would confirm his power.†

Stable as seemed his authority when viewed at a distance, he was fully sensible of the faithless basis on which his power rested. With the alienation of the Republicans, he lost that very character of popularity which had raised him; and he could not be ignorant that, though by balancing interests he had hitherto sustained himself, it was impossible for him to act against the united wishes of

State of the
nation.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 172 *et seq.*; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 504 *et seq.*; Carte's *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 46 *et seq.*; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 386 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 621 *et seq.*

† Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 352 *et seq.*, for a proof of the respect paid to Cromwell at the French court, &c., and the confirmation of the facts in the text; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 44 *et seq.*

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the nation ; but the clashing interests were, in the progress of time, likely to be subordinate to the desire of overturning him, and then certain was his destruction. The soldiery might be suppressed by the nation, and could not even be depended on ; for though in the bustle of action they might adhere to their general, it could not be expected that in peace they could remain unaffected by the common sentiments of the people at large ; while, if they did render themselves mere tools for the support of an individual, they would excite universal execration against themselves, which they would endeavour to compensate by demanding a share of the protector's power, and, scorning subordination, would ultimately fall into a licentiousness fatal to them all. The major-generals whom he had appointed over the twelve districts, deeming it absurd to exercise illegal authority merely for the behoof of another, became so formidable to their employer, that he was no less anxious than any of the people to have them recalled. As he durst not of himself, however, enter on the invidious task, he required a parliament to perform it for him, and yet knew that he could not arrest that assembly at any definite line. His coffers, too, were empty ; and a plan which he had formed, to grant, for a sum of money, an asylum in England to the foreign Jews, with a toleration of their religion, had been so abhorrent to the principles of the majority of the clergy and the religious feelings of the nation, that he was obliged to abandon it.*

Third par-
liament.

Such was his situation when he found it necessary to convene a parliament : but as a free assembly could not be trusted, he was obliged to have recourse to all undue means to carry elections ; and such a complicated game was he constrained to play, that, though one main object of the parliament was to reduce the major-generals, he was obliged to employ them to exert all their influence to

* Whitelocke, p. 631 ; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 308, 321 ; Orme's *Life of Dr. Owen*, pp. 159-60.

have fit instruments, under the name of representatives, sent to Westminster. Even these unwarrantable measures failed; and he fell upon a new device, which struck at the very basis of freedom in that assembly. According to the pretensions of James, he, alleging that the writs being issued by chancery, and returnable to it, could only be judged of by that court, issued an order that none but such as carried a ticket from it, authorising his seat, should be admitted to the House; and about a hundred were in this way rejected before the meeting.*

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On the 17th of September, 1656, the assembly met, and chose Sir Thomas Witherington as their Speaker; but the excluded members having complained to the House, the clerk of chancery was ordered to attend and give an explanation of the proceeding in regard to them. The clerk justified himself by the order of the council; and the councillors having been summoned to answer for their conduct, they alleged that, as, by a clause in the instrument of government, none were to be allowed to serve in parliament but persons of known integrity, who feared God and were of good conversation, they had discharged their duty in refusing to approve of those who did not appear to answer the description; but that they had merely disapproved of them, and his highness had excluded them. Considering how that assembly had been packed, it is not wonderful that, in the absence of the hundred already excluded, a majority should have been found to pass a resolution referring the case of the excluded members to the council; but it affords a noble proof of the spirit of Englishmen, that even this measure was only carried by a majority. The trial of strength was not, indeed, literally upon the resolution, but it was so in reality. The minority moved for an adjournment of the

Meets,
Sept. 17,
1656.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 556 *et seq.*; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 424-453. The French ambassador, in a letter to Cardinal Mazarin

dated the 28th September, calls the number of the excluded members 160; but I presume he includes those who seceded from the throne.

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debate ; and when this motion was lost, sixty members instantly absented themselves, and joined those who had been excluded. The excluded published a remonstrance against the present arbitrary government, and a protestation against the illegal assembly at Westminster.*

After these purgations, the House was calculated for the business in hand. It passed a fresh Act against the title of the exiled family, and another agreeable to Cromwell's ordinance, which made it high treason to attempt his life ; while they unanimously resolved that the war with Spain had been undertaken on just and necessary grounds, and that they would support his highness in the prosecution of hostilities. On a motion, too, by his nephew Henry, and his son-in-law Claypole, the power of the major-generals was annihilated. There was still, however, one step to be attained, which he flattered himself would cover his usurpation, and secure him and his family. Could he once reach the title of king, he had fondly imagined that the various parties, excepting those of the Royalists, who, having already so severely suffered, founded all their hopes on the restoration of the Stuarts, would submit to his authority ; that matters having been thrown out of their usual channel by the attempt of the late king to overturn the constitution, and the exiled family having rendered themselves obnoxious by following their father's footsteps against the rights and lives of Englishmen, the people would readily submit to a restoration of the old constitution under a new family, which, as it owed its power to public opinion, would be obliged to govern according to the national sentiment. In this view, however, it soon appeared that he was grossly deceived. Colonel Jephson, one of his creatures, first sounded the House ; and then Alderman Paek, another of his creatures, presented a new instrument of government, by which the

Major-generals reduced.

Humble petition and advice.

* *Journals* for 18th to 22nd Sept. ; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 1 *et seq.* ; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1478 *et seq.* ; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 427, 436, 477.

chief magistrate was to be invested with all the royal prerogatives. A blank was indeed left for the title of the chief magistrate, but men easily perceived that that of king was intended; and such was the temper of the nation, that even this packed assembly was at first so enraged at the proposal, that Pack was borne down tumultuously to the bar. This storm of resentment, however, having subsided, the majority, who were mere tools, entertained the motion. But other enemies arose: the major-generals, who resented their own loss of power, declaimed against conferring new honour on Cromwell, and were particularly enraged at the idea of perpetuating the authority in his family. Many other officers, even Lambert and Fleetwood, who had been so instrumental in raising him, joined them: the first had expected to be his successor, and naturally felt indignant at a measure which blasted all his hopes. The majority in the parliament, however, were disposed to humour Cromwell, and Lord Broghill, with some of the great lawyers, as Glym, keenly supported the measure. The instrument of government, therefore, called the 'humble petition and advice,' was assented to with little alteration. The title had yet been left blank; and a second question arose on that head, when it was carried by the majority in favour of that of king.

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Intention
to make
Cromwell
king.

When the offer of a diadem was made to Cromwell, he had too much policy to appear willing to accept of it, and he therefore pretended many scruples. But, in the meantime, he laboured to no purpose to prevail with Lambert, Fleetwood, and the other chief officers, to support him in his pretensions. As he affected to refuse the crown, however, a committee was appointed to remove his scruples, and the lawyers, as best qualified for the office, were the individuals on whom the duty of convincing him was chiefly devolved. They argued that the nation, having been for so many centuries under monarchical government, could not easily accommodate itself to the form of

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a republic : that it had, indeed, been necessary to oppose the unhallowed pretensions of the exiled family, and banish them as unworthy of the throne ; but that there thence arose no reason for departing entirely from that constitution under which, for so long a period, the people had enjoyed many invaluable privileges : that a restoration of monarchy appeared the most advisable way to compose the differences in the community, and to secure the general rights of the citizen ; and that, as the only question which remained regarded the person, there could be little difficulty in the choice. Cromwell was fully aware of the advantages which seemed feasibly to flow from the arrangement ; but he was also alive to the danger, and he wanted further time to sound and gain instruments. If he accepted of the proffered crown, or evinced unequivocally a desire of it, a powerful party, which he depended on, at once fell off ; if he decidedly refused, he might be, by the same men, taken at his word. In this predicament, where he was obliged to speak, and yet durst not commit himself either way by words, the speech he uttered is in a manner unintelligible : but though it was his object not to be understood, it was easy to discover his meaning, and many took the alarm ; while Desborough, and his son-in-law Fleetwood, endeavoured to rouse his fears by assuring him that the tender of a crown, as it was an event desirable by the exiled family, so it was probably in a part contrived by them to ensnare him to his ruin. Cromwell pretended to droll with them, as if he were only anxious to gratify others, and not himself. ‘It is but a feather in a man’s cap,’ said he, ‘and let them enjoy their rattle.’ The officers, perceiving that he was bent on the measure, took a more decided step. They, in the name of the military, presented to the House a petition, in which they set forth that they had hazarded their lives in fighting against monarchy, and were still ready to expose them for the public liberty ; that in spite, however, of all that had been done, they had lately ob-

served some men anxious to restore the old servitude, by urging their general to assume both the government and title of king; and that, as this course was equally fraught with his own ruin and that of the supporters of public freedom, they prayed the House to discountenance all such measures, and the authors of them, as prejudicial to that cause for which they had undergone such danger, and were still willing to hazard their lives. The petition appalled the usurper, and he instantly sent for his son-in-law Fleetwood, whose opposition on this head was decided, and affected to expostulate with him for allowing such a petition to be presented, when he knew his previous determination to do nothing without the consent of the army; begging, at the same time, that he would use his influence to prevent the petition from becoming a topic of debate. This being exactly what the other wanted, he forthwith went to the House, and informed them that, as they waited for the protector's answer to their message, there was no occasion to take the petition yet into consideration. A message from Cromwell opportunely followed this, desiring the House to meet him at Whitehall, where he quieted men's fears on that ground by declining the crown with every show of humility.

Though foiled in regard to the title, he obtained the power of king, yet not without great opposition, particularly from Lambert and Sydney. According to the new settlement, the legislative power was vested in the parliament, and the power of excluding any member withdrawn from the protector; but a revenue of 60,000*l.* a month, for three months, was voted for the expense of the government; and he was authorised to establish an Upper House of Parliament, on the same principles with that abolished, as well as to nominate his own successor. According to this new instrument of government, he was, in Westminster Hall, inaugurated in the most pompous manner, when the parliament was for a season adjourned.

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Cromwell
refuses the
crown.

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New
House of
Lords.

During the adjournment, he, in monarchical style, issued out writs for the Upper House ; but he was much embarrassed in his choice. On the one hand, it was necessary to have men who, as devoted to him, could promote his views ; and, on the other, his only chance of securing the good-will of those who carried weight with them in the Lower House was by flattering their vanity by the distinction of sitting in the Upper, and then he lost their services where they were most required. Seventy writs only were issued, for he durst not send more ; and of those called, eight (the Earls of Manchester, Mulgrave, and Warwick ; Lord Say and Seal, Tewkesbury, Wharton, Howard, and Sir Arthur Hazlerig) refused to attend ; but the most serious injury which he sustained was in the loss of the chief members, whom he had necessarily withdrawn from the Lower House.

When the parliament reassembled, the excluded members, availing themselves of a clause in the instrument of government against the protector's assumed right of excluding any representative of the people, took their seats, and expelled some who had been unjustly admitted : and now were a great majority, composed of talent and resolution, arrayed against the usurper. They brought into question the late settlement, as the work of a mutilated assembly under force, and at once declared directly against the lawfulness of the Upper House. In vain did he tell them that they should regard the Upper House as a branch of the legislature, and give it the denomination of a House of Peers : they treated his remonstrances with scorn, while a petition was carried through the City for parliament to resume the power of the sword. The timid were backward in signing the petition, from a dread of the soldiery ; but, as they were assured that the military were similarly disposed, they every day became more decided. Many plots were at this time formed against the protector. Harrison was busy, and the Royalists caballed. The Republicans could not properly act

with the latter; but, as they did not apprehend much danger from them, they were willing that they should gather such strength as to form such a counterpoise to Cromwell as might afford themselves an opportunity to assert their own cause. But the Cavaliers were, by habits of intemperance, partly the result of hope deferred, unfitted for any undertaking of importance; and their silly cabals, formed in taverns, and while they were under intoxication, being regularly announced to the executive, were easily crushed, and only served to strengthen it.

There was now a party ready to recall the Stuarts on terms, and prepared to act on certain conditions with the Royalists; and it is singular that these were designated Levellers. Sir Harry Vane had been imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle for writing against the usurpation, and had only been liberated to be exposed to another mode of oppression—that of having his title to part of his estate called in question—for the purpose of forcing him to compliance with the new system; but his active mind was still busied in the public cause. Martin, Sydney, and others, assisted by Harrington and the like, were intent on planning a form of commonwealth which should be calculated to collect the voice of the people, and yet control the power of magistrates; and it is even said that some individuals had conspired to assassinate the protector. His very guards were suspected, and he secretly kept watch himself. Such were the parties against him; and the Commons in Parliament, who were violent against the Upper House, would most probably have proceeded further against the usurpation, had not he prevented them by a hasty dissolution.*

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 1 *et seq.*; *Cobb. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 147 *et seq.*; *Ludlow*, vol. ii. p. 576 *et seq.*; *Hutchinson*, vol. ii. p. 281; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 191 *et seq.*, 288 *et seq.*; *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. v. p. 311, vol. vii. p. 269; *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 480 *et seq.*; *Journals*; *Whitelocke*, p. 650

et seq. It was during the first session of this parliament that the case of James Naylor, the fanatic Quaker, occurred, and was taken up by the House. *Whitelocke* informs us that he was thought by many to be too severely prosecuted by some rigid men. There might be, however, this excuse for

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Parliament
dissolved,
Feb. 4,
1658.

Some of his friends, as Whitelocke and Fleetwood, strenuously dissuaded him from this purpose, reminding him that the late monarch had owed his fate to frequent breaches with parliament: but he had probably himself formed the justest estimate of his own situation. When, therefore, Fleetwood conjured him not to adopt that measure, he swore by the living God that they should sit no longer—language similar to that used by the late king at the beginning of his reign, and a melancholy proof of the proneness of men enamoured of unjust power to fall into the same language. On dissolving the assembly, he loaded it with the imputation of promoting the interests of Charles Stuart against the settlement of the Commonwealth, and often appealed to God for the purity of his motives.

State of
the nation
and of the
Protector.

