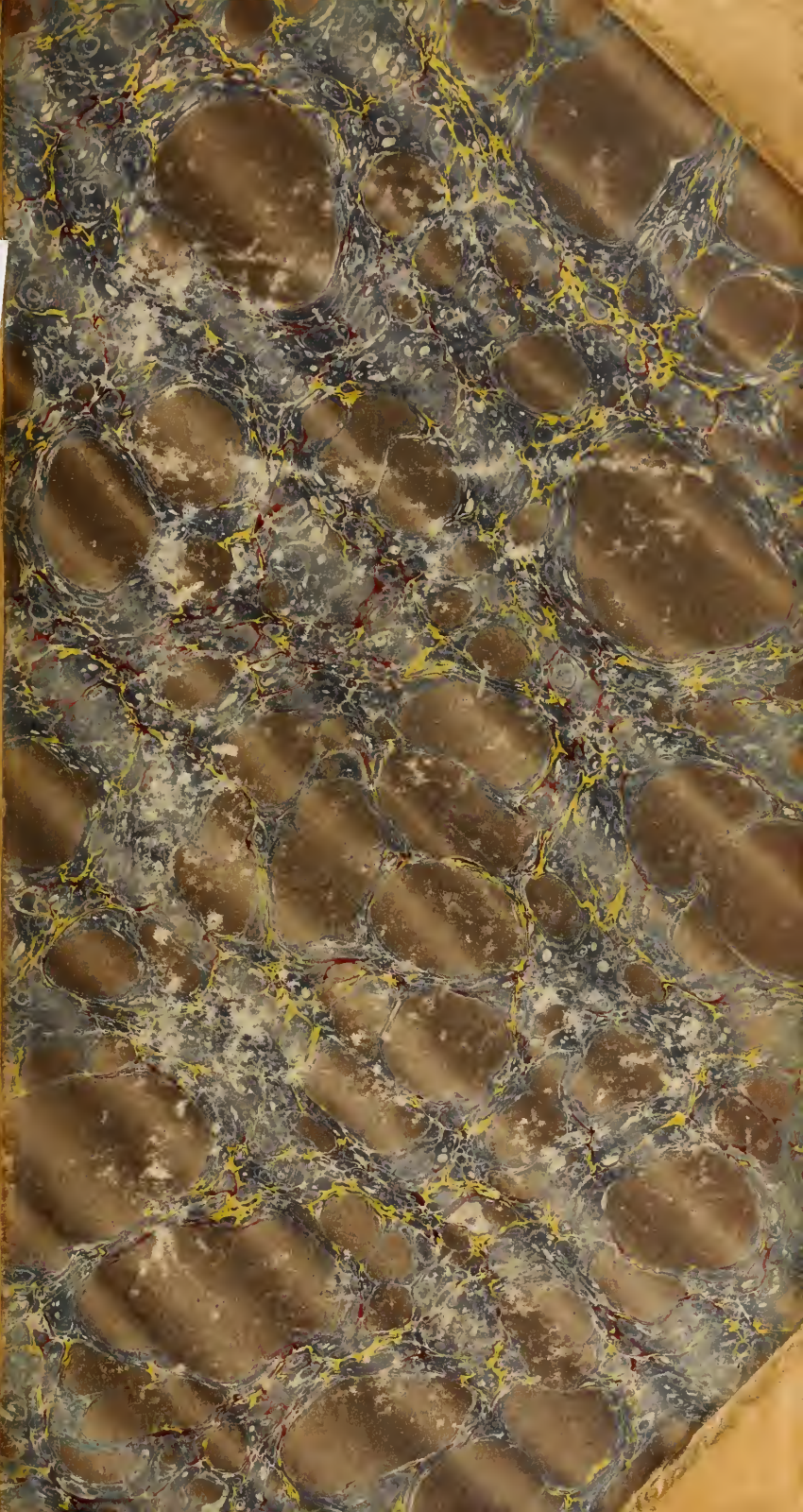


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A HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND  
FROM THE FIRST  
INVASION BY THE ROMANS.

BY  
JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

VOLUME XI.

SECOND EDITION.

---

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OF

## THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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#### THE COMMONWEALTH.

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OF  
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CHAP. I.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH—PUNISHMENT OF THE ROYALISTS—MUTINY AND SUPPRESSION OF THE LEVELLERS—CHARLES II. PROCLAIMED IN SCOTLAND—ASCENDANCY OF HIS ADHERENTS IN IRELAND—THEIR DEFEAT AT RATHMINES—SUCCESS OF CROMWELL IN IRELAND—LANDING OF CHARLES IN SCOTLAND—CROMWELL IS SENT AGAINST HIM—HE GAINS A VICTORY AT DUNBAR—THE KING MARCHES INTO ENGLAND—LOSES THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER—HIS SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES AND ESCAPE.

WHEN the two houses first placed themselves in opposition to the sovereign, their demands were limited to the redress of existing grievances; now that the struggle was over, the triumphant party refused to be content with any thing less than the abolition of the old, and the establishment of a new and more popular form of government. Some, indeed, still ventured to raise their

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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CHAP. voices in favour of monarchy, on the plea that it  
I.  
1649. was an institution the most congenial to the habits  
and feelings of Englishmen. By these it was  
proposed that the two elder sons of Charles should  
be passed by, because their notions were already  
formed, and their resentments already kindled;  
that the young Duke of Gloucester, or his sister  
Elizabeth, should be placed on the throne; and  
that, under the infant sovereign, the royal prerogative  
should be circumscribed by law, so as to secure  
from future encroachment the just liberties of  
the people. But the majority warmly contended  
for the establishment of a commonwealth. Why,  
they asked, should they spontaneously set up  
again the idol which it had cost them so much  
blood and treasure to pull down? Laws would  
prove but feeble restraints on the passions of  
a proud and powerful monarch. If they sought  
an insuperable barrier to the restoration of  
despotism, it could be found only in some of  
those institutions which lodge the supreme power  
with the representatives of the people. That they  
spoke their real sentiments is not improbable;  
though we are assured by one who was present  
at their meetings, that personal interest had  
no small influence in their final determination.  
They had sinned too deeply against royalty to  
trust themselves to the mercy or the moderation  
of a king. A republic was their choice, because  
it promised to shelter them from the vengeance  
of their enemies, and offered them the additional ad-