The dissolution occurred on the 4th of February, 1658; and, as he died on the 3rd of September following, it happened just seven months before his death. Thus, to the credit of England, though the usurpation continued only five years, the usurper was obliged to call three successive assemblies—which, considering the mode of election, it was a prostitution of the word to call parliaments—and yet he had not been able to prevail with one of these to sanction his assumed power. He, however, aimed only at establishing himself and his family in regal authority according to constitutional principles; and, except under the Commonwealth, the general laws in civil affairs had not, in the memory of man, been so

them—that their adversaries were ever ready to dwell on any extravagance of a fanatic, to bring odium on their whole proceedings, and to predict a universal inundation of schism, blasphemy, &c. &c., from the principles of toleration. It has been remarked, that had Mr. Hume seen some of the accounts of this singular being, he might have enriched his ludicrous description. In some respects, however, he is mis-

taken. Naylor did not believe himself to be Christ, but imagined that Christ moved him to what he said or did. He was a man of some education, but never had followers, except amongst a small portion of the lowest and most illiterate of the people. (See his case in Howell's *State Trials*, in Savil's *Hist. of the Quakers*, and in Neal's *Hist. of the Pur.*, and in Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*.)

equitably administered. The usurpation was in itself illegal; but Cromwell owed his continuance so long in power, not so much to the stern instrument of an army, as to the disunion of parties, and his dexterity in balancing them against each other; to the equal administration of the laws, to which the people were indebted for greater security in their persons and property than under the Stuarts; and to his having overreached even wise men, in regard to his purpose of assisting them in the constitution of a better government.* All his expedients, however, were now nearly exhausted, and it is not improbable that, had his life been prolonged, he would have seen himself reduced from all his grandeur. Some eminent individuals had even refused to pay customs, and sued the collectors at common law for taking their goods in default of payment. Some of the judges were iniquitously displaced for deciding according to law; but though St. John, who had entwined his interest with the protector's, decided against the prosecutors, the public spirit, far from being subdued, daily rose higher, and all men were fully persuaded that the protector could not govern without parliaments. Fully aware of this, some of those who had been excluded in the late elections determined to prosecute the sheriffs for corruption; and one staunch republican, Henry Nevil, raised his action against the sheriff of Berkshire. When the trial came on, Nevil, who had employed some of the most eminent counsel as Serjeant Maynard, (they were not afraid to plead a cause against the existing authority, †) judiciously summoned some of the most eminent assertors of public liberty to attend the trial. The cause came before Chief-Justice St. John, and every objection that could be devised was started against the action; but they were all overruled, and the cause brought before a jury. The evidence having

* Bates, p. 292 *et seq.*

ing against Cromwell's usurped powers.

† Maynard and some others had, however, been imprisoned for plead-

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been adduced, the chief justice, in his address to the jury, expatiated on the heinousness of the offence in a sheriff, the servant of his country, to presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased, to represent the people in parliament, the bulwark of public liberty; remarking that, if such practices prevailed, the people would be deprived of the hope of relief from grievances. The jury brought in a verdict of fifteen hundred pounds damages, and a hundred pounds fine to the Commonwealth. An arrest of judgment was, however, afterwards granted till the next term; and, in the meantime, every art was used to prevail upon Nevil to abandon his action: but he remained inflexible; and the sheriff, to save his property, availed himself of the time granted by the arrest to convey it out of the country. Nevil, however, had the judgment recorded as an example, and resolved to prosecute for the damage in every possible shape.*

Such was the state of the public mind in general: but even the military were not to be trusted; and his removing experienced officers and soldiers for others who, as not having felt their strength, were less formidable, only tended to diffuse throughout the country a body of men who, conscious of their aptitude for war, and consequently intrepid, were not only bolder in expressing their sentiments, but ready to join in measures against the power which offended them. Lambert was forced to retire on a pension of 2000*l.* a year. Even Cromwell's own regiment evinced a spirit that brought home to his bosom the instability of his fortune. Immediately after the dissolution of the late parliament, he summoned the officers before him, and demanded of them whether they would promise fidelity to the present government, and fight against its adversaries: they answered, that they would fight against Charles Stuart and that interest; but that they would not engage to fight against they knew

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 600 *et seq.*

not whom, and for they knew not what. In consequence of this answer, he new-modelled the regiment. ‘By this and other means,’ says Ludlow, ‘he lost the affections of great numbers of men that would have been useful and faithful to him against the family of the late king.*’

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New dangers also arose: a body of what were called Fifth-Monarchy men, to the number of about three hundred, raised a standard against him, with a lion couchant, and a motto, ‘Who shall rouse him?’ Such a petty insurrection, composed of tradesmen, was, however, only indicative of the general spirit of disaffection. They were apprehended and confined for a considerable time. A party of Commonwealth’s men in London were also seized by the mayor’s officers; but little could be proved against them, except the use of secret associations to deplore the apostacy of the times, particularly at Whitehall. Amongst these was a Cornet Day, who was accused of having called Cromwell a rogue and a traitor. The prisoner, far from denying, boldly acknowledged the words, and offered to prove, in his vindication, that he acted by the authority of the protector himself, as his highness had declared that, should he oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away titles, they should have liberty to call him by these opprobrious epithets. The cornet desired to adduce witnesses to prove the fact; but he and his associates were fined and imprisoned for their alleged misdemeanour. There had been another plot by some Royalists, who were accused of a purpose to levy war against the government, to fire the City, and raise their adherents during the confusion, and to debauch the garrison at Hull by commissions from Charles Stuart. The ringleaders—Dr. Huet, Mr. Mordaunt, and Sir Henry Slingsby—were tried by a high commission authorised by the late parliament. Huet, insisting on a trial by jury, refused to plead, and was held as confessed; Mordaunt

Conspiracies.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 603 *et seq.*

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pleaded, and was acquitted by a casting voice; Sir Henry Slingsby was tried and condemned. The fate of the latter was lamented even by the Republicans, who held that, as he was confined at the time, and a declared enemy to government, he ought not to have suffered for treason hatched in prison. It was further alleged, that the very persons whom he was accused of attempting to corrupt, had trepanned him, by a promise to render Hull to the exiled king, provided Slingsby could procure a commission in his majesty's name, and that the one issued was an old one that had lain long about him. On these grounds, though they could not be maintained in a court of law, it was thought that his life ought, in equity, to have been saved. But, in vindication of Cromwell, it may be argued that he could have been condemned for the former insurrection. Both he and Huet were beheaded. It is said that Cromwell's daughter, Mrs. Claypole, pleaded earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Huet, and that his inexorableness on the occasion hastened her dissolution, which occurred soon afterwards. Some of the meaner conspirators were hanged.*

Cromwell still continued his system of courting and balancing the different parties. Some of the Presbyterians he gratified with favours, and to some of the old nobility he zealously applied himself. The Earl of Warwick's grandson was admitted a suitor to his youngest daughter; but the alliance not being agreeable to some of the persons about the court, was interdicted by the protector. As, however, it was equally desired by him, the earl, and the young couple, Sir Edward Sydenham removed every difficulty by a clandestine marriage. For this he was

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 604 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 238 *et seq.* to 253; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 781, vi. p. 13 *et seq.*, vii. p. 3 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 673. This story, in regard to Mrs. Claypole, is denied on

pretty plausible grounds by Mr. Cromwell, in his *Memoirs of the Protector*. Whitelocke tells us that Huet behaved very imprudently at the trial.

forbid the court; but the service was too acceptable to admit of a lasting difference.*

Affairs in Ireland were not in a more prosperous condition for him, the army being as averse to his becoming king as their companions in arms at home. His son Henry, therefore, who had formerly courted the Sectarian party, now endeavoured to gain the Presbyterians. When, however, he desired them to join in an address to his father, to stand by and defend him against his enemies, they remarked that, if they knew who were meant by his enemies, they would return an answer; but, as they knew neither who were his enemies nor the principle on which he wished to engage them, they could not consent to his proposal. Considering the small dependence that is to be placed on adulatory addresses, such language was truly alarming.† The common council of London, however, in their addresses, gratified Cromwell to his utmost wishes, and they continued the same style of adulation to his son. When the Restoration took place, they addressed similar language to Charles II., denouncing as villany and rebellion all that had been done from the first meeting of the Long Parliament. Many causes contributed to bring about a change in public opinion, but the fact also proves that Cromwell and his successors had been expert in taking advantage of some defect in the constitution of the common council.

The Protector was no less attentive to secure the fleet; and, aware of the unshaken firmness of Blake's republican principles, he was anxious to diminish his influence, or even supersede him. For this purpose Colonels Montague and Desborough were joined in the new commission. The appointment of the latter was nominal, as he continued at home one of the commissioners for the navy. But Montague was sent to sea, and, as he was entirely subservient to the Protector, men perceived that the object was to

Blake's
exploits,
death, and
funeral.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 603-4.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 602.

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balance the interest of Blake in the affections of the sailors. The death of that naval hero quieted the Protector's fears; and, says Ludlow sarcastically, 'the loss of that great man was lamented by Cromwell much in the same manner as that of Ireton and General Dean had been.'* This mention of Blake leads us to the recital of the last exploits of his life.

Having visited the coast of Portugal to water and victual his fleet, he heard of a rich Spanish fleet being on a homeward voyage, and he sailed to the Canaries to intercept it. The Spaniards took refuge in the bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. The bay was protected by a strong castle and seven forts, united by a land communication; and as the Spanish admiral sent the smaller vessels directly under the forts, drew along the mouth of the harbour a strong boom, and placed six galleons in readiness to pour a broadside on the assailants, the situation was deemed perfectly secure. But Blake was not to be intimidated. With one squadron he himself attacked the galleons, while Stayner, with lighter vessels, entered the harbour. The Spanish ships were burned, the batteries silenced, and, the wind proving favourable, the English came off with the loss of only forty-eight lives. It was on this occasion that the remark was made, that the English were devils, not men. This was the last exploit of Blake, who on the course of his voyage home died. To illustrate his character, we shall here relate a circumstance which occurred on the Spanish coast anterior to the war. Some of the sailors having gone ashore at Malaga, had, with the thoughtlessness peculiar to their class, laughed at the veneration paid to the Host, when the multitude, instigated by one of the priests, fell upon them and beat them severely. On their return to the ship, they immediately complained to their admiral, who demanded reparation of the viceroy. He answered, that he had no power over the priests. Blake replied, that he

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 603.

would not trouble himself with inquiries on that subject, but intimated to him, as the temporal authority, that if satisfaction were not instantly made, he would burn the town. The threat was effectual: the trembling priest was sent to apologise for his conduct. He excused himself on the ground that the sailors had provoked them by insulting the religion of a country they had entered. Too wise and just to approve of their conduct, Blake told the priest that the complaint ought to have been made to him, when he would have severely chastised the offenders; but he would have him and all the world know, that none should punish an Englishman but an Englishman. When this was reported to the Protector and his council, he, with that disposition which men at the head of affairs generally evince to arrogate all the exploits of the age—a disposition in which they have been too generally supported by historians—exclaimed, that he would have the name of an Englishman as much respected as that of a Roman had ever been. Blake was magnificently buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel; but though his character has been justly eulogised by the Royalists, his body was not permitted to repose in the tomb, having been taken up and flung into a pit.*

Cromwell having agreed with Cardinal Mazarine to assist the French government on land, sent 6000 men to the Continent, and, in a battle at Dunkirk, which led to the surrender of the town, they fully supported the English character. Dunkirk was given up to England, and was regarded by the Protector, who appears to have indulged mighty ideas, as a most valuable acquisition.†

Dunkirk
taken.

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 212 *et seq.*; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, pp. 396-9; *Biog. Brit.* See *Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. v.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 560-62; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 174, 180 *et seq.*, 212, 279 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 673; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii.; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 400

et seq. From the gallantry of the English troops on this occasion, I have no doubt that had Cromwell's army, with that intrepid leader at their head, been pitched against Turenne and Condé together, these captains would quickly have been deprived of their laurels.

CHAP.
VI.
Cromwell's
last illness
and death.

We now return to a more particular account of Cromwell, whose health daily declined. When, busy in his career of ambition, he had sought his present lofty pre-eminence, he had been blind to the dangers that must necessarily attend his elevation. The enthusiasm that, in his better days—for it is to be hoped that he was corrupted by success, and not inherently vicious—had kindled the ardour of his own spirit, and diffused itself around him, making him brave every danger, was now stifled; because he found himself in a state of envied greatness, cut off from sympathy with his former comrades, tormented with jealousy of such as he had trusted, detested by those who had started with him for the attainment of an honourable purpose; beset with dangers which threatened not only to degrade him from his unworthy situation, but to humble him and his family to destruction,—nay, load his very memory with infamy; and bereft of expedients to conduct the machine of government much longer; while his hypocrisy stood unveiled, and he could neither advance nor retreat with safety. He had reason also to apprehend assassination—a species of danger to which the human nerves are least commensurate. The hazards of the field, where there is a call upon one's honour, every courageous mind can meet; but never to repose one's head without dread of the poniard, must appal the stoutest heart; and Cromwell's, with all its fortitude and bravery, was so far from being superior to it, that he is alleged to have worn concealed armour some time before his death, and, for a short period also, never to have slept for two nights successively in the same chamber. Domestic afflictions hastened his dissolution. Amid all the active bustle of life, the fortunes of the field, and the dreams of ambition, Cromwell's affections centred in the bosom of his family, and from affliction there fortune could not secure him. His mother, whom he loved with the tenderest filial piety, died subsequently to his usurpation; and his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, was

taken from him this summer, while the manner of her death is said to have added infinitely to his distress; his inexorable refusal of the life of Dr. Huet having, it is alleged, broken her spirit. He never could overcome his grief at such a loss; and a complication of disorders, with care and distress of mind, terminated in his death on the 3rd of September, 1658, the day of the year which, as the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he had ever accounted fortunate. As to his prayers, the conduct of his chaplains, and the manner of his death, they are little to be relied on.* There is some truth, however, in the following passages by Ludlow, that he 'manifested so little remorse for having betrayed the public cause, and sacrificed it to his own ambition, that some of his last words rather became a mediator than a sinner, as he recommended to God the condition of the nation which he had so infamously cheated, and expressed great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised.' † A great hurricane occurred on the day of his death, which his admirers interpreted into a sign from Heaven, that it could not take away so great a man without warning the nation of the loss it had sustained, and the Royalists maintained to be a proof of Heaven's wrath at so great a sinner.

He formally named no successor, aware that, in the event of his surviving, it would be injurious to his interest, since he could no longer delude his followers with the hope of being each the happy object of his choice; ‡ but his secretary, Thurloe, and his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, stated, that when, in his last moments, he was asked whether he wished his eldest son to succeed him, he answered in the affirmative.

* Orme's *Life of Dr. Owen*, p. 242.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 612.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 674; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 609 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 291 *et seq.*; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 363 *et seq.*

Cromwell's interposition in behalf of the Vaudois, who, as Protestants, were cruelly persecuted by the Duke of Savoy, has generally been extolled. He zealously promoted a subscription in favour of the sufferers.

CHAPTER VII.

RICHARD CROMWELL, OLIVER'S ELDEST SON, ACKNOWLEDGED PROTECTOR — SUMMONS A PARLIAMENT — CABAL OF WALLINGFORD HOUSE — PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED — RICHARD DEPOSED — LONG PARLIAMENT RESTORED — CONSPIRACY OF THE ROYALISTS — INSURRECTION SUPPRESSED — PARLIAMENT EXPELLED THE HOUSE — CONDUCT OF MONK — PARLIAMENT RESTORED — RESOLUTIONS OF THE CITY — MONK SENT AGAINST IT — ENTERS LONDON A SECOND TIME, AND DECLARES FOR A FREE PARLIAMENT — SECLUDED MEMBERS RESTORED — LONG PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED — NEW PARLIAMENT — THE RESTORATION.

CHAP.
VII.
Richard
pro-
claimed.

THERE were, at the time Cromwell usurped the government, about half a million in the treasury, and the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in the magazines, while the customs and excise yielded near a million annually: at his death the pay of the troops was in arrears, and a public debt contracted of about three millions. All his expedients of government having been exhausted, and his finances in such a state, even he could not have long continued at the head of affairs. Little, therefore, was it to be expected that a feebler hand, unsupported by that glory which, after so many exploits, raised him to such estimation in the minds of men, should have been able to manage the reins which himself could not much longer have held. He had formally named no successor; but, as it was said that he had, when almost speechless, given an affirmative to a question, whether he wished his eldest son to succeed him, and as no other party was prepared to assume the power, Richard was proclaimed. For such a situation he was particularly unqualified: his abilities were slender; his knowledge of business extremely limited; and, never having been a soldier, he was incapable of controlling the military, while the

splendour of his father's talents, which dazzled mankind, had shed no ray upon him. Yet his succession to the protectorate was hailed with all the adulatory addresses usual on such occasions. Foreign ambassadors also paid him the respect which they had given to his father. The corpse of Oliver was magnificently entombed in the dormitory of kings, no less than about 60,000*l.* having been expended on the funeral. But his body was not long permitted to rest in peace: with pitiful malignity, it was, at the Restoration, dug from the grave, exposed triumphantly on a gibbet, and buried under the gallows. At this period, however, a day of fasting and humiliation was appointed by the council, and afterwards ordered to be solemnised throughout the three nations, for the public calamity sustained by his death. Genius was strained for fulsome panegyrics on his memory; history, sacred and profane, ransacked for parallels of his greatness. He was compared to Moses, Zerubabel, Joshua, Gideon, Elijah, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Constantine the Great, &c.; but, to the disgrace of splendid talent, some of his panegyrists, men of high poetical genius, were no less ready afterwards to eulogise his enemies who succeeded him, and then traduce his name, as if they had been anxious to testify that their powers were at the service of the ruling authority, and that in praising the person or party capable of rewarding them, they were merely labouring in their vocation.*

The late Protector had entered into a league with the king of Sweden, to assist him against the king of Denmark; and, as the aid could only properly be given by sea, a large sum was required for the fleet. This multiplied the necessities of government; and as money could not be raised without a parliament, it was found necessary to summon one for January following. The late arrange-

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 223 *et seq.*; Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 498 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 611 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, pp. 675, 676; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 303 *et seq.*; Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 198.

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ment in regard to the representation, being better calculated to collect the general voice of the nation, was found to be unmanageable as an engine of state; and it was therefore deemed expedient to revert to the old state of the representation, that, in the hope which the executive entertained of influence over rotten boroughs, members might be returned disposed to promote its views. This was against the instrument of government; but a pretext is ever ready. There was a clause in the humble petition and advice, that everything should be done according to law; and the Protector's legal advisers assured him that it warranted his restoring the old state of the representation. Writs were accordingly issued on that ground, and all means exerted to procure the return of fit instruments for his purpose; but, in spite of every manner of undue influence, and even direct unfairness, many of the Republican party were elected. As the elections for Scotland and Ireland may be said to have been made at Whitehall, the members from those countries formed a valuable accession to the Protector's adherents.*

A parliament.

The parliament met on the 27th of January (1659), and Richard addressed them in a style which did credit either to himself or those whom he had employed to frame the speech. On the 1st of February, a bill was brought in for the recognition of his power; and here the temper of the assembly was manifested. The humble petition and advice—the basis of this bill of recognition—was assailed by the Republican party as the production of a packed meeting, where the Scotch and Irish members, protruded by the Protector himself, were really the instruments of carrying the measure: it was denounced to be destructive to the liberty of the people, and every way pernicious; and the popular members argued that, as it was thus of no force or validity in itself, it could

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 615 *et seq.*

give the late Protector no power to nominate a successor ; but that, granting he had the power, it was evident that he had never exercised it in such a way as could be acknowledged by a legislative assembly. The debate lasted seven days, when that part of the bill that Richard should be acknowledged protector was finally carried ; after which it was committed, in order that such additional clauses as might secure the liberties of the people might be devised. It was also resolved that no part of the bill should be obligatory, until, with all the amendments, it should be passed as a whole. Many of the Cavaliers who had been elected through Richard's influence were expelled ; and the right of the Scotch and Irish members was also called into question, but ultimately carried in their favour. The authority of the Upper House was likewise impugned in the most powerful manner ; but that point was also carried against the popular party.*

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Richard was, in the meantime, sapping the very foundation of his own power. Instead of cleaving to his kinsman, Desborough, and all that party, as well as encouraging the popular side, while, like his father, he should promote the interests of religion, and thus gain the great body of the clergy, and with them a great portion of the people, he, assuming the feelings of an hereditary sovereign prince, and imagining that, as the influence of the Republicans was immediately opposed to his, he had most to apprehend from them, and little comparatively from the Cavaliers—whom, he flattered himself, the united interests of the Protectorate party, the Presbyterians and Republicans, would never allow to restore the old dynasty—he courted the Royalists as carrying farthest the principle of obedience to the chief magistrate, and

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 611 *et seq.* ; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 262 *et seq.* ; see *Clar. State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 412 *et seq.* Royalists were encouraged by Hyde and other coun-

sellors to get themselves elected, that they might promote the king's interest. See particularly pp. 436-468.

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affected to scoff at that zeal for religion to which his father had been indebted for so much of his success. 'Would you,' said he publicly to an officer who complained of his conferring commands in the army on Cavaliers, 'prefer none but those who are godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all.'* His brother Henry had likewise fallen under the displeasure of the Protestants in Ireland for similar conduct. This, however, was not the only source of jealousy and discontent to the army and the Protector's chief counsellors. Monk had recommended Oliver, by a letter, to new-model the army and change the council; but Oliver had too much good sense to divulge a scheme which ought never to have been suspected till it was put in execution. Richard, however, ignorant of the world, could not keep so important a secret, and it necessarily diffused the utmost discontent and jealousy amongst those bodies. He soon found himself, therefore, surrounded with difficulties. The measures of the parliament alarmed him; the council also ministered cause of apprehension; while a cabal by his brother-in-law Fleetwood, called, from his place of residence, the cabal at Wallingford House, was exceedingly active in measures hostile to his pretensions. In order to preserve the dependence of the military, Oliver had kept them in detached portions throughout the nation; but as Richard was now afraid of being deposed by the parliament, he easily yielded to an advice, by the Wallingford House cabal, to allow a general council of officers to be summoned. No sooner did such a council meet, than it felt its own strength, and entered into resolutions with the energy of an organised body,—that the good old cause was betrayed, that the Cavaliers were so encouraged that the Stuarts would be inevitably brought back, and that, therefore, the militia should be entrusted to some individual in whom they could all confide. A

Cabal at
Walling-
ford House.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 633.

petition to this effect was drawn up, and presented to Richard, by whom it was communicated to the parliament. The latter immediately began to concert measures for reducing the army to obedience, when the council, still further alarmed, and yet trusting to their own strength, insisted that Richard should immediately dissolve the parliament, as the only way to prevent a desertion of the military, as well as proceedings hostile to himself and his family, by that assembly itself. Surrounded on every side with difficulties, Richard followed the advice by dissolving the parliament.*

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Parliament
dissolved,
April 23,
1659.

Some of the leading officers were at first disposed to support Richard in his office, provided the power were shared with them; but the Republican members of the army, who were still considerable, strenuously insisted upon the establishment of a commonwealth, and for that purpose, upon the restoration of the old parliament, which, as by law it could only be dissolved by its own consent, still maintained that it was in existence. Petitions from various quarters were presented in favour of that measure; and many of the members themselves were exceedingly active. A list of about a hundred and sixty of them was prepared by Ludlow, that they might be immediately assembled; and the measure was so strenuously urged, that it could no longer be resisted. Richard, now perceiving his utter inability to continue his government, resigned his office, and retired to that private station from which he ought never to have been raised. This was the natural catastrophe; and Cromwell, for the sake of individual aggrandisement, which, had he not been blinded by ambition, he ought to have foreseen could never be perpetuated in his family, incurred all the guilt of losing a grand opportunity for promoting the interests of his country.†

Richard's
resigna-
tion, and
reflections
on it.
Long Par-
liament
restored,
May 7.

* Whitelocke, p. 667; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 305 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 631 *et seq.*; *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 339.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 633 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 667; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 311 *et seq.*; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 367.

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In justice to his memory, however, it must be admitted that the Commonwealth party, with whom he so long acted, had never contemplated any scheme of government which could, in the nature of things, be attended either with stability, or sufficient security for the liberty of the people. That form of government can alone be relied on, where, by the very nature of the constitution, there exists such a control over those entrusted with the administration of affairs, as to oblige them to cooperate for the public good, or leave their office. Now, as the utmost which was contemplated by the popular men of that age was to govern by successive parliaments, so elected that the deputies might be really returned by the people, and of such limited duration that the members might not be induced to forfeit a character for popularity by neglecting the public for their private interest, it will be found that, however plausible the scheme may appear at first sight, it cannot bear the test of examination. Once elected, the parliament found itself invested not only with the supreme power, but with the disposal of all the offices. Short as might be the period assigned it, the members had yet an interest to aspire to office, and provide for their friends; for, though many might spurn at the idea of abusing their trust, yet, as the experience of mankind in all ages has proved that bodies of men are no less capable of dereliction of duty than individuals, and as good laws provide against what men may do, and not what they actually do, we must assume the most unfavourable view of things as the basis of our reasoning. The assembly might be rent into factions for place and preeminence, and each try to strengthen then his interest with the public against a new election. All who obtained or expected office from the party that, having the superiority, may be called the ministerial faction, would labour for them on the one side; while the friends of the defeated party would be no less loud on the other. The country would therefore be agitated by the factions in

parliament; and in a short period there would be found some excuse, in the uproar at elections, in a foreign war, the vigorous prosecution of which required a continuance, without prospect of change, of the men who had already performed such meritorious services for their country—in the dread of an insurrection at home, or in some other cause—for prolonging the parliament, which, as the supreme power, such an assembly would assume the right to accomplish. It would not even prevent this, that a law had been provided for periodical elections, and that the new members might, by force of such a law, supersede the old. The assembly in existence having prohibited this by a new statute, and organised the military and all the offices as subservient to them, while they had necessarily, by all the influence of government, obtained the support of a powerful party throughout the nation, could easily take effectual means for the obstruction of an act which was now repealed by another likewise made by the supreme power.

This was well expressed by Oliver himself, in favour of his own usurpation; and, as it presents a fresh specimen of his oratory, we shall give it in his own words. ‘In every government there must be something fundamental, somewhat like a *magna charta*, that should be standing and be unalterable. That parliaments should not make themselves perpetual, is a fundamental. Of what assurance is a law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in one or the same legislature to unmake it again? Is this like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand: it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.’* It is true that public opinion would have a great influence over the parliament; but this would be counteracted by the emissaries of the party in power, and by the plausibility of their pretexts for allowing the present necessity to induce them to submit to a temporary deviation from the established rule; while the only opposition

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. pp. 362–63.

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that could be brought would be attended with a national convulsion. The rule once deviated from would no longer be regarded as a fundamental principle of the government; and then the members would be left at large to pursue their own plans of ambition; factions would grow, each aiming at the supremacy; open disgraceful broils would ensue; the defeated faction would denounce the rest as combined against the public interest, and violating all the constitutional principles; each would strive to obtain the command of all the civil and military departments; the public would become generally disgusted; and as some factions would probably be expelled for a violent and even inexcusable opposition to the rest, the number left would be ultimately so diminutive and hated, that it would be no difficult matter for the chief military commander to persuade an indignant people that in dissolving such an assembly, he was only overthrowing a set of usurpers, who, entrusted for a limited period with the management of affairs, had abused the public confidence by perpetuating their power, and whom it was necessary therefore to overturn: that he could not be accused of destroying the power from which his own authority had emanated, since the assembly ought to be the organ of the public voice, and not pretend to act for its own behoof;—since he obtained his command from them as trustees for the people, and he had only overturned that body when they forgot their character, and converted the trust to their own benefit;—a result which called upon him, as the mere servant of the public, and not of the parliament, who were factors for the people, to obey the voice of the nation out of doors, when it was no longer to be heard within. Such was the natural course of events, and thus might power centre in an individual from whom it could not easily be wrested when once obtained. The Long Parliament, with all its talent and virtue, had incurred the reproach, and with it the catastrophe; and though Cromwell's dissimulation and hypocrisy were palpable, some excuse may be formed for him, while a

great part of the people who were attached to liberal principles had lost confidence in the parliament, as a body which sought its own aggrandisement.