vantage of sharing among themselves all the power, the patronage, and the emoluments of office <sup>1</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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In accordance with this decision, the moment the head of the royal victim fell on the scaffold at Whitehall, a proclamation was read in Cheapside, declaring it treason to give to any person the title of king without the authority of parliament; and at the same time was published the vote of the 4th of January, that the supreme authority in the nation resided in the representatives of the people. The peers, though aware of their approaching fate, continued to sit; but, after a pause of a few days, the commons resolved; first, that the house of lords, and, next, that the office of king, ought to be abolished. These votes, though the acts to be engrafted on them were postponed, proved sufficient: from that hour the kingship, (the word by which the royal dignity was now designated) with the legislative and judicial authority of the peers, was considered as extinct, and the lower house, under the name of the parliament of England, concentrated within itself all the powers of government <sup>2</sup>.

Abolition  
of the mo-  
narchy,  
Jan. 30,  
1649.

Feb. 6.

Feb. 7.

The next measure was the appointment by the commons of a council of state, to consist of forty-one members, with powers limited in duration to

Appoint-  
ment of a  
council of  
state.

---

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock, 391.

<sup>2</sup> Journals, 1649, Jan. 30; Feb. 6, 7. Cromwell voted in favour of the house of lords. (Ludlow, i. 246.) Could he be sincere? I think not.

CHAP. twelve months. They were charged with the  
 I. preservation of domestic tranquillity, the care and  
 1649. disposal of the military and naval force, the su-  
 ——— superintendence of internal and external trade, and  
 the negotiation of treaties with foreign powers. Of the persons selected for this office, three-fourths possessed seats in the house; and they reckoned among them the heads of the law, the chief officers in the army, and five peers, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury, with the lord Grey of Werke, who condescended to accept the appointment, either through attachment to the cause, or as a compensation for the loss of their hereditary rights<sup>3</sup>. But at the very outset a schism appeared among the new counsellors. The oath required of them by the parliament contained an approval of the king's trial, of the vote against the Scots and their English associates, and of the abolition of monarchy, and of the house of lords. By Cromwell and eighteen others, it was taken cheerfully, and without comment: by the remaining twenty-two, with Fairfax at their head, it was firmly but respectfully refused. The peers alleged that it stood not with their honour to approve upon oath of that which had been done in opposition to their vote; the

Feb. 17.

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<sup>3</sup> The earl of Pembroke had the meanness to solicit and accept the place of representative for Berkshire; and his example was imitated by two other peers, the earl of Salisbury and lord Howard of Escrick, who sat for Lynn and Carlisle. *Journals*, Ap. 16; May 5; Sep. 18. *Leicester's Journal*, 72.

commoners, that it was not for them to pronounce an opinion on judicial proceedings, of which they had no official information. But their doubts respecting transactions that were past, formed no objection to the authority of the existing government. The house of commons was in actual possession of the supreme power. From that house they derived protection; to it they owed obedience, and with it they were ready to live and die. Cromwell and his friends had the wisdom to yield: the retrospective clauses were expunged, and in their place was substituted a general promise of adhesion to the parliament, both with respect to the existing form of public liberty, and the future government of the nation, "by way of a republic without king or house of peers"<sup>4</sup>.

This important revolution drew with it several other alterations. A representation of the house of commons superseded the royal effigy on the great seal, which was intrusted to three lords commissioners, Lysle, Keble, and Whitelock; the writs no longer ran in the name of the king, but of "the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of parliament;" new commissions were issued to the judges, sheriffs, and magistrates; and in lieu of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy was required an engagement to be true to the commonwealth of England. Of the judges, six resigned; the other six consented to retain

Other  
changes.

<sup>4</sup> Journ. Feb. 7, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22. Whitelock, 378, 382, 3. The amended oath is in Walker par. ii. 130.

CHAP. I.  
1649. their situations, if parliament would issue a proclamation declaratory of its intention to maintain the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The condition was accepted and fulfilled<sup>5</sup>; the courts proceeded to hear and determine causes after the ancient manner; and the great body of the people scarcely felt the important change which had been made in the government of the country. For several years past the supreme authority had been administered in the name of the king by the two houses at Westminster, with the aid of the committee at Derby-house: now the same authority was equally administered in the name of the people by one house only, and with the advice of a council of state.

Attempt  
to fill up  
the house.

The merit or demerit of thus erecting a commonwealth on the ruins of the monarchy chiefly belongs to Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Marten, who by their superior influence guided and controlled the opinions and passions of their associates in the senate and the army. After the king's death they derived much valuable aid from

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<sup>5</sup> Journ. Feb. 8. Yet neither this declaration nor the frequent remonstrances of the lawyers could prevent the house from usurping the office of the judges, or from inflicting illegal punishments. Thus, for example, on the report of a committee, detailing the discovery of a conspiracy to extort money by a false charge of delinquency, the house, without hearing the accused, or sending them before a court of justice, proceeded to inflict on some the penalties of the pillory, fine, and imprisonment, and adjudged Mrs. Samford, as the principal, to be whipt the next day from Newgate to the Old Exchange, and to be kept to hard labour for three months. Journals, 1650, Feb. 2; Aug. 13.

the talents of Vane, Whitelocke, and St. John; and a feeble lustre was shed on their cause by the accession of the five peers from the abolished house of lords. Yet, when they looked around them, and observed the empty benches in the house, they were admonished of their own insignificance, and of the hollowness of their pretensions. They claimed the sovereign authority, as the representatives of the people; but the majority of those representatives had been excluded by successive acts of military violence; and the house had been reduced from more than five hundred members to less than one seventh of that number. For the credit and security of the government it was necessary both to supply the deficiency, and, at the same time, oppose a bar to the introduction of men of opposite principles. With this view, they resolved to continue the exclusion of those who had on the 5th of December assented to the vote, that the king's "cessions were a sufficient ground to proceed to a settlement;" but to open the house to all others who would previously enter on the journals their dissent from that resolution<sup>6</sup>. By this expedient, and by occasional writs for elections in those places where the influence of the party was irresistible, the number of members gradually rose to one hundred and fifty, though it was seldom that the attendance of one half, or even of one third, could be procured.