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Cromwell's usurpation alienated from the Republican cause, and prepared for the restoration of the Stuarts, many who saw that power in an individual would be established. Obligated to indulge his soldiery, too, he had not been able to restrain them from the licentiousness incident to troops who feel their own strength; and the country, vexed with their petty oppression, began to desire any arrangement which might free them from the present evil. The Presbyterian party, flattering itself that, in the event of the Stuarts being restored, they would find it necessary to entrust them with the power, in order to prevent them from forming a coalition with the Republicans, and thus enable them to bear the whole sway, strenuously urged it on.* Strong, therefore, was the party of the people which the restored parliament must have had to contend with; and Lenthall, the old Speaker, who apprehended that the parliament never could recover its power, and was unwilling to part with the honour conferred upon him by the late Protector, of a seat in the Upper House, pretended many scruples to taking his place as prolocutor of this assembly. Driven to his last shifts, he stated that he was obliged to prepare for a matter of greater importance to him than all others put together; and when pressed to explain the nature of the business, he reluctantly answered, that it was the sacrament: but he was told that mercy was better than sacrifice, and obliged to resume his function.†

State of
parties.

It cannot be denied that the parliament, under the most appalling circumstances, evinced its former vigour in the conduct of affairs. But the first cause of fear was from the army, which it was therefore necessary to reduce

Measures
of the Long
Parlia-
ment.

* See *Clar. Papers*, vol. iii. The reader will there find that the party called Levellers proposed to be satisfied with a limited monarchy. See also *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 273. By the way,

the propositions (p. 267 *et seq.*) which Clarendon denominates *wild*, may appear in a different light. But all was wild that crossed his ambition.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 644 *et seq.*

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to obedience without provoking its leaders. A council of state was immediately nominated, in the constitution of which care was taken to gratify the chief officers with seats, and yet to give to the civilians the superiority of votes. All commissions to the army were ordered to run in the name of the House; and a committee of seven was nominated to fill up the vacancies in the commands, when Fleetwood was appointed lieutenant-general, but only during the pleasure of the House. The resolutions against the dominion of an individual were resumed; the old seal was restored, and committed to Bradshaw, Tyrrel, and Fountain; while all the writs were ordered to run in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England. The army everywhere professed obedience, and addresses poured in encouraging the parliament in the prosecution of the work. Ludlow was sent to Ireland to take the command from Henry Cromwell, and make such a disposition in the offices as might secure the army there: the ardent professions of Monk and the troops under him were sufficient to remove suspicion of Scotland; they declared 'that the restoration, in one day, of that glorious cause, whose interest was laid low, even in the dust, and when the assertors of it had so manifestly declined it by a defection of many years, could not be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful manifestation of the arm of God that ever they or former generations heard of. In the sense of this,' say they, 'the greatest of our temporal mercies, we now come to address your honours as those whose presence we have so long wanted, that, had you stayed but a little longer, it might have been left to be inquired what England was, we mean, what was become of that people by whom God, for so many years, filled the world with so much admiration and terror.'* Monk's chaplains and pane-

* Whitelocke, pp. 678-79; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 414 *et seq.* See the most canting letter ever penned, by

Monk and his officers, in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 669.

gyrists, who, there is reason to believe, assisted in drawing this very address, labour to make it appear for the glory of Monk, that he was favourably inclined towards the insurrection under Sir George Booth and his party in England, for the overthrow of the object which he thus mocked the Deity by pretending to have so deeply at heart.*

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The parliament also made a peace with the Northern Powers. Sweden, by the alliance with Cromwell, threatened the subjugation of Denmark, when Richard's parliament interposed to mediate a peace. But, as the mediation was not imperative, it was neglected, and the Swedish king besieged Copenhagen itself. The Long Parliament, now restored, however, assumed a higher ground, and cooperating with the Dutch, sent Montague with a fleet, attended with Colonel Algernon Sydney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and a Mr. Boon, as commissioners. The terms of peace previously agreed upon by the two republics were imposed on the unwilling Swede, 'who complained *that commonwealths should form conditions to be imposed on crowned heads.*' †

Peace between Sweden and Denmark, &c.

While matters were in this train, the army at home was agitated with that factious spirit which was from past transactions to have been anticipated. Fleetwood is said to have been reproached by his wife with the overthrow of her family, and instigated to amend the fault by assuming authority in his own person. Lambert, who had for some time lived in retirement, now came from his retreat, in hopes of obtaining that power which he had originally looked to. A new enemy also arose. The Cavaliers during the life of Cromwell had fondly flattered

Cabals in the army.

Conspiracy of the Cavaliers.

* Price, p. 4 *et seq.*; Gumble, p. 104 *et seq.*; see Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 691-92.

† Carte's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 187 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 680 *et seq.*; Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii.; Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 667-68; Clar. *State Papers*,

vol. iii. p. 505 *et seq.* I am not aware of Mr. Hume's authority for the speech attributed by him to the Swedish king, that parricides and pedlars prescribed terms to him; nor does it do the monarch much credit (Carte's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 157 *et seq.*).

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themselves that his reign presented the only barrier to the restoration of the Stuarts; but, when they perceived that the old parliament was resuming its functions, they inferred that, unless by some preventive stroke they recovered the power before the Commonwealth was established, the opportunity would be for ever lost. In their measures they were encouraged by some of the Presbyterians, who imagined that they might use them as instruments, and cast them off in the hour of triumph. The conspirators had resolved to rise in various quarters at once: Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townsend, undertook to seize Lynn; Lord Newport, to secure Shrewsbury; Arundel and others, Plymouth and Exeter; Massey, Gloucester; Sir George Booth, Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton, North Wales. The king, along with the Duke of York, having received a promise of a small force from the French court, secretly went to Calais in order to be prepared to transport himself into England on the first favourable opportunity. The design, however, was betrayed by Sir Richard Willis, and many of the chief conspirators were immediately apprehended. The treason of Willis to his fellow-conspirators, with the prompt measures of parliament, bereaved the great body of confidence in each other, and struck them with despair. Many therefore availed themselves of the pretext afforded by the state of the weather, which, though it was the month of July, was extremely tempestuous, for not attending the rendezvous, and the party under Sir George Booth was alone enabled to take the field. Booth seized Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton joined him with some troops from North Wales; and the Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and others, were partly leagued in the enterprise. Booth was a Presbyterian; and it is remarkable that he did not proclaim the king, but merely called for a free parliament duly elected. This was alleged by the Parliamentary party to be a mere device to rouse the Presbyterians; but it evinces the feelings of the times.

Against the insurgents parliament sent Lambert, whose celerity was worthy of his military character. His adventures did not stand the first shock. Their horse, consisting of seventeen or eighteen hundred, of whom one-half are reported to have been gentlemen, fled before they were charged, and left the foot to be cut to pieces. Such a result put an end to all the hopes of the Royalists to succeed by arms, particularly as the militia had been remarkably active against them; but divisions among the victors effected what could not otherwise have been accomplished.*

Of Lambert the parliament had just cause to be jealous; yet, conceiving that the most likely mode to retain him in

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Insurrection under
Booth suppressed.

Lambert.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 684 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 681 *et seq.*; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 322 *et seq.*; *State Papers*, vol. iii.; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 435 *et seq.* Bramhall, ex-bishop of Derby, whom a certain ecclesiastical party held up to the admiration of men, though another party represented him in a very different light, (see Baillie's *Answer to the Fair Warning*), did not entirely lose hope on this catastrophe. He confesses that he had been ashamed to walk the street (of Brussels) or to go into company after it. 'But,' says he, 'it is the duty of good citizens never to despair of the Commonwealth; no, not after as great a blow as that of Cannæ.' He then alludes to the peace concluded by the Northern Powers, and proceeds thus: 'The other relation is of a child born in London, about three months since, with a double tongue, or divided tongue, which the third day after it was born cried "*A king, a king,*" and bid them *bring it to the king.* The mother of the child saith it told her of all that happened in England since, and much more, which she dare not utter. This my lady of Inchiquin writeth to her aunt, *the Dowager of Milleswarde*, living in this city, who showed me the letter. My lady writeth, that she herself was as in-

credulous as any person, until she both saw and heard it speak herself very lately, as distinctly as she herself could do, and so loud that all the room heard it. That which she heard was this: A gentleman in the company took the child in his arms, and gave it money, and asked what it would do with it; to which it answered aloud, that it would give it to the king. If my lady were so foolish to be deceived, or had not been an eye or ear witness herself, I might have disputed it; but giving credit to her, I cannot esteem it less than a miracle' (Carte's *Let.* vol. ii. pp. 207-8). Price tells of many predictions announced to Monk regarding the glorious work he was to perform, which I believe as much as great part of his, and the statements of the other biographers of Monk. But these are all better attested than the strange tales which are narrated by Hume, of the wonderful effects which were produced on people first by the execution of Charles I. and then by the restoration of his son. Men, forsooth, particularly a mathematician, (one would expect philosophical calmness from such a person,) expired with joy at the Restoration, as some had done with grief at the execution of the father (*Id.* p. 194 *et seq.*).

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obedience was kindness, it voted him a thousand pounds to buy a ring, as a reward for his present services. But, intoxicated with success, he resolved to lose no time in promoting his own designs. Instead of employing the money on the object for which it was bestowed, he distributed it among the soldiers to secure their interest. Colleguing also with the other officers, he set on foot a petition to the parliament in the name of the soldiery, desiring that Fleetwood should be appointed general, himself major-general, Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, and Monk major-general of the foot; that corporations which had abetted the late designs should be punished, and the constitution of their magistracy be changed into a form becoming a commonwealth; and that the government of the state should be entrusted to a new representative and a select senate—by which last they meant a body who should not be removable, and of which doubtless themselves should be the leaders. When this petition was presented, the parliament was in a flame, and Sir Arthur Hazlerig, who was now one of the principal members, and naturally of an impetuous temper, while he relied much on the Scottish army under Monk, proposed to impeach Lambert of high treason. The House, however, did not deem it prudent to proceed so far at such a juncture, though a purpose was formed of apprehending that individual and sending him to the Tower. It yet resolved, that it was useless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth, to have any more general officers than those already settled by the parliament, and that the militia should be transferred to the command of a committee of seven: it also voted it to be high treason to levy money without an act of parliament. But resolutions were feeble when opposed to the sword. Lambert collected forces, determined to expel the members from the House, and they in vain tried to form a counterpoise. Two regiments, indeed, proposed to support the parliament, and stationed themselves for that purpose in Palace Yard;

but Lambert having lined the streets with a superior body, intercepted the speaker and the members, and respectfully turned back their coaches. The two regiments found that they had occupied their station in vain, and quietly marched off.*

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The par-
liament
expelled,
Sept. 13.

The government was thus again transferred to the military, and the people's hopes of obtaining a lasting settlement under the parliament—hopes which the late events had encouraged—were now for ever blighted. The officers, while they appointed a committee of safety, spoke of calling a parliament; but it is said that, under the name of a parliament, they only intended to congregate an assembly of officers to promote their usurpation. Their folly was egregious. They themselves were not united: the soldiers, feeling that the army had fairly obtained the superiority, became still more licentious, and provoked the people into a belief that no change which could free them from the insolence of such a body was to be deprecated. A change, however, was not far distant, and it proceeded from Monk, who had the command of the army in Scotland.

This individual was descended of a good family, but of reduced circumstances, in Devonshire. He had served as a private in the expedition to Cadiz, and also accompanied the Duke of Buckingham in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé. England, after this, remained in profound peace for many years, and Monk sought employment in the Low Countries, as ensign in a small regiment which Lord Vere transferred the command of to Colonel Goring. Some misunderstanding, however, took place betwixt him and the Dutch, and he returned to his native country about the time of the breaking out of the Scotch troubles, in order that he might obtain employment in the expedi-

Monk.

* Carte's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 225 *et seq.*; see Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 579 *et seq.* It would appear that Fleetwood was carried by the current against his own will, as he really de-

sired to oppose Lambert. Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 366 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 683 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 698 *et seq.*; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxi. p. 460 *et seq.*

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tion against that part of the British dominions. When troops were sent against the Irish rebels, Monk was appointed by the parliament to the command of a regiment; but he soon became one of those who, forgetting the principles on which they were entrusted with command, entered into the project of assisting the king against the parliament and liberties of Britain. His conduct, however, was so equivocal to the party for whose sake he was now ready to betray the authority that had appointed him, and the principles on which he had embarked in the expedition, that the Marquis of Ormond himself suspected that he intended a second treachery, and, having secured the other officers fast to the royal interest, he divested Monk of his command. On this he went to the king, who was then at Oxford, to vindicate his conduct, and so removed suspicion that he was again employed. Nothing memorable, however, was performed by him then: indeed, the miserable appearance which those regiments made at Nantwich, where the whole body were at once routed by Fairfax, would induce us to believe that Monk was indebted to Cromwell for his subsequent abilities as a general officer.* Taken a prisoner on that occasion, he was sent to the Tower, where he lay for two years. After the termination of the war, he was, by Lord Lisle, lieutenant of Ireland, employed in the parliament service against the insurgents there. This led to his appointment by the parliament to the command of the forces in the north of that island. But a cessation of hostilities, which he made with Owen Rowe O'Neale, and attributed to

* Monk was, properly speaking, an excellent soldier; but he never exhibited the talents of a great general. His abilities were most signally displayed at sea; but even there he was a successful imitator, not an inventive genius. Nay, his ability at sea would appear to have been more than questioned when, after the Restoration, he took command

of the fleet (Pepys, vol. ii. p. 402 *et seq.*, vol. iii. p. 186 *et seq.*). I suspect, therefore, that in his naval conflicts previously he had merely acted as a brave coadjutor in plans devised by his co-commanders. The impudence of his chaplain, Gumble, in ascribing to him the victory at Dunbar, is extreme (see p. 39).

necessity in consequence of the desertion of the Scottish regiments, provoked fresh displeasure against him. Cromwell, however, who found excuses for withholding commands to such as Algernon Sydney, supported Monk. When Charles II. entered Scotland, and the English parliament sent Cromwell against him, Monk, who now pretended to be smitten with an ardour for liberty, volunteered his services.

Some excuse might be formed, though, under all circumstances, it must be confessed that it would be an inadequate one, for a Royalist who, bred to the profession of arms, and depending on a military life for subsistence, accepted of employment from the parliament against the Irish; but, unless he had changed his principles, it is impossible to figure an apology for his volunteering his services against the son of his late king, whom, upon such principles, he was bound to assist in recovering the throne. Cromwell carried him with him to Scotland, and appointed him one of his colonels; yet it was not without difficulty that the soldiery, who remembered his former history, could be reconciled to his nomination.* But he was a good soldier, and Cromwell, who knew that he would be faithful so long as he believed it to be for his own interest, continued him in the command, while he took care to balance his influence by men of a different description, that one might be a spy upon the proceedings of the other. Having few of the sympathies of humanity, the disposition of Monk was reserved, cool, calculating, avaricious, and, on occasions, cruel and unrelenting, without those passions of revenge and indignation that commonly transport men into excesses. Of this, some of his exploits in Scotland, particularly at Dundee, afford a melancholy proof. In certain respects he did not act with that regard to decency which distinguished the other officers. He married a worthless woman of low rank,

* See Hodgson's *Memoirs* as to this.

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who had a family to him, in order to legitimate the children;* and it is alleged that he endeavoured to rouse a naturally phlegmatic temper by wine.†

After the death of Oliver, he professed attachment to his son,‡ though he listened with no displeasure to the remarks of his officers, that he was fitter for the office

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 470, see a note to Pepys's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 182 as to her history. Pepys, on the 26th October, 1660 (vol. i. p. 151), derisively talks of a wretched book being dedicated to 'that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albemarle.' On the 8th March, 1660-1, he mentions having dined with 'high company, amongst others the Duchess of Albemarle, who is ever a plain, homely dowdy' (*Id.* p. 182). On the 4th April, 1667, he has this passage: 'I find the Duke of Albemarle at dinner with sorry company, some of his officers of the army: dirty dishes and a *nasty wife* at table, and bad meat, of which I made but an ill dinner' (vol. iii. p. 185; see also p. 187). On 30th July, 1668, he says, 'did dine with the Duke of Albemarle in a dirty manner, as ever.' Clarendon, in a passage which had been suppressed, says, 'he was caused, after a long familiarity, to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit and less beauty, who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some Presbyterian minister.' He might have added—from whom she rescued it whenever it suited her husband's interests and her own. 'She was a woman so totally unacquainted with all persons of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to her' (vol. vii. p. 383 *n.*). In another suppressed passage, the author seems to account for an answer to Ormond by Monk being so *rough and doubtful*, by 'his having had no other education but Dutch and Devonshire' (*Id.* p. 380 *n.* with text). See Burnet (*Hist.* vol. i. p. 98-168) as

to both Monk and his wife.

† *Clar. Papers*, vol. iii. p. 622. On the 4th of November, 1666, Pepys mentions having been told by Mr. Blackburn, the chamberlain's secretary, that Monk, then Albemarle, 'is grown a drunken sot, and drinks with nobody but Troutbecke, whom nobody else will keep company with; of whom he told this story: that once the Duke of Albemarle, in his drink, taking notice as of a wonder that Nan Hyde should ever come to be Duchess of York,—“Nay,” says Troutbecke, “ne'er wonder at that; for if you will give me another bottle of wine, I will tell you as great, if not greater, a miracle.” And what was that, but that our dirty Besse (meaning his duchesse) should come to be Duchess of Albemarle?' (vol. iii. p. 75 *et seq.*) Pepys, 'at the Tower, found my lord duke and duchesse at dinner, so I sat down. But, Lord! to hear the silly talk was there would make one mad, the Duke having none almost but fools about him.' Pepys appears to have had a very poor opinion of Monk's intellectuals. On the 27th March, 1665 (vol. ii. p. 259), 'I find him a quiet, heavy man.' On 24th Oct., 1667 (*Id.* p. 398), 'I know not how, the blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be loved, though he be (and every man must know it) the heaviest man in the world, but stout and honest to his country.' But see for a picture of Monk's reputed character, vol. ii. p. 117.

‡ Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. pp. 387, 404, 411, 435. Let any one read his letters, &c., and he will find that he could cant with any man living.

than Dick Cromwell : but no sooner was the Long Parliament restored, than, with the most solemn imprecations, he declared his entire obedience to it and attachment to its cause ; yet there is some reason to believe that he was at least not displeas'd with the insurrection of Sir George Booth, and had some latent purpose of declaring for the Presbyterian interest : but there is no ground for presuming that he had the slightest intention to restore the exiled family. When Booth was taken, and the whole design fail'd, he abandon'd all thought of promoting that interest, and threaten'd the ruin of one of the king's emissaries if he dares to impute his ever having favour'd it. When the parliament was a second time expelled, he determin'd no longer to be idle, but he continu'd his professions to the members on the one hand, while he tri'd to gain the Presbyterians on the other. To no man did he ever express his intention of restoring the exiled family, nor, from all his conduct, are we entitl'd to infer that he ever entertain'd it till the course of events naturally led him into such a measure. But he had originally serv'd the king, and suffer'd as one of his adherents ; many of his relations had been of that party ; and as he was known to have had a rivalship with Lambert, great offers had been repeatedly made to him if he would bring over his army to the royal interest. This, however, he felt to be altogether beyond his power during the life of Cromwell : great part of the soldiery, and almost all the officers, being of an opposite interest, would have spurn'd at the idea ; the others who were associat'd with him in the administration of Scottish affairs would have hail'd the opportunity of humbling him ; and, as Cromwell could not have been many days ignorant of the attempt, he would probably have been sent a prisoner to England. Now, however, he determin'd to oppose Lambert ; and the Cavaliers, since the divisions of their enemies were the things most to be desired, were naturally inspir'd with hope from such an occurrence. The

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Presbyterians in Scotland, as well as in England, could not fail also to be pleased at such an event; and as, while, on the one hand, Lambert and his coadjutors enraged part of his officers by attempting to displace them, he not only retained those, but began to new-model his army by dismissing as many of the sectarian officers and soldiery as he conveniently could, and encouraged the Presbyterians, a general idea prevailed amongst that body, not only in Scotland but throughout England, that he meant to favour their interest. The party who had obtained the power in England, jealous of him, sent down Colonel Cobbett to counteract his influence with the troops; but he had prepared matters so well as to be enabled to take advantage of the authority which had been devolved upon him by parliament to arrest Cobbett in the execution of his scheme, while he daily organised the army to qualify it for the part which he intended it to act, and at the same time continued his protestations that he meant nothing more than to restore the parliament, that it might establish a pure republic. He also sent letters to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall, in which he condemned the conduct of the army, and professed a resolution to stand by the parliament, and with the last drop of his blood prosecute their just cause, which God had particularly owned—calling heaven to witness that he had no further ends than the establishment of parliamentary authority, the settlement of the nation in a free commonwealth, and the defence of godliness and godly men, though of different opinions. Every day he strengthened his power, each party believing that he would be instrumental in promoting their views; but, while he declared he had received a call from heaven and earth to settle the government, he, with solemn imprecations, continued his professions to the parliament and the commonwealth. Alarmed by his measures, Lambert determined to march against him, and, could that officer have raised the necessary supplies, he might at once have reduced him to obedience;

Lambert
marches to
the borders
to suppress
Monk.

but the treasury was exhausted, the pay of the army was in great arrear; the people, disgusted at the lawless proceedings of the military, determined to obey the injunction of parliament not to pay taxes, and were roused to still greater indignation by the attempt to levy impositions by force, and to live at free quarters; the soldiers themselves, acting upon the principle taught them to disobey authority, fell off from their leaders; Lawson, who had been sent by the parliament to supersede Montague (suspected of favouring Booth's enterprise) in the command of the fleet, steadily declared for the power that appointed him, and entered the Thames; Hazlerig and Morley obtained possession of Portsmouth; and when Lambert marched towards Scotland with an army in which he could not confide, the regiments in the city returned to their obedience to the parliament, and Desborough's, which was sent against them, joined those it was ordered to oppose. The same part was acted by the troops that were despatched against Hazlerig and Morley, who marched into the capital.*

Monk, afraid of being unable to cope with the army in England, despatched three of his officers, Cloberry, Wilkes, and Knight, to compromise matters with them. These entered into an agreement, that the government should be settled in a commonwealth, without a king or other single person, or a House of Lords; that a parliament should be called as speedily as possible, and, in the meantime, that the military officers should determine on the qualifications of the electors; that there should be a general indemnity for the past, and that he should have part of the money which had been destined for the troops, and be himself appointed one of the committee for nominating military officers. But, ere the terms could be

Monk's negotiation with Lambert, &c.

* Gumble's *Life of Moncke*; Price; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 376 *et seq.*, and particularly *State Papers*, vol. iii.; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 728 *et seq.*; Skin-

ner's *Life of Moncke*; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 14 *et seq.*; *Ays. MS.* Brit. Mus. 1519, No. 173, 4157, No. 201.

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announced to him, the aspect of affairs had become so favourable to his views, that, alleging his commissioners had exceeded their powers, he refused to confirm the treaty. It was now the depth of winter, and Lambert, with an army indignant at want of pay, and destitute of supplies, advanced towards Newcastle. It has been thought that, had he resolutely continued his march, he might still have crushed Monk; but, in a falling cause, every step is condemned as injudicious. Lambert had seen the effect of a campaign in Scotland under Cromwell; the Scots, he knew, were ready to join with any side against the sectaries; and the disaffection of the troops was such, that had he proposed to transport them to that country at such a season, they would have probably revolted. Fairfax had raised a party against him in Yorkshire, and thus interposed between him and the South, whence, as matters were there in a still more unpromising situation, he could not with prudence be long absent. Under these circumstances he negotiated; and Monk, whose object was to gain time, amused him with the hope of an amicable adjustment of their differences. That general, too, continued his troops at the borders, and having by his deep dissimulation raised high the hopes of the Scots, a convention of estates, which he summoned, granted him a timely supply of money, and proposed to assist him with 20,000 men; but he, having a different game to play, declined the offer as yet uncalled for by the exigencies of the times; though he intimated that, in the event of necessity, he would accept of it, and that, if overpowered by numbers, he would retreat to Stirling.

Lambert's
army de-
sert him;
Monk
marches
south.

Lambert's army, in the meantime, destitute of pay and the necessaries of life, became perfectly unruly: part deserted, and, on the approach of Monk, the remainder left him in a body. Monk carried with him about 7000 horse and foot, having left a part of his troops in Scotland to keep that country in subjection—a striking proof of the deep nature of his designs, since that country was

now generally disposed to restore the king on terms. As Lambert's force now declared for the parliament and joined Monk, he proceeded south at the head of a considerable army, making at every step the most solemn professions for the Commonwealth. Hazlerig was his great encourager, and he is severely censured by his own party for having been so easily deceived; but whoever will attend to the imprecations which Monk made on himself and his family if he did not prove true to the cause of the republic, will not be so much surprised at Hazlerig's simplicity.*

Lord Fairfax now desired the restoration of the exiled king; but he had not, on that account, altogether forgotten his principles. No plan of government that had yet been suggested, in the form of a commonwealth, could promise stability or security; and amid so many clashing interests, and the usurpations of the military, such a constitution was not likely to be established. The restoration of the Stuarts, therefore, might justly appear to be the only practicable way, in the present posture of affairs, of obtaining a permanent settlement. And it might naturally be supposed, that if Charles were restored upon conditions required by the public safety, he would be deterred by the example of his father from similar attempts to violate the laws. Fairfax was now attached to the Presbyterian interest; though, from his past conduct, (formerly an Independent,) we may fairly presume that he desired it to be accompanied with toleration. It is not unlikely, however, that private interests operated

* Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 628 *et seq.* In a letter to Hazlerig, dated 14th February, 1659-60, Monk says, 'As for a commonwealth, believe me, sir, for I speak it in the presence of God, it is the desire of my soul, and shall (the Lord assisting) be witnessed by the actions of my life, that these nations be so settled in a free state without a king, single person, or House of Peers, that they

may be governed by their representatives successively: and seeing this is your principles also, or at least so held forth by you, I hope there will be no clashing betwixt us' (*Ibid.* pp. 678-9; Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 370; Baillie's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 437 *et seq.*; Nichol's *Diary*, MS.; Price; Gumble; Skinner; Whitelocke, p. 686; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 732 *et seq.*; Carte's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 245 *et seq.*).

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in no inconsiderable degree upon his mind. The Duke of Buckingham, one of the royal favourites, had lately married his daughter; and the imprisonment of that individual by the parliament, on suspicion, was expected by the Royalists to exasperate the father-in-law, whom the alliance was supposed to incline to the interests of his son-in-law.*

Such was the conduct of Fairfax; and had Monk proposed to restore the Stuarts upon any conditions compatible with the safety of his former associates, and regard to the interests of the kingdom, he would have deserved the thanks of his countrymen and of posterity: but, instead of this, he continued ardent professions for a commonwealth, with an apparent view of usurping the government; and when, in the course of events, he found himself foiled in that, and perceived the instability of his own fortune, he, to raise himself by the assistance of the exiled family and their adherents, surrendered the kingdom unconditionally, and not only sacrificed his former friends, whose principles he had professed, with imprecations of divine vengeance if he deserted them, but coolly sat as a judge upon his late associates, for conduct which he had affected so zealously to admire. Fairfax, conceiving that he meant to restore the monarchy, had an interview with him in Yorkshire. Monk did not wish to lose that interest, and tried to shelter himself behind his usual reserve; but when Fairfax discovered him to be a person so very different from what he had anticipated him to be, he left him in disgust.†

Whitelocke
urges
Fleetwood
to restore
the exiled
king.

At this critical juncture, the design of Monk, in spite of all his oaths and protestations, was, by Whitelocke and men of his stamp, who perceived that that general could not otherwise make his fortune, believed to be the restoration of the exiled family without conditions. Lord

* Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii. : see particularly p. 660.

† See *Lives of Moncke*; Clar. *Hist.*

vol. vii. pp. 392, 397 *et seq.* Monk also wrote to the West with protestations (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii.).