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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Feb. 1.

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<sup>6</sup> Journ. Feb. 1. Walker, part ii. 115. Whitelock, 376.

CHAP.

I.

1649.

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 Execution  
of the  
royalists.

During the war, the dread of retaliation had taught the two parties to temper with moderation the licence of victory. Little blood had been shed except in the field of battle. But now that check was removed. The fanatics, not satisfied with the death of the king, demanded, with the bible in their hands, additional victims; and the politicians deemed it prudent by the display of punishment to restrain the machinations of their enemies. Among the royalists in custody were the duke of Hamilton (who was also earl of Cambridge in England), the earl of Holland, Goring, earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and sir John Owen, all engaged in the last attempt for the restoration of Charles to the throne. By a resolution of the house of commons in November, Hamilton had been adjudged to pay a fine of 100,000*l.*, and the other four to remain in perpetual imprisonment; but after the triumph of the independents this vote had been rescinded, and a high court of justice was now established to try the same persons on a charge of high treason. It was in vain that Hamilton pleaded the order of the Scottish parliament under which he had acted; that Capel demanded to be brought before his peers, or a jury of his countrymen, according to those fundamental laws which the parliament had promised to maintain; that all invoked the national faith in favour of that quarter which they had obtained at the time of their surrender. Bradshaw, the president, delivered the opinions of

Feb. 1.

Feb. 10.

the court. To Hamilton he replied, that, as an English earl, he was amenable to the justice of the country: to Capel, that the court had been established by the parliament, the supreme authority to which all must submit: to each, that quarter given on the field of battle ensured protection from the sword of the conqueror, but not from the vengeance of the law. All five were condemned to lose their heads; but the rigour of the judgment was softened by a reference to the mercy of parliament. The next day the wives of Holland and Capel, accompanied by a long train of females in mourning, appeared at the bar, to solicit the pardon of the condemned. Though their petitions were rejected, a respite for two days was granted. Still they did not despair: recourse was had to flattery and entreaty; bribes were offered and accepted; and the following morning new petitions were presented. The fate of Holland occupied a debate of considerable interest. Among the independents he had many personal friends, and the presbyterians exerted all their influence in his favour. But the saints expatiated on his repeated apostacy from the cause; and, after a sharp contest, Cromwell and Ireton obtained the majority of a single voice for his death. The case of Goring was next considered. No man during the war had treated his opponents with more bitter contumely, no one had inflicted on them deeper injuries; and yet, on an equal division, his life was saved by the cast-

CHAP.

I.  
1649.

March 6.

March 7.

March 8.

CHA P. ing voice of the speaker. The sentences of Ha-  
 I. milton and Capel were affirmed by the unanimous  
 1649. vote of the house ; but, to the surprise of all men,  
 Owen, a stranger, without friends or interest,  
 had the good fortune to escape. His forlorn con-  
 dition moved the pity of colonel Hutchinson ; the  
 efforts of Hutchinson were seconded by Ireton ;  
 and so powerful was their united influence, that  
 they obtained a majority of five in his favour.

March 9. Hamilton, Holland, and Capel died on the scaffold,  
 the first martyrs of loyalty after the establishment  
 of the commonwealth<sup>7</sup>.

Opposi- But, though the avowed enemies of the cause  
 tion of the crouched before their conquerors, there was much  
 levellers. in the internal state of the country to awaken  
 apprehensions in the breasts of Cromwell and his  
 friends. There could be no doubt that the ancient  
 royalists longed for the opportunity of avenging  
 the blood of the king ; or that the new royalists,  
 the presbyterians, who sought to re-establish the  
 throne on the conditions stipulated by the treaty  
 in the Isle of Wight, bore with impatience the  
 superiority of their rivals. Throughout the king-  
 dom the lower classes loudly complained of the  
 burthen of taxation ; in several parts they suf-  
 fered under the pressure of penury and famine.

<sup>7</sup> If the reader compare the detailed narrative of these proceed-  
 ings by Clarendon (iii. 265—270) with the official account in the  
 Journals (Mar. 7, 8), he will be surprised at the numerous inaccuracies  
 of the historian. See also the State Trials. England's  
 Bloody Tribunal. Whitelock, 386. Burnet's Hamiltons, 385. Lei-  
 ceester's Journal, 70. Ludlow, i. 247 ; and Hutchinson, 310.



In Lancashire and Westmoreland numbers perished through want; and it was certified by the magistrates of Cumberland that thirty thousand families in that county “had neither seed nor bread corn, nor the means of procuring either.”<sup>8</sup> But that which chiefly created alarm was the progress made among the military by the “levellers,” men of consistent principles, and uncompromising conduct, under the guidance of colonel John Lilburne, an officer distinguished by his talents, his eloquence, and his courage<sup>9</sup>. Lilburne with his friends had long cherished a suspicion that Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison sought only their private aggrandisement under the mantle of patriotism; and the recent changes had converted this suspicion into conviction. They observed that the same men ruled without control in the general council of officers, in the parliament, and in the council of state. They contended that every question was first debated and settled in the council of officers, and that, if their determination was afterwards adopted by the house, it was only

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<sup>8</sup> Whitelock, 398, 399.

<sup>9</sup> Lilburne in his youth had been a partisan of Bastwick, and had printed one of his tracts in Holland. Before the star chamber, he refused to take the oath *ex officio*, or to answer interrogatories, and in consequence was condemned to stand in the pillory, was whipped from the Fleet-prison to Westminster, receiving five hundred lashes with knotted cords, and was imprisoned with double irons on his hands and legs. Three years later (1641) the House of Commons voted the punishment illegal, bloody, barbarous, and tyrannical. Burton's Diary, iii. 503, note.

CHAP. that it might go forth to the public under the  
 I. pretended sanction of the representatives of the  
 1649. nation : that the council of state had been vested  
 with powers more absolute and oppressive than  
 had ever been exercised by the late king ; and  
 that the high court of justice had been established  
 by the party for the purpose of depriving their  
 victims of those remedies which would be afforded  
 by the ordinary courts of law. In some of their  
 publications they went farther. They maintained  
 that the council of state was employed as an ex-  
 periment on the patience of the nation ; that it  
 was intended to pass from the tyranny of a few  
 to the tyranny of one ; and that Oliver Cromwell  
 was the man who aspired to that high but dan-  
 gerous pre-eminence<sup>10</sup>.

Their de-  
 mands.

Jan. 20.

A plan of the intended constitution, entitled,  
 “ the agreement of the people,” had been sanc-  
 tioned by the council of officers, and presented by  
 Fairfax to the house of commons, that it might be  
 transmitted to the several counties, and there  
 receive the approbation of the inhabitants. As a  
 sop to shut the mouth of Cerberus, the sum of  
 three thousand pounds, to be raised from the  
 estates of delinquents in the county of Durham,  
 had been voted to Lilburne : but the moment he  
 returned from the north, he appeared at the bar

Feb. 26.

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<sup>10</sup> See England's New Chains Discovered, and the Hunting  
 of the Foxes, passim. King's Pamphlets, No. 411, xxi. ; 414,  
 xii. xvi.

of the house, and petitioned against “the agreement,” objecting in particular to one of the provisions by which the parliament was to sit but six months every two years, and the government of the nation during the other eighteen months was to be entrusted to the council of state. His example was quickly followed; and the table was covered with a succession of petitions from officers and soldiers, and “the well affected” in different counties. They demanded that a new parliament should be holden every year; that during the intervals the supreme power should be exercised by a committee of the house; that no member of the last should sit in the succeeding parliament; that the self-denying ordinance should be enforced; that no officer should retain his command in the army for more than a certain period; that the high court of justice should be abolished as contrary to law, and the council of state, as likely to become an engine of tyranny; that the proceedings in the courts should be in the English language, the number of lawyers diminished, and their fees reduced; that the excise and customs should be taken away, and the lands of delinquents sold for compensation to the well-affected; that religion should be “reformed according to the mind of God;” that no one should be molested or incapacitated on account of conscience; that tithes should be abolished; and that the income of each minister should be fixed at one hundred

CHAP. pounds per annum, to be raised by a rate on his  
 I. parishioners <sup>11</sup>.  
 1649.

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- Resisted by the government. Feb. 22. Aware of the necessity of crushing the spirit of opposition in the military, general orders were issued by Fairfax, prohibiting private meetings of officers or soldiers “to the disturbance of the  
 March 1. “army;” and on the receipt of a letter of remonstrance from several regiments, four of the five  
 March 3. troopers by whom it was signed were condemned by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse with their faces to the tail, to have their swords broken over their heads, and to be afterwards cashiered. Lilburne, on the other hand, laboured to inflame the general discontent by a succession of pamphlets, entitled “England’s New Chains Dis-  
 “covered, the Hunting of the Foxes from New-  
 “market and Triploe-heath to Whitehall by five  
 “small Beagles (in allusion to the five troopers),  
 “and the second part of England’s New Chains.”  
 March 25. The last of these he read to a numerous assembly  
 March 27. at Winchester-house; by the parliament it was voted a seditious and traitorous libel, and the author, with his associates, Walwyn, Prince, and  
 March 29. Overton, was committed, by order of the council, to close custody in the Tower<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Walker, 133. Whitelock, 388, 393, 396, 398, 399. Carte, Letters, i. 229.

<sup>12</sup> Whitelock, 385, 386, 392. Council Book in the state paper office, Mar. 27, No. 17; Mar. 29, No. 27. Carte, Letters, i. 273, 276.

It had been determined to send to Ireland a division of twelve thousand men; and the regiments to be employed were selected by ballot, apparently in the fairest manner. The men, however, avowed a resolution not to march. It was not, they said, that they refused the service; but they believed the expedition to be a mere artifice to send the discontented out of the kingdom, and they asserted that by their engagement on Triploe heath they could not conscientiously move a step, till the liberties of the nation were settled on a permanent basis. The first act of mutiny occurred in Bishopsgate. A troop of horse refused to obey their colonel, and, instead of marching out of the city, took possession of the colours. Of these, five were condemned to be shot, but one only, by name Lockyer, suffered. At his burial a thousand men in files preceded the corpse, which was adorned with bunches of rosemary dipped in blood: on each side rode three trumpeters, and behind was led the trooper's horse covered with mourning; some thousands of men and then of women followed with black and green ribbons on their heads and breasts, and were received at the grave by a numerous crowd of the inhabitants of London and Westminster. This extraordinary funeral convinced the leaders how widely the discontent was spread, and urged them to the immediate adoption of the most decisive measures<sup>13</sup>.

CHAP.

1.  
1649.

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<sup>13</sup> Walker, 161. Whitelock, 399.

CHAP. I. The regiments of Scroop, Ireton, Harrison, Ingoldsby, Skippon, Reynolds, and Horton, though  
 1649. quartered in different places, had already elected their agents, and published their resolution to adhere to each other; when the house commissioned Fairfax to reduce the mutineers, ordered Skippon to secure the capital from surprise, and declared it treason for soldiers to conspire the death of the general or lieutenant-general, or for any person to endeavour to alter the government, or to affirm that the parliament or council of state were either tyrannical or unlawful<sup>14</sup>. At Banbury in Oxfordshire, a captain Thompson, at the head of two hundred men, published a manifesto, entitled England's Standard Advanced, in which he declared that, if Lilburne or his fellow prisoners were ill-treated, their sufferings should be avenged seventy times seven-fold upon their persecutors. His object was to unite some of the discontented regiments; but colonel Reynolds surprised him at Banbury, and prevailed on his followers to surrender without loss of blood<sup>15</sup>. Another party, consisting of ten troops of horse, and more than a thousand strong, proceeded from Salisbury to Burford, augmenting their numbers as they advanced. Fairfax and Cromwell, after a  
 May 7. march of more than forty miles during the day, arrived soon afterwards, and ordered their fol-

May 14.