Willoughby, Alderman Robinson, Major-General Browne, Mr. Loe, and others, went to Whitelocke, and, while they confirmed his suspicion, proposed to him to go to Fleetwood, and advise him to send immediately to the king at Breda, with an offer to restore him upon good terms, and thereby anticipate Monk. Whitelocke went directly to Fleetwood, and having stated by whose recommendation he came, strenuously urged that general not to lose the moment of action. He argued, that it was more than evident that Monk's design was to bring in the king, without any terms for the parliament party, whereby all their lives and fortunes would be at the mercy of the monarch, and his adherents, who were incensed against them, 'and in need of repairing their broken fortunes:' that as the inclinations of the Presbyterian party generally, and of the city, were for the Restoration, as the incensed lords and excluded members of the parliament were exceedingly active for that measure, and as Monk would easily delude Hazlerig and the rest of the old parliament men, the coming 'in of the king was unavoidable, and that it was more prudent for Fleetwood and his friends to be the instrument of bringing him in, than to leave it to Monk: that by this means Fleetwood might make terms with the king, for preservation of himself and his friends, and of that cause, in a good measure, in which they had been engaged; but if it were left to Monk, they, and all that had been done, would be left to the danger of destruction.' Whitelocke, therefore, proposed one of two things—that Fleetwood should either muster what strength he could, and, having taken possession of the Tower, send to the lord mayor and common council, desiring them to join with him in declaring for a free parliament, when the city would advance him money, and thus enable him to collect a greater army, or, as the next best, instantly despatch a person of trust to the king at Breda, to treat for his restoration. Whitelocke declared his readiness to go with Fleetwood to the

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field or to the Tower, or, if he chose, set off instantly to Breda. Fleetwood readily accepted of his offer to go to Breda; and matters appeared to be concluded, when Whitelocke, as he was going away, met Vane, Desborough, and Berry, in the next room, coming to speak with the general, who desired him to stay a little, ‘and,’ says he, ‘I suspected what would be the issue of their consultation; and within a quarter of an hour, Fleetwood came to me, and in much passion said to me, “*I cannot do it, I cannot do it.*” I desired his reason why he could not do it. He answered, “*These gentlemen have remembered me, and it is true that I am engaged not to do any such thing without my Lord Lambert’s consent.*” I replied, “that Lambert was at too great a distance to have his consent to this business, which must be instantly acted.” Fleetwood again said, “*I cannot do it without him.*” Then said I, “*You will ruin yourself and your friends.*” He said, “*I cannot help it.*” So Whitelocke left him.* Thus, by a principle of honesty, to which Monk was an utter stranger—no false oaths or protestations were scrupled at by him—was Fleetwood prevented from at least embarking in a measure which, while it would, if successful, have secured his party, and even the cause, would have procured for him all the glory so unworthily lavished on the instrument that brought about the Restoration,—the Restoration accomplished—with the ruin of every principle which he had with such apparent zeal professed, and of all the men with whom he had so long acted in concert, and pretended to admire. To a feeling of integrity, joined to a thorough conviction of the ruinous consequences to which he propelled him, must we ascribe the despair that now bore down Fleetwood to the earth, as cast off by heaven, and made him vent, in womanish lamentation, the anguish which his sense of the approaching ruin of his family, friends, and principles, so

* Whitelocke, pp. 690-1.

deeply inspired. Let us not, then, pretend to despise his despair, and picture to ourselves a weak fanatic who, elated with temporary prosperity, was yet overwhelmed by a change of fortune. It is not unlikely, however, that he was unqualified for a great part: for men who are the best calculated to act in a subordinate situation, are generally the worst qualified to take the lead. So long as the powerful hand that uses them directs the helm, they imagine that the course is not above their own powers, and that they, as the instruments, really perform the business; but when the head is removed, they feel their own imbecility, while men who have been long accustomed to behold them as satellites of greatness are not inclined to transfer to them the respect which they paid to the deceased, and their own minds are impressed with want of confidence in their powers, now that they have lost the directing genius which never interposed but with effect. Ingoldsby and some others, at the same time, proposed to Whitelocke to restore the king as a change that would most probably happen: he, however, declined to act with them. But, says he, 'no quiet was enjoyed by any party; all were at work; and the king's party were active, and every man was guided by his own fancy and interest: those in employment were most obnoxious to trouble.'*

The parliament on its reassembling showed a disposition to act with vigour. But it may be questioned whether it exhibited commensurate prudence. Vane, †

Parliament
restored.

* Whitelocke, p. 691; see Carte's *Let.* vol. ii. Lambert was expected, on probable grounds, to declare for the king, as well as Fleetwood.

† Hume's character of Hazlerig and Vane is worthy of him and of Clarendon, whom he *partly* follows. As to the idea ascribed to Vane of his imagining that he was inspired, and that he believed himself the person deputed by God to reign over the saints a thousand years, it rests

only on his lordship's authority, which on such a subject is, as we have sufficiently proved, the worst imaginable, and is directly refuted by the conduct of Vane in his last moments. Hume says, 'he deemed himself, to *speak the language of the times*;'—where did he learn that such was the language of the times?—'to be a man above ordinances, and, by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and unrestrained by any

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who had ever been steady to his principles, had latterly, as the only chance of settling affairs, acted in some things

rules which govern inferior mortals.' Whence did Mr. Hume extract his information regarding this illustrious character? Was it from his own logical deduction from his own principles?—as thus, the king's will is law, and, therefore, his ordinances ought to be implicitly obeyed. But Vane disputed and spurned at such ordinances; *ergo*, he was a man above ordinances. But, says the same author in regard to Monk, 'upon the whole, it seems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a disparagement of his probity.' Ought, then, the most solemn protestations and oaths to God, made and repeated in every possible way, with, as Hume labours to prove, the purpose of imposing on those to whom they were addressed, to exalt our idea of the man's prudence, not disparage his probity? I, for my part—and sorry am I to be obliged to speak it—cannot divine what idea an author had of *ordinances*, who could make such a defence of conduct which set every moral obligation at defiance. Even the authors of the *Parliamentary History*, high Tories as they are, say, in regard to the attempt by Price to prove that Monk had early intended the Restoration—'Allow this assertion to be true, yet the method Monk took to bring about this restoration was by no means justifiable, since 'tis certain it was effected by the breach of *some oaths*' (*many*), 'and the deepest dissimulation' (vol. xxii. p. 8). Gumble says, that Moncke was known amongst the soldiers as *honest* George Monk. The reader will judge how far he deserved the appellation; but I should like a better authority for the fact; and the feelings of the soldiery, as described by Hodgson, were very different indeed. Clarendon begins with telling us that Monk had been noted for sincerity, and then pro-

ceeds to give as strong a picture of hypocrisy as the pen could draw. The first he probably conceived incumbent on him to please his party; the latter was consonant to his own knowledge of the man whom he cordially believed to have been actuated by a desire of raising himself to the place that had been held by Cromwell, till he found that it was impracticable.

Considering who his wife was, the following account of her conduct, by Ludlow, is not to be wondered at:—'Moncke's wife took special care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her, running herself to fetch the sweatmeats, and filling out the wine for them: not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart that the government might be settled in the way of a commonwealth' (vol. ii. p. 822; see *Clar. State Papers*, vol. iii.). Price has shown himself to be a true *trencher chaplain* in his praises of that lady for her loyalty, and the use she made of it over her husband.

In a note upon the death of Monk, Hume eulogises him still further, while he abuses Burnet for faction and malignity, as manifested in his character of him. He there declares that Monk 'may be said to be the subject who, since the beginning of time, rendered the most durable and essential services to his native country. The means also by which he achieved his great undertakings were almost entirely unexceptionable.' Then integrity is a bubble. 'His temporary dissimulation being absolutely necessary, could scarcely be blameable.' So the deepest protestations, the most solemn oaths, are scarcely blameable. 'He had received no trust from that mongrel, pretended, usurping parliament, whom he dethroned; therefore, could betray none.' What! did he not from the parliament receive an ap-

along with the council of officers; but Hazlerig, who trusted to the protestations of Monk, carried a resolution for not only excluding Vane, Lambert, and Saloway, with some others, but even ordering them to be confined to their houses. This was exactly the course which Monk, who continued his protestations for the parliament and the commonwealth, wished him to pursue. The parliament invited him to the City, and also to the House itself, to receive their thanks by the mouth of the Speaker. In his answer, he declared that, among the many mercies of God to these poor nations, he accounted

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pointment to the command over the forces, though not exactly so much as he desired? Did he not accept of a place in the council, &c. &c.? and must he not have been crushed, had he not imposed on the parliament by oaths and imprecations? 'He even refused to carry his dissimulation so far as to take the oath of abjuration against the king.' Now, the fact is, that he could never scruple at an oath against the king, since he volunteered oath above oath against the Stuarts; but there was something in the oath against a single person, which, as it might affect his officers, who, in Scotland, had declared their wish to see him protector, he probably stumbled at, and he assigned reasons to the council for not pressing the oath on any person that satisfied them (see Gumble, p. 229). 'I confess, however,' proceeds Mr. Hume, 'that the Rev. Dr. Douglas has shown me, from the Clarendon *Papers*, an original letter of his to Sir Arthur Hazlerig, containing very earnest, and certainly false, protestations of his zeal for a commonwealth. It is to be lamented that so worthy a man, and of such plain manners, should ever have found it necessary to carry his dissimulation to such a height.' The letter to Hazlerig has already been quoted by us. But what works had Mr. Hume consulted when he composed his History,

that he should think a remark on that letter necessary, while the other documents to which we have alluded, and which, as they are in the *Parliamentary History* often referred to by him, it is utterly inconceivable he should have overlooked, are even stronger? Yet I do believe that he inspected very few authorities.

Even Monk's chaplains not only admit his hypocrisy, but laud it in the highest terms, as beyond the rules of Machiavel himself (Gumble, p. 246). Whatever men may think of an unconditional Restoration, it is utterly astonishing that they should praise the instrument, who merely sought his own aggrandisement, *per fas et nefas*, and appears to have only restored the Stuarts when he could not usurp the government himself (see Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 255 *et seq.* for a picture of Monk's baseness). Hume ventures the length of denying even the avarice of Monk, which was proverbial. Clarendon himself says, the highest reason with him was always profit. Pepys, in an entry of his *Diary* (dated 9th November, 1663) says, that Mr. Blackburn (alluded to in a former note) says, 'Do tell me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man, that hath betrayed everybody, and the king also.' Pepys, as we have seen, calls him, at a later date, a block-head, &c.

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their restoration not the least ; that the glory of it was due to the Deity alone, whose goodness had been peculiarly manifested to himself in making him, though unworthy, a humble instrument for so glorious a purpose. That in his march south, the people had everywhere flocked to him, professing their desire of a free parliament, the restoration of the members excluded in 1648, the encouragement of the universities, and of learning, and likewise of a pious ministry : but that he had assured them that the parliament was now free, and resolved to fill up the vacancies of the House, while it had determined to put an end to its sitting ; that the ministry and universities would doubtless be sufficiently encouraged, but that, as for the expulsion of the members in 1648, it ought to be acquiesced in ; and that no one could in any estate be admitted into such an assembly before he had taken an engagement to the government. He said that he mentioned these things to show the disposition of the people at large to assist them in their grand work, which should include as many interests, excepting those of the Cavaliers and fanatics, as possible ; and that, for his part, he conceived that, provided regard were had for the safety of the Commonwealth, the fewer engagements exacted the better. He concluded with remarking, that he had no doubt of the affection both of Scotland and Ireland.*

Common
council of
London.

The common council of London, in the meantime, having lost confidence in the parliament, and become inflamed against the army for killing some of the citizens in suppressing a tumult by the apprentices, declared their resolution not to pay taxes till they should be imposed by a free parliament duly elected ; and as if it had itself constituted the supreme power of the nation, it received petitions on that subject from the adjacent counties, while they proceeded to fortify the City. Every way surrounded

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 28 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 691 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 776 *et seq.*

with difficulties, the council of state, which could not regard this in any other light than as a defiance of the existing authority, sent for Monk, who had just been admitted as one of their number, that they might employ him on seizing twelve of the refractory citizens, and in destroying the new works. Far from declining this service, Monk instigated the council, as one of its number, to still harsher measures, declaring that the City would never be quiet till some of the citizens were hanged. Marching into the City, he literally performed the work enjoined him: but scarcely had he accomplished it, when some of the leading Presbyterian party came to lament the measure, and to convince him of his impolicy. They succeeded in making him a convert to their sentiments, more probably from the light which they gave him regarding the force of public opinion than from the potency of their argument in other respects. But other circumstances operated powerfully on his mind. The parliament, though it had trusted to the protestations of Monk, had suffered too much already from aspiring generals to devolve willingly on him the power of the state; and it had lately become jealous of his designs. Endeavours were therefore used to conciliate the soldiery; a new militia was determined on, and the parliament, therefore, received with sufficient marks of respect a representation and address, presented by Mr. Praise-God Barebone, from a great body who called themselves the well-affected inhabitants of the cities of London and Westminster, and places adjacent; in which they prayed, first, that no person or persons should be allowed to sit in this or any future parliament, or hold any official situation, who did not abjure the pretended title or titles of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of the late king James, and of every other individual who pretended to the crown or government of the three nations, or any of its territories, co-ordinate with the people's representatives, as well as a House of Peers; and, secondly, that whoever propounded such a thing in any meeting,

even in the parliament itself, should be deemed and adjudged guilty of high treason.* This petition was pre-

* The petition presented by Barebone is called by Hume a long fanatical one, and stigmatised with every opprobrious epithet by Clarendon: the reader may, therefore, be gratified with the original, as it will show Hume's idea of fanaticism.