<sup>14</sup> Journals, May 1, 14. Whitelock, 399.

<sup>15</sup> Walker, ii. 168. Whitelock, 401.

lowers to take refreshment. White had been sent to the insurgents with an offer of pardon on their submission; whether he meant to deceive them or not, is uncertain; he represented the pause on the part of the general as time allowed them to consult and frame their demands; and at the hour of midnight, while they slept in security, Cromwell forced his way into the town with two thousand men at one entrance, while Colonel Reynolds with a strong body opposed their exit by the other. Four hundred of the mutineers were made prisoners, and the arms and horses of double that number were taken. One cornet and two corporals suffered death; the others, after a short imprisonment, were restored to their former regiments<sup>16</sup>.

This decisive advantage disconcerted all the plans of the mutineers. Some partial risings in the counties of Hants, Devon, and Somerset were quickly suppressed; and Thompson, who had escaped from Banbury and retired to Wellingborough, being deserted by his followers, refused quarter, and fell fighting singly against a host of enemies<sup>17</sup>. To express the national gratitude for this signal deliverance, a day of thanksgiving was appointed; the parliament, the council of state, and the council of the army assembled at Christchurch; and, after the religious service of the

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1649.

<sup>16</sup> King's Pamphlets, No. 421, xxii; 422, i. Whitelock, 402.

<sup>17</sup> Whitelock, 403.

CHAP. day, consisting of two long sermons and appropriate prayers, proceeded to Grocers'-hall, where  
 I.  
 1649. they dined by invitation from the city. The speaker Lenthall, the organ of the supreme authority, like former kings, received the sword of state from the mayor, and delivered it to him again. At table, he was seated at the head, supported on his right hand by the lord-general, on the left by Bradshaw, the president of the council; thus exhibiting to the guests the representatives of the three bodies, by which the nation was actually governed. At the conclusion of the dinner, the lord mayor presented 1000*l.* in gold to Fairfax in a basin and ewer of the same metal, and 500*l.* with a complete service of plate to Cromwell<sup>18</sup>.

Proceed-  
 ings in  
 Scotland.

The suppression of the mutiny afforded leisure to the council to direct its attention to the proceedings in Scotland and Ireland. In the first of these kingdoms, after the departure of Cromwell, the supreme authority had been exercised by Argyle and his party, who were supported, and at the same time controlled, by the paramount influence of the kirk. The forfeiture and excommunication of the "engagers" left to their opponents the undisputed superiority in the parliament and all the great offices of the state. From the part which Argyle had formerly taken in the delivery of the king, his recent connexion with Cromwell, and his hos-

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<sup>18</sup> Leicester's Journal, 74. Whitelock (406,) places the guests in a different order.



tility to the engagement, it was generally believed that he had acted in concert with the English independents. But he was wary, and subtle, and flexible. At the approach of danger he could dissemble; and, whenever it suited his views, could change his measures without changing his object. At the beginning of January the fate with which Charles was menaced, revived the languid affection of the Scots. A cry of indignation burst from every part of the country: he was their native king—would they suffer him to be arraigned as a criminal before a foreign tribunal? By delivering him to his enemies they had sullied the fair fame of the nation—would they confirm this disgrace by tamely acquiescing in his death? Argyle deemed it prudent to go with the current of national feeling<sup>19</sup>: he suffered a committee to be appointed in parliament, and the commissioners in London received instructions to protest against the trial and condemnation of the king. But these instructions disclose the timid, fluctuating policy of the man by whom they were dictated. It is vain to look in them for those warm and generous sentiments which the case demanded. They are framed with hesitation and caution:

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<sup>19</sup> Warriston had proposed (and Argyle had seconded him) to postpone the motion for interference in the king's behalf till the Lord had been sought by a solemn fast, but "Argyle, after he saw that it was carried by wottes in his contrarey, changed his first opinione with a faire appologey, and willed them then presently to enter on the business." Balfour, iii. 386.

CHAP. they betray a consciousness of weakness, a fear of  
 I. provoking enmity, and an attention to private  
 1649. interest; and they shew that the protestors, if  
 ————— they really sought to save the life of the monarch,  
 were yet more anxious to avoid every act or word  
 which might give offence to his adversaries<sup>20</sup>.

Charles  
 II. pro-  
 claimed  
 in Edin-  
 burgh.

Feb. 5.

The commissioners delivered the paper, and the Scottish parliament, instead of an answer, received the news of the king's execution. The next day the chancellor, attended by the members, proceeded to the cross in Edinburgh, and proclaimed Charles, the son of the deceased prince, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. But to this proclamation was appended a provision, that the young prince, before he could enter on the exercise of the royal authority, should satisfy the parliament of his adhesion both to the national covenant of Scotland and to the solemn league and covenant between the two kingdoms<sup>21</sup>.

Feb. 17.

At length, three weeks after the death of the king, whose life it was intended to save, the English parliament condescended to answer the protestation of the Scots, but in a tone of contemptuous indifference, both as to the justice of their claim, and the consequences of their anger. Scotland, it was replied, might perhaps have no right to bring her sovereign to a public trial, but

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<sup>20</sup> See the instructions in Balfour, iii. 383; and Clarendon, iii. 280.

<sup>21</sup> Balfour, iii. 387. Clar. iii. 284.

that circumstance could not affect the right of England. As the English parliament did not intend to trench on the liberties of others, it would not permit others to trench upon its own. The recollection of the evils inflicted on the nation by the misconduct of the king, and the consciousness that they had deserved the anger of God by their neglect to punish his offences, had induced them to bring him to justice, a course which they doubted not God had already approved, and would subsequently reward by the establishment of their liberties. The Scots had now the option of being freemen or slaves: the aid of England was offered for the vindication of their rights; if it were refused, let them beware how they entailed on themselves and their posterity the miseries of continual war with their nearest neighbour, and of slavery under the issue of a tyrant<sup>22</sup>.

The Scottish commissioners, in reply, hinted that the present was not a full parliament; objected to any alteration in the government by king, lords, and commons; desired that no impediment should be opposed to the lawful succession of Charles II.; and ended by protesting that, if such things were done, the Scots were free before God and man from the guilt, the blood, the calamities, which it might cost the two kingdoms. Having delivered this paper, they hastened to Gravesend. Their object was to proceed to the

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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Answer of  
the Scots.

Feb. 21.

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<sup>22</sup> Journals, Feb. 17, 20. Clar. iii. 282.

CHAP. I. United Provinces, and offer the Scottish crown on certain conditions to the young king. But the English leaders resolved to interrupt their mission.

Feb. 26. The answer which they had given was voted a scandalous libel, framed for the purpose of exciting sedition; the commissioners were apprehended at Gravesend as national offenders, and captain Dolphin received orders to conduct them under a guard to the frontiers of Scotland<sup>23</sup>.

March 2. This insult, which, though keenly felt, was tamely borne, might retard, it could not prevent, the purposes of the Scottish parliament. The earl of Cassilis, with four new commissioners, was appointed to proceed to Holland, where Charles, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, had resided since the death of his father<sup>24</sup>. His court consisted at first of the few individuals whom that monarch had placed around him, and whom he now swore of his privy council. It was soon augmented by the earl of Laneric, who, on the death of his brother, became duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and the earl of Callendar, the chiefs of the Scottish engagers; these were followed by the ancient

Their deputies to the king.

March 17.

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<sup>23</sup> Journals, Feb. 26. 28. Whitelock, 384. Balfour, iii. 388, 389. Carte, Letters, i. 233. Dolphin received a secret instruction not to dismiss sir John Chiesley, but to keep him as a hostage, till he knew that Mr. Rowe, the English agent in Edinburgh, was not detained. Council Book, Mar. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Whatever may have been the policy of Argyle, he most certainly promoted this mission, and "overswayed the opposition " to it by his reason, authority, and diligence." Baillie, ii. 353.

Scottish royalists, Montrose, Kinnoul, and Sea-  
 forth, and in a few days appeared Cassilis, with  
 his colleagues, and three deputies from the church  
 of Scotland, who brought with them news not  
 likely to ensure them a gracious reception, that  
 the parliament, at the petition of the kirk, had  
 sent to the scaffold the old marquis of Huntley,  
 forfaulted for his adhesion to the royal cause in the  
 year 1645. All professed to have in view the  
 same object—the restoration of the young king;  
 but all were divided and alienated from each other  
 by civil and religious bigotry. By the commis-  
 sioners, the engagers; by both, Montrose and his  
 friends were shunned as traitors to their country,  
 and sinners excommunicated by the kirk. Charles  
 was perplexed by the conflicting opinions of these  
 several advisers. Both the commissioners and  
 engagers, hostile as they were to each other, repre-  
 sented his taking of the covenant as an essential  
 condition: while Montrose and his English coun-  
 sellors contended that it would exasperate the  
 independents, offend the friends of episcopacy,  
 and cut off all hope of aid from the catholics,  
 who could not be expected to hazard their lives  
 in support of a prince sworn to extirpate their  
 religion<sup>25</sup>.

CHAP.

I.  
1649.

March 26.

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<sup>25</sup> Clar. iii. 287—292. Baillie, ii. 333. Carte, Letters, i. 238—263. In addition to the covenant, the commissioners required the banishment of Montrose, from which they were induced to recede, and the limitation of the king's followers to 100 persons. Carte, Letters, i. 264, 5, 6, 8, 271.

CHAP. I. While the question was yet in debate, an event  
 1649. happened to hasten the departure of Charles from  
 ——— the Hague. Dr. Dorislaus, a native of Holland,  
 Murder of but formerly a professor in Gresham college, and  
 Dorislaus. recently employed to draw the charge against the  
 May 3. king, arrived as envoy from the parliament to the  
 States. That very evening, while he sate at supper  
 in the inn, six gentlemen with drawn swords entered  
 the room, dragged him from his chair, and murdered  
 him on the floor<sup>26</sup>. Though the assassins were  
 suffered to escape, it was soon known that they were  
 Scotsmen, most of them followers of Montrose; and  
 Charles, anticipating the demand of justice from the  
 English parliament, gave his final answer to the  
 commissioners, that he was, and always had been,  
 ready to provide for the security of their religion,  
 the union between the kingdoms, and the internal  
 peace and prosperity of Scotland; but that their  
 other demands were irreconcilable with his  
 conscience, his liberty, and his honour. They  
 acknowledged that he was their king: it was,  
 therefore, their duty to obey, maintain, and defend  
 him; and the performance of this duty he should  
 expect from the committee of estates, the assembly  
 of the kirk, and the whole nation of Scotland.  
 They departed with this

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<sup>26</sup> Clarendon, iii. 293. Whitelock, 401. Journals, May 10. The parliament settled 200*l.* per annum on the son, and gave 500*l.* to each of the daughters of Dorislaus. 1*b.* May 16. 250*l.* was given towards his funeral. Council Book, May 11.

unsatisfactory answer; and Charles, leaving the United Provinces, hastened to St. Germain in France, to visit the queen his mother, with the intention of repairing, after a short stay, to the royalist army in Ireland<sup>27</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

That the reader may understand the state of Ireland, he must look back to the period when the despair or patriotism of Ormond surrendered to the parliament the capital of that kingdom. The nuncio, Rinuccini, had then seated himself in the chair of the president of the supreme council at Kilkenny; but his administration was soon marked by disasters, which enabled his rivals to undermine and subvert his authority. The catholic army of Leinster, under Preston, was defeated on Dungan-  
hill by Jones, the governor of Dublin, and that of  
Munster, under the viscount Taafe, at Clontarf, by  
the lord Inchiquin<sup>28</sup>. To Rinuccini himself these

State of  
Ireland.