'Whereas the good old cause was for civil and Christian liberty, against oppression and persecution. The oppressors and persecutors were chiefly the king, his lords and clergy, and their adherents; who, to effect their designs, raised war against the parliament. Whereupon, the parliament, in defence of civil and Christian liberty, call the oppressed and persecuted to their aid; by whose assistance the oppressors and persecutors have been subdued, kingship and peerage abolished, and persecution checked, by which the number of conscientious friends to the parliament have been so exceedingly increased, that they are now, by God's assistance, in a far more able capacity of keeping down their enemies than they were in those times when they subdued them. Nevertheless, so watchful hath the restless enemy been to make advantage, that what, time after time, he hath lost in the field, he hath endeavoured to regain even in the parliament's council: where, because they had not the face openly to bring in the king, with the former oppressions and persecutions, they shrouded and veiled themselves, one while under a personal treaty, another while under a cloak or zeal against blasphemy and heresy: their endeavours being to bring in the king upon any terms, to cherish the persecuting party, and to browbeat their most conscientious opposers. Upon which pretences they have, nevertheless, through tract of time and the unsettledness of government, prevailed so far, under the notion of a moderate party, to get the subtlest of their friends into many places of trust and

command, both civil and military: through whose countenance and encouragement, albeit the parliament, upon good grounds, voted the government by kings and lords useless, burthensome and dangerous, and declare very largely for liberty of conscience: yet, of late, a general boldness hath been taken to plead a necessity of returning to the government of king and lords, a taking in of the king's son; or, which is all one, for a return of the justly secluded members, or a free parliament without due qualifications, whereby the good old cause of liberty and freedom (so long contended for against regal interests with the expense of much blood and treasure), and the assertors thereof, will be prostituted to satisfy the lusts of the enemies of the Commonwealth, wherein they have prevailed so far, that, unless all conscientious persons in parliament, army, navy, and commonwealth do speedily unite and watchfully look about them, the sword will certainly, though secretly and silently, be stolen out of their hands; so also will they find all civil authority fall suddenly into the hands of their enraged enemies, and a return of all those violences, oppressions, and persecutions, which have cost so much blood and treasure to extirpate. The serious apprehension whereof hath stirred up your cordial friends to desire you to use all possible endeavours to prevent the commonwealth's adversaries in this their most dangerous stratagem; and as the most effectual means thereunto, we pray, &c. (*Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 94). The substance of the two points prayed for being embodied in the text, we shall not swell out this note farther. The reader will see in this the cause of Monk's apprehensions: and, likewise, in the industry and influence of Barebone to procure such a petition, the cause of the ridicule thrown on him by

sented at the very time Monk was ordered into the City; and, as it was received with great approbation by the House, his chief officers open-mouthed inveighed to him against it as a 'mark of ingratitude and indignity offered to himself; declaring, that the parliament would never have admitted such an infamous address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon his ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and sagacity;' and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were made to work upon the affections of the soldiers.* He now changed his tone, and, in a letter which he addressed to parliament, though he still talked of the wonderful goodness of God in allowing the members to return to the House for the discharge of their duty, he pretended to lament the sad office which had been imposed upon him by the council, of marching into the City; reminded them that the ground of their undertaking had been the vindication of the liberties of the people, a ground from which—as he had declared it before the Lord, angels, and men, in the day of their extremity—he could not depart; that the army must trouble the House with their fears, arising from their not having actually disqualified Vane and the others from sitting in parliament, and allowing that statesman to reside about town; and that as he found the whole nation was bent upon a free parliament, he

Clarendon and others. His unfortunate Christian name barbed the sting. But the language of the petition has none of the cant of Monk's.

'Moneke,' says a Mr. Dixon, whose letter is preserved amongst the Clarendon *Papers*, 'is very impatient for the dissolution of this parliament, and begins to discover a dislike of some of their actions, peculiarly that of settling a militia of their own throughout the nation, which they are doing in very safe hands, but declares he will positively acquiesce in the determinations of a free parlia-

ment' (vol. iii. p. 690).—N.B. The letter is dated 24th February, 1659–60. In order to show the masterly dissimulation of Monk, Price—who, with his other biographers, praises every act of perfidy as deep policy, and a worthy mean to a pious end—says, that Monk told him the marching into the City was 'a trick he knew not, but without which the business could not have been done.'

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 406 *et seq.*; see—generally in support of text—from p. 400 *et seq.*

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trusted the parliament would immediately determine on the qualifications of electors—qualifications which should exclude all those who had borne arms against, or had shown dissatisfaction at, the parliament. He particularly reflected on the petition presented by Barebone; and—aware that some petitions from counties had been favourably received by some members, though the majority declared against them, for the payment of the clergy by some other mode than by tithes, which had inflamed that body—he affected great zeal for the preservation of the ministry against the pretended designs of the petitioners, who concurred with Barebone.*

Monk goes
a second
time into
the City,
&c.

Soon after his letter to the House, Monk went into the City, where he lamented to them the duty which had been imposed on him by the council, of adopting the late offensive measures, and declared his desire for a free parliament; while, having got his letter to the parliament printed, he had it liberally dispersed. The late Act had completed the alienation of the City, where the Presbyterian interest predominated; and now that the inhabitants found themselves supported by the chief military force, Cavalier and Presbyterian concurred in manifesting every species of contempt for the parliament. ‘In ridicule of that assembly, as if wasted away to that part which usually terminates the animal economy, they sent for rumps from all quarters; and when these failed, they cut pieces of flesh into the resemblance, and roasted them publicly at bonfires.’†

Ireland.

In the meantime, Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote in Ireland, who had maintained a correspondence with Monk, entered into one with the exiled monarch, promising that, if he landed on that island, they would endeavour to join him. Assisted, too, by Sir Theophilus

* *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 98; Price; Ludlow, vol. iii. pp. 751, 823, *et seq.*

† *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 409 *et seq.*;

State Papers, vol. iii. p. 691 *et seq.*; Price; Gumble. Whitelocke, p. 695, says Monk hardly gave the same account to two men.

Jones and other officers, Coote surprised Dublin, and having seized Colonel John Jones and the commissioners, immediately collected a large body of horse and assumed the reins of government. Ludlow, who had flattered himself that when he left Ireland on the second expulsion of the parliament, he had reduced it to a state of tranquillity, was again at Chester, on the eve of embarking for that island, when news of this event reached him; but, having written to Hazlerig to take care of matters at home, he prosecuted his voyage. On his arrival in Ireland, he was invited by Coote and his party to negotiate with them; but, as he perceived that their object was to get him within their power, he kept beyond their reach. In these proceedings, though not in the correspondence with Charles, Broghill and Coote acted in perfect accordance with the views of Monk, who was early anxious to get power in Ireland, and perceived that all his declarations in regard to his intentions of establishing a republic had never been able to impose upon Ludlow. Broghill, Coote, and his party, finding that they could not secure Ludlow's person, adopted a different course against him. Having displaced all the commonwealth's officers, and substituted their own creatures, they transmitted to England a charge against him of having too much favoured the Wallingford House party, while they, at the same time, sent an impeachment of high treason against the commissioners. They also declared for a new parliament, and called a convention in Dublin to advance them money.*

The parliament, jealous of Monk's residence in the City, sent two of their members to request that he would leave it and return to his old quarters. But he was otherwise employed. Having succeeded in convincing the City that he had on the former occasion acted reluctantly against it, he averted from himself the odium of

Parliament
jealous of
Monk, &c.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 781 *et seq.*; Price; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 55 *et seq.*

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the transaction, turning it all against the parliament, and obtained the authority of the City for raising a militia there. At this time the parliament was busily engaged in devising rules for the new election. By these, all who had been engaged in plots for bringing in the Stuart family were to be excluded, while an engagement was to be exacted of every voter against the exiled monarch and the dominion of an individual. The Presbyterian party, however, were now, generally speaking, more than ever disposed to restore monarchy on conditions, and the City had formed that resolution. The excluded members therefore conceived that the present was the time to demand their admission to the House; and whatever had been Monk's intention, he now found it necessary to yield to the current. All his protestations for a commonwealth did not prevail with the parliament to form the resolution of entrusting him with unlimited power over the army; and instead of being invested with full authority to dispose of commissions, he was only nominated one of five for that purpose. Other intentions, which would have annihilated his power, were entertained. His troops began to be disaffected, from a suspicion of his intentions in regard to a republic; and his influence over them would have been altogether inadequate to raise him to the chief magistracy, while he had reason to think that part of them might revolt to their old commanders. The new militia of London, though it might form some counterpoise to the old military, was too much affected with the principles of the City to be made an instrument in the hands of the general.*

Secluded
members
restored,
Feb. 21,
1660.

The secluded members having insisted on being restored to their seats, Monk pretended that, for their satisfaction, he would at his own house hear what they had to say on the subject; and he invited some of the parliamentary leaders to attend a conference. The dis-

* *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 103; Price; Gumble; Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii.; Whitlocke, p. 695.

cussion, according to the natural course of events, widened the breach, and the deputies from the parliament abruptly left the meeting in disgust. After this, the parliament having received notice that the secluded members meant to intrude themselves, sent intelligence of it to the general, who answered that it was impossible they could entertain such a purpose, but that he would send a guard to prevent the possibility of such a proceeding. To the disappointment of that assembly, however, the secluded members, accompanied with a part of his officers, took their places; yet, on the very same day, Monk sent a declaration to the parliament, in which he calls on the divine attestation that his only object was the establishment of a free republic.*

When the secluded members returned to the House, many of the others left it, conceiving that they should degrade themselves by continuing to sit in the same assembly with those whom they had previously expelled.

* *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 132 *et seq.*; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 828 *et seq.*; Whitelocke, p. 696; Price; Gumble; *Clar. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 409 *et seq.*—and let not the notes be overlooked. See also p. 401 *et seq.* Monk, in a paper which he presented at the meeting between the excluded members and the others, says—'I thought good to assure you, *and that in the presence of God*, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory and the settlement of the-e nations upon commonwealth foundations. In pursuit whereof, I shall think nothing too dear; and for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at your feet to be anything or nothing to these great ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it from me to impose anything. I desire you may be in perfect freedom; only give me leave to remind you, that the old foundations are, by God's providence, so broken, that in the eye of reason they cannot be restored but upon the ruins of the people of

these nations, that have engaged for their rights in defence of the parliament, and the great and main ends of the Covenant: for uniting the Lord's name one in three nations; and also the liberty of the people's representatives in parliament will certainly be lost: for if the people find that, after so long and bloody a war against the king for breaking in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his will, dispose of parliaments and parliament men as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never more rise for assistance.' This is taken from the copy in Clarendon's *History* (*Id.* p. 414 *et seq.*), of which Mr. Hume had no apology for not being acquainted with. I will therefore say, that if this could, as excusable hypocrisy, be justified, there is no such thing as a right or wrong in human actions.

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This completed the triumph of the Presbyterian party, as the secluded members might, it is said, have been out-voted; and they lost no time in ordering all the resolutions by which they had been expelled to be expunged from the Journals, in appointing a new council of state, and nominating Monk captain-general of all the forces in the British dominions, and Montague and Lawson (the first of whom was justly suspected of having been secretly engaged with Sir George Booth) commanders of the fleet. Yet they were not forgetful of their old principles. They revived the Solemn League and Covenant, and ordered it not only to be printed and put up in the House, but read in every parish church. Some of them, too, were for retaining their authority till they had fully settled the nation: but Monk, whose hints were commands, reminded them that they had been only restored on condition of their calling a new parliament; and they, finding it vain to resist, entered into some resolutions regarding the qualifications of electors—in particular, that they should take the Covenant, and having voted that the general should give no commissions to any who did not previously declare that the war undertaken against the late king was just and lawful, appointed another parliament at a short date, and then passed the Act of Dissolution, which put a final period to this famous assembly.*

Long Parliament dissolved, March 6, 1660.

Monk's motives.

What were Monk's views, even at this time, it is impossible to ascertain. He still declined correspondence not only with the Cavaliers, but with emissaries from the exiled family, and would not, to his most confidential friends, make any declaration in favour of the Stuarts:† but men throughout the empire were tired of revolutions, and the majority despaired of repose under the nominal form of a republic. The grand struggle in former times

* Whitelocke, p. 696; Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 831 *et seq.*; see Ludlow's *Liberal Notions about Religion, and Moncke's Hypocrisy*; Carte's *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 308 *et seq.*; Clar. *Papers*,

vol. iii.; Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 244 *et seq.* The treachery of Ashley Cooper was like himself.

† Clar. *State Papers*, vol. iii.

had been between the prince and the parliament, which, supported by the popular voice, maintained the privileges of the people : but when the contest terminated in favour of that legislative assembly, people beheld that it, invested with the whole legislative power and the disposal of offices, might convert the public trust into a fee for the members ; that, however judiciously selected, when deputed by the people, they could not be depended on when they were no longer under any control from those who had the nomination ; and that it was to be anticipated that a new representation would be again split into factions for superiority, and the nation again convulsed with their growing contentions. The licentiousness of the army had everywhere disgusted the people ; and each revolution seemed only to be the precursor of another usurpation. A change which threw down those who had long stood at the helm was grateful to the ambitious ; the Stuarts were loud in their professions of regard for the liberty of the people and the authority of parliament ; and too many were deluded by such language into the belief that the fate of the father would have such a salutary effect upon the son as to deter him from those unconstitutional courses which had brought a weight of affliction upon the family, as well as so much misery upon the people. So infatuated were the Presbyterians, that they fondly flattered themselves that now the victory was theirs ; that the Cavaliers could easily be restrained by the united voice of the people, of whose support they did not doubt ; and that the exiled family never could be restored on terms short of those tendered to the late king at the Isle of Wight.

The Republican party was still strong, but it could not resist the united efforts of the Cavaliers and Presbyterians, and it was depressed by the present posture of affairs. The Cavaliers were ineligible by the late Act, but there was no provision to enforce it ; and as the Presbyterians, in their jealousy of the Republicans, favoured them, many were elected : but numbers of those who had resolved to

State of
parties, &c.