1647,  
July.

Aug. 8.

Nov. 13.

<sup>27</sup> Balfour, iii. 405; and the Proceedings of the commissioners of the church and kingdome of Scotland with his majestie at the Hague. Edinburgh, printed by Evan Tyler, 1649.

<sup>28</sup> Rushworth, 823, 916. In the battle of Dungan-hill, at the first charge the commander of the Irish cavalry was slain; his men immediately fled; the infantry repelled several charges, and retired into a bog where they offered to capitulate. Colonel Flower said he had no authority to grant quarter, but at the same time ordered his men to stand to their arms, and preserved the lives of the earl of Westmeath, lieutenant-general Byrne, and several officers and soldiers who repaired to his colours. "In the mean time the Scotch colonel Tieburn and colonel Moor of Bankhall's regiments without mercy put the rest to the sword." They amounted to between three and four thousand men. Belling's History of the late Warre in Ireland. MS. ii. 95.

- CHAP. misfortunes appeared as benefits, for he distrusted  
 I. Preston and Taafe on account of their attachment  
 1647. to Ormond; and their depression served to exalt  
 his friend and protector, Owen Roe O’Nial, the  
 leader of the men of Ulster. But from these  
 beginnings the nation at large anticipated a suc-  
 cession of similar calamities; his adversaries ob-  
 tained a majority in the general assembly; and  
 the nuncio, after a declaration that he advanced  
 no claim to temporal authority, prudently avoided  
 a forced abdication, by offering to resign his office.
1648. A new council, consisting, in equal number, of men  
 Jan. 4. chosen out of the two parties, was appointed; and  
 the marquess of Antrim, the lord Muskerry, and  
 Feb. 27. Geoffrey Brown, were despatched to the queen  
 mother and her son Charles, to solicit assistance  
 in money and arms, and to request that the prince  
 would either come and reside in Ireland, or appoint  
 a catholic lieutenant in his place. Antrim hoped  
 to obtain this high office for himself; but his  
 colleagues were instructed to oppose his preten-  
 sions, and to acquiesce in the re-appointment of  
 the marquess of Ormond<sup>29</sup>.
- Conduct of the nuncio. 1648. During the absence of these envoys, the lord  
 Inchiquin unexpectedly declared, with his army,  
 in favour of the king against the parliament, and  
 instantly proposed an armistice to the confederate

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I mention this instance to show that Cromwell did not introduce the practice of massacre. He followed his predecessors, whose avowed object it was to exterminate the natives.

<sup>29</sup> Philopater Irenæus, 50—60. Castlchaven, Memoirs, 83.



catholics, as friends to the royal cause. By some the overture was indignantly rejected. Inchiquin, had been their most bitter enemy; he had made it his delight to shed the blood of Irishmen, and to pollute and destroy their altars. Besides, what pledge could be given for the fidelity of a man who, by repeatedly changing sides, had already shown that he would always accommodate his conscience to his interest? It were better to march against him now that he was without allies; and, when he should be subdued, Jones with the parliamentary army would necessarily fall. To this reasoning it was replied, that the expedition would require time and money; that provision for the free exercise of religion might be made in the articles; and that, at a moment when the catholics solicited a reconciliation with the king, they could not in honour destroy those who drew the sword in his favour. In defiance of the remonstrances made by Rinuccini and eight of the bishops, the treaty proceeded; and the nuncio believing, or pretending to believe, that he was a prisoner in Kilkenny, escaped in the night over the wall of the city, and was received at Maryborough with open arms by his friend O'Nial. The council agreed to the armistice, and sought repeated messages to remove the objections of the nuncio. But zeal or resentment urged him to exceed his powers. He condemned the treaty, excommunicated its abettors, and placed under an interdict the towns in which it should be admitted.

CHAP.

I.  
1648.

April 27.

May 9.

May 22

May 27.

- CHAP. I. But his spiritual weapons were of little avail.  
 1648. The council, with fourteen bishops, appealed from  
 May 31. his censures; the forces under Taafe, Clanricard,  
 and Preston, sent back his messengers; and, on  
 the departure of O'Nial, he repaired to the town  
 of Galway, where he was sure of the support of  
 the people, though in opposition to the sense of  
 the mayor and the merchants. As a last effort,  
 he summoned a national synod at Galway: but  
 Sep. 1. the council protested against it; Clanricard sur-  
 rounded the town with his army; and the in-  
 habitants, opening the gates, made their sub-  
 mission<sup>30</sup>.
- His flight War was now openly declared between the two  
 from Ire- parties. On the one hand Jones, in Dublin, and  
 land. Monk in Ulster, concluded truces with O'Nial,  
 that he might be in a better condition to oppose  
 the common enemy: on the other, Inchiquin  
 joined with Preston to support the authority of  
 the council against O'Nial. Inroads were reci-  
 procally made; towns were taken and retaken;  
 and large armies were repeatedly brought in face  
 Sep. 3. of each other. The council, however, began to  
 assume a bolder tone; they proclaimed O'Nial a  
 Sep. 29. rebel and traitor; and, on the tardy arrival of

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<sup>30</sup> See *Desiderata Cur. Hib.* ii. 511. *Carte*, ii. 20, 31—36. *Belling*, in his MS. history of the late war in Ireland, part iv. 1—40. He has inserted most of the papers which passed between the parties in this work. See also *Philopater Irenæus*, i. 60, 86; ii. 90, 94. *Walsh*, *History and Vindication*, app. 33—40. *Ponce*, 90.

Ormond with the commission of lord lieutenant, sent to Rinuccini himself an order to quit the kingdom, with the information that they had accused him to the pope of certain high crimes and misdemeanours<sup>31</sup>. But he continued to issue his mandates in defiance of their orders and threats; nor was it till after the new pacification between

CHAP.  
I.  
1648.

Oct. 19.