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VII.

espouse the Presbyterian interest sought the advancement of their individual views, by affecting zeal for an unconditional restoration, when they perceived it could not be avoided. Large sums were expended for seats—some giving one thousand pounds, and others two.*

There is reason to suppose that Monk connived at the election of Cavaliers; that, on the one hand, if the Restoration should be the most advisable course, he might use them as instruments for promoting it; and, on the other, if he found himself in a situation to usurp the government, he might have a plausible pretext for dissolving an assembly elected on principles prohibited by the very Act which authorised it. He now began to entertain some emissaries from the king, and gave obscure hints of an intention to restore the family: but even these were contradicted by violent declarations to the same individuals. One day he declared that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament, both in relation to the king and the House of Lords; another day he told the same person, ‘in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England’—though ‘he was in good temper again the same night.’ Yet ‘he still persisted to protest, and wish his right hand might rot off if he had the least design for the king, or if he did not oppose it to the last drop of his blood if attempted by any.’ It is even alleged that he had entered into a correspondence with Mazarine to help him to the place which had been occupied by Cromwell; but every day developed to him the impracticability of the attempt. His late measures had forfeited for ever the confidence of the popular party; and, in spite of all his arrangements in the commands, it was only by keeping the army in various stations, to cut off mutual communication between the different detachments, that he could expect to preserve it in obedience. If the popu-

* Carte's *Lct.* vol. ii. p. 326.

lar party regained the ascendancy, he was at once thrown down from his pre-eminence, and the command of the military consigned to others; if the Presbyterian interest prevailed, then it restored the Stuarts without him, and exposed him to all the consequences of resisting the measure. He had thus no party to act with to raise him to individual power, without recalling the exiled family; and the military which gave him such influence could not be relied on. The City militia, too, which he had organised as a counterpoise to the old army, felt with their fellow-citizens; the fleet under Montague was ready to declare for the king, and the party at the head of affairs in Ireland had been negotiating with Charles II. Monk must have been conscious, besides, that he was destitute of those great qualities which in Oliver Cromwell had so dazzled mankind, shedding a lustre even on usurpation, but which would not have preserved even that individual much longer in his guilty greatness. When these circumstances are considered, there will no longer be room for wonder that he should have at last intimated to Sir John Grenville, who had been sent over by the exiled king, that he was anxious to promote his majesty's service, and advised that Charles should leave the Spanish territories, lest he should be detained as a hostage for Dunkirk and Jamaica. On this return of good fortune, Charles instantly removed to Breda: and now it may be necessary to give some account of his situation.*

* Mr. Hume had not the benefit of the third volume of the Clarendon *Papers*, which is an invaluable record; and that affords a considerable apology for his misconception of the state of things, and the views of the leading men. The rising of Fairfax, on Monk's march south, for instance, was viewed by the Royalists with alarm (pp. 654, 656, 669). See p. 660 *et seq.* See also about Manchester, Hollis, and the rest, who began instantly to cabal, not only against the republican party, but against the

power of the crown, &c. But our chief business is now with Monk. Hume lays hold of a statement by Gumble, that Monk had asserted Cromwell could not long have maintained his usurpation: but, from all circumstances, we never can believe that the assertion had been made relative to an individual he was so deeply engaged with, till after the Restoration. Hume dwells on 'the natural tranquillity and moderation of Monk's temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius—not to

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VII.Peace between
France and
Spain.

The war between France and Spain, which, to gratify the ambition of two or three individuals, had, for about

mention his age, now upon the decline. Let us begin with his age: I would ask at what age a man is beyond ambition. But what was Monk's age? — Fifty-two! or two years younger than Cromwell was when he usurped the government! As to the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, I know not what is meant, since he never could safely show more ambition than he did. See what Hyde (Clarendon) says, in a letter to Sir Henry Bennet (14th February, 1659-60), '*of his ambitious and avaricious nature*' (p. 679). 'If I hear his character right,' says Lord Mordaunt to the king (in a letter dated 17th February, 1659-1660), '*he is covetous, surly, and proud*' (p. 683). See p. 661, regarding his fear of Lambert. See how he was watched by Scott and Robinson (p. 662). See p. 666, about St. John and others, whose conduct influenced Monk, as to the abjuring the king (pp. 667-8). 'Moncke,' says Lord Mordaunt, 5th February, 1659-60, '*hath already pulled off the mask, and is clearly republical, and certainly hath acted the weakest part that ever man did: he hath lost all parties, and now runs with the giddy members into illegal and irregular actions*' (p. 70). See pp. 672, 674, 675 *et seq.* 'There is so insolent a spirit amongst some of the nobility,' writes Mr. Bacon, (February,) 'that I really fear it will turn to an aristocracy, Moncke inclining that way too. My opinion is clear that the king ought not to part with the church, crown, or friends' lands, lest he make my Lord of Northumberland his equal—nay, perhaps his superior' (pp. 680, 681). Regarding Monk's conduct to the City (p. 682), Lord Mordaunt, founding his reasoning upon the covetous, surly, proud temper of Monk, says, 'If this be his nature, he will prove malleable, there being none of those humours, how peccant soever, but may be rec-

tified. The visible inclination of the people; the danger he foresees from so many enemies; his particular pique to Lambert; the provocation of the Anabaptists and sectaries, with whom I may now join the Catholics; the want of money to continue standing armies; the divisions of the chief officers in those respective armies; the advisers of those near him,—I mean Cloberry and Knight, whom I hear as well of as of the former; the admonitions daily given him by Mr. Annesley and Alderman Robinson, unless God has fed him for the slaughter, cannot but move him to return to assist the government he was born under, and which he allowed to be the best under the greatest tyrant' (p. 683). See about Monk's '*bitter speech against monarchy,*' to the secluded members (p. 688). See Lady Willoughby's *Letter to Hyde*, about the approaching elections (p. 689), dated 24th February. 'The discontented persons here,' writes Mr. Dixon on the same day, after the return of the secluded members, '(such as Hazlerig, Scott, Robinson, and others), are not without their designs to interrupt the proceedings of our new governors, and to that end have already joined with the officers of the old army, and intend this very night to make proposals to Moncke for re-establishing of the protector again, as being the only expedient they can find to save themselves from ruin,' &c. (pp. 689, 690). See also Monk's desire to dissolve the parliament because it was for establishing a new militia. See about Monk's supposed designs, p. 691; see also the temper of his officers, p. 692: see also about his designs, p. 693. Lambert petitioned for leave to transport himself beyond seas: 'yet, after all this, many believe that he will be able to make a bustle, and that the Rump love him much better, and will trust him more than

thirty years, cost a prodigal waste of lives and treasure, was, soon after the late protector's death, terminated by the peace of the Pyrenees. Spain, by the united efforts of France and England, was at last reduced so low, that the French minister did not escape censure for sacrificing his master's interest to the importunity of the queen-mother. But the death of Cromwell had materially altered the aspect of affairs: as it was he who had entered into the war, so the parliament might conclude a peace and adopt measures for compelling France to concur. By the possession of Dunkirk, the road was open into the

they will do Monk. Every day produces some manifesto sent up to Moncke for a full and free parliament,' &c. (p. 695). 'All I can say of Moncke,' writes Mr. Barwick to the king, March 10, is, 'that no means are left unattempted which come within the power of my friend; for, notwithstanding his former resolution only to move along with Moncke, about the beginning of this week he pressed him with all the arguments he could, both from necessity, honour, and interest; and he put him to such a stand with them, as he only replied he would consider of it, and tell more of his mind hereafter. And again, on Wednesday, upon occasion of the Remonstrance, he declared himself to my friend that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament, both in relation to your majesty and the House of Lords; and yet yesterday he told him, *in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England.* Though I hear from other hands he was in a good temper again the same night' (p. 695). See p. 698, about the army, &c. and Monk. See what Monk intended by a free parliament, and how Hyde only relied on his declaring for the king even on March 17th, in consequence of Fairfax and Rossiter having risen (p. 701). See following page, about parties, &c. One of the king's friends, under

the feigned name of Mr. Harrison, writes to the king, on the 19th March, that Montague had declared for him, as the only way to settle the nation; and then says, 'Monk still persists to protest, and wish his right hand may rot off if he has the least design for the king, or if he do not oppose it to the last drop of blood, if attempted by any' (p. 703). See p. 704 *et seq.*, particularly pp. 738, 739; see also Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. Upon the whole, I conceive that there can be no great doubt that Monk was carried by the stream, and only determined on the Restoration when he could not raise himself to the chief power. Manchester, and others of the Presbyterian party, who professed much for the king, intended to bind him down so fast, that he should not be permitted to write a letter, or appoint a kitchen-boy, without their consent (p. 705). See also p. 728, and elsewhere, for Fairfax. The truth is, that in the temper of the nation, the Restoration could not be avoided; but it might have been effected on certain conditions. See Price, as to Monk's continued protestations for a commonwealth, and the views of the Presbyterian party; and as to Monk, *Clar. Ibid.* See note xxi. to vol. i. of Laing's *History* relative to the story told by Locke of Monk's intrigue with Mazarine.

CHAP.
VIL.

French territory, and a cooperation with the Huguenots, or Protestants of that country, might soon paralyse the French government. Charles went to the treaty, to ask the assistance of the potentates in recovering his throne, as the cause of kings: but, as his prospect of regaining it was, by the defeat of Booth's insurrection, deemed hopeless, his reception was cold, while that of Lockhart, the English ambassador, was attended with a respect which had never been shown to the representative of any monarch. Though the pope had talked of the deep concern which it gave him to see the death of the late king unrevenged, and declared that he would use his fatherly interest in uniting the different monarchs to re-assert the right of the exiled family, as in a cause which, being directed against a successful example of revolt in subjects, it became all sovereigns to maintain*—so little sympathy did the fate of that family excite, that the queen-mother of England, so nearly allied in blood to the French king, was scarcely supplied with the necessaries of life; nay, her daughter was, on one occasion, obliged to keep her bed from want of fuel to warm her apartment: even the catholic king himself, it is believed, would, to accomplish his own ends in regard to Dunkirk and Jamaica, have detained as a prisoner a brother-prince who had sought an asylum in his territories. When, however, there was a prospect of his restoration, and nothing could be gained by any attempt to detain him, they were all sufficiently loud in expressing their joy and in proffering him their services.†

Presbyterians
alarmed.

Some of the Presbyterians took the alarm at the idea of a restoration, and the great body were still zealous for rigorous terms; but, as in one thing they all concurred—hatred of the sectaries, on this was founded the hope of the Cavaliers. The Republicans, or sectaries, perceiving that all would be lost if they did not immediately act,

* Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 124 *et seq.* *State Papers*, vol. iii.; *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*
† Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 336 *et seq.*;

were in the highest state of commotion; and the troops began to be everywhere affected with the spirit of mutiny, when Lambert, having escaped from the Tower, to which he had been committed in consequence of having surrendered himself, instantly endeavoured to set himself at their head. Prompt measures alone saved Monk. Ingoldsby, who seems to have been latterly treated coldly by Cromwell,* and was ever ready to affect the utmost zeal for the party that was uppermost, was sent against him, and overtook him before he could raise more than four troops. Perceiving themselves to be overpowered with great superiority in numbers, one of the troops deserted, and Lambert, along with Okey, Axtle, and Creed, was taken prisoner. Overton, partly from the activity of Fairfax, found it necessary, owing to the disaffection among his troops, to surrender the command of Hull.†

CHAP.
VII.

Lambert
tries to col-
lect troops;
defeated.

When the parliament met, the Lords were, in spite of a promise made by Monk to exclude them, allowed to take their seats in the Upper House, when they chose the Earl of Manchester as their Speaker: the Commons chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone. Both Houses confirmed Monk's commission of captain-general; and the members emulated each other in expressing abhorrence at the execution of the late king, and in reflecting on the memory of Cromwell. This was a prelude to the Restoration, though nothing was said about it; and there is reason to believe that there was a strong party who were inclined to restore monarchy on rigorous terms only; but Monk, who was determined to make his own fortune without regard to any party, and who well knew that conditions for himself would expose him to jealousy from the king and his immediate advisers, while leaving all to the gratitude of the prince would bind him to his interest, had already concluded matters with Charles, without specifying con-

New par-
liament
meets,
April 25,
1660.

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. Ludlow, vol. ii. pp. 858-59, 875, 877; p. 365. Price; Gumble; Skinner.

† Clar. *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 427 *et seq.*;

CHAP.
VII.

Letter and
declaration
by Charles
II.

ditions either for his country or himself. He therefore intimated to the House of Commons that Sir John Grenville was at the door, desirous to deliver a letter from the king, when orders were given for his immediate admission. Grenville delivered, along with the letter, a declaration from Charles, in which he professed great regard for the privileges of parliament and the rights of the people; professed a general amnesty to all persons but such as should be excepted by parliament itself; promised liberty of conscience, and his consent to any Act that parliament might deem necessary to secure it; and assured them that he would leave it to parliament to determine about the sale and the alienation of the church lands; while he promised to the soldiers not only all their arrears, but a continuance of their pay. To quicken their motions, he also intimated, what was unfounded, that he had assurances of aid from foreign princes, but that he was disposed to decline it in confidence of their affections. This assembly, however, was not so carried away by the occasion as not to think of conditions; and the great Sir Matthew Hale himself moved the Commons to take them into consideration: but Monk interposed, telling them the troops could not be depended on during the delay of a treaty; and as they dreaded the second ascendancy of the republicans on the one hand, and perceived, on the other, that Monk would in all probability succeed in restoring the king without them, while they were also apprised that he was intimating to the king what fell from individual members, and each apprehended not only the loss of favour, but possibly the royal vengeance, they dropped the opposition. Charles was therefore proclaimed, and arrangements were instantly made for his unconditional restoration.*

Charles's
restoration.

Montague was dispatched to bring him over, and he

* *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 210 *et seq.*; *Clar. State Papers*, vol. iii.; *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 431 *et seq.*; Lud-

low, vol. ii. p. 875; Price; Gumble; Skinner; Carte's *Lett.* vol. ii.; Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Times*.

returned to England amid a general demonstration of joy ; but the Presbyterians were ere long taught, by oppression, not to rejoice over the humiliation of the Republicans. No idea was ever more erroneous than that Charles and his friends acted mercifully towards their adversaries, as they proceeded as far as they durst, and even pursued by assassins some of those who had sought refuge in foreign climes.* His own open encouragement of every species of profligacy reflects disgrace on the age that could tolerate it. His violation of the law, and designs against religion, evince that he had not profited by experience.

CHAP.
VII.

Proclaimed
king, May
8.

* Ludlow, vol. iii. See in Price a proof of hypocritical cant by Monk after the Restoration, p. 161. 'When I came to him,' says Price, '*I kneeled to him, and kissed his hands.*' (Had he been 'a man of such plain manners' as Hume represents him, would his chaplain have used this ceremony?) 'He took me up, *and was pleased to speak some kind words to me*; but, in speaking, *broke into tears*, saying these words: "No, Mr.

Price, it was not I that did this; you know the jealousies that were had of me," (how could it be otherwise, considering his false protestations?) "and the oppositions against me. It was God alone who did it: to him be the glory, whose is the kingdom and the power, over this and all governments." Compare this with his blasphemous addresses to the Long Parliament.

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