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<sup>31</sup> The charge may be seen in Philopater Iren. i. 150—160. Clarendon, viii. 68. Oxford, 1726.—It is evident that the conduct of Rinuccini in breaking the first peace was not only reprehensible in itself, but productive of the most calamitous consequences both to the cause of royalty, and the civil and religious interests of the Irish catholics. The following is the ground on which he attempts to justify himself. Laying it down as an undeniable truth that the Irish people had as good a right to the establishment of their religion in their native country, as the covenanters in Scotland, or the presbyterians in England, he maintains that it was his duty to make this the great object of his proceedings. When the peace was concluded, Charles was a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, who had solemnly sworn to abolish the catholic religion; and the English royalists had been subdued by the parliament, which by repeated votes and declarations had bound itself to extirpate the Irish race, and parcel out the island among foreign adventurers. Now there was no human probability that Charles would ever be restored to his throne, but on such conditions as the parliament and the Scots should prescribe; and that, on their demand, he would, after some struggle, sacrifice the Irish catholics, was plain from what had passed in his different negotiations with the parliament, from his disavowal of Glamorgan's commission, and from the obstinacy with which his lieutenant, Ormond, had opposed the claims of the confederates. Hence he inferred that a peace, which left the establishment of religion to the subsequent determination of the king, afforded no security, but, on the contrary, was an abandonment of the cause for which the catholics had associated; and that it therefore became him, holding the situation which he did, to oppose it by every means in his power. MS. narrative of Rinuccini's proceedings, written for the use of the pope; and Ponce, 271.

CHAP. Charles and the confederates had been published,  
 I. and the execution of the king had fixed the public  
 1649. opinion on the pernicious result of his counsels,  
 ——— that shame and apprehension drove him from  
 Jan. 17. Ireland to France, whence, after a few months,  
 Jan. 30. he was recalled to Rome.  
 Feb. 23.

Articles  
 of peace.

The negotiation between Ormond and the catholics had continued for three months: in January the danger which threatened the royal person induced the latter to recede from their claims, and trust to the future gratitude and honour of their sovereign. They engaged to maintain at their own expense an army of seventeen thousand five hundred men, to be employed against the common enemy; and the king, on his part, consented that the free exercise of the catholic worship should be permitted; that twelve commissioners of trust appointed by the assembly should aid the lord lieutenant in the internal administration; that the court of wards and several other grievances should be abolished; that a parliament should be called as soon as the majority of the commissioners might deem it expedient, and in that parliament the persecuting laws on the subject of religion, with others injurious to the trade and commerce of Ireland, should be repealed, and the independence of the Irish on the English parliament should be asserted<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Phil. Iren. i. 166. Walsh, app. 43—64. Whitelock, 391. Charles approved, and promised to observe this peace. Carte's Letters, ii. 367.

The royal interest was now predominant in Ireland. The fleet under prince Rupert rode triumphant along the coast; the parliamentary commanders, Jones in Dublin, Monk in Belfast, and Coote in Londonderry, were almost confined within the limits of their respective garrisons; and Inchiquin in Munster, the Scottish regiments in Ulster, and the great body of the catholics adhering to the supreme council, had proclaimed the king, and acknowledged the authority of his lieutenant. It was during this favourable state of things that Charles received and accepted the invitation of Ormond, but his voyage was necessarily delayed through want of money, and his ardour was repeatedly checked by the artful insinuation of some among his counsellors, who secretly feared that, if he were once at the head of a catholic army, he would listen to the demands of the catholics for the establishment of their religion<sup>33</sup>. On the contrary, to the leaders in London the danger of losing Ireland became a source of the most perplexing solicitude. The office of lord lieutenant was offered to Cromwell. He affected to hesitate; at his request two officers from each corps received orders to meet him at Whitehall, and seek the Lord in prayer; and, after a delay of two weeks, he condescended to submit his shoulders to the burthen, because he had learned that it was the will of heaven<sup>34</sup>. His demands, however, were

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

—  
Cromwell  
appointed  
to the  
command.

March 29.

March 15.

March 23.

March 29.

<sup>33</sup> Carte, Letters, i. 258, 262.

<sup>34</sup> Journals, Mar. 30. Whitelock, 389, 391, 392.

CHAP. so numerous, the preparations to be made so ex-  
 I.  
 1649.

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the interval to other expedients for the preservation of the forces and places which still admitted the authority of the parliament. One of these was to allure to the cause of the independents the catholics of the two kingdoms; for which purpose, the sentiments of sir Kenelm Digby and sir John Winter were sounded, and conferences were held, through the agency of the Spanish ambassador, with O'Reilly and Quin, two Irish ecclesiastics. It was proposed that toleration should be granted for the exercise of the catholic worship, without any penal disqualifications, and that the catholics in return should disclaim the temporal pretensions of the pope, and maintain ten thousand men for the service of the commonwealth. In aid of this project, Digby, Winter, and the Abbé Montague, were suffered to come to England under the pretence of compounding for their estates; and the celebrated Thomas White, a secular clergyman, published a work entitled "The Grounds of Obedience and Government," to show that the people may be released from their obedience to the civil magistrate by his misconduct; and that, when he is once deposed (whether justly or unjustly makes no difference), it may be for the common interest to acquiesce, rather than attempt his restoration. That this doctrine was satisfactory to the men in power cannot be doubted; but they had so often reproached the late king

March.  
 April.

with a coalition with the papists, that they dared not to make the experiment, and, after some time, to blind perhaps the eyes of the people, severe votes were passed against Digby, Montague, and Winter, and orders were given for the apprehension of priests and jesuits<sup>35</sup>.

In Ireland an attempt was made to fortify the parliamentary party with the friendly aid of O'Nial. That chieftain had received proposals from Ormond, but his jealousy of the commissioners of trust, his former adversaries, provoked him to break off the treaty, and send a messenger of his own with a tender of his services to Charles. Immediately the earl of Castlehaven, by order of the lord lieutenant, attacked and reduced his gar- risons of Maryborough and Athy; and O'Nial, in revenge, listened to the suggestions of Monk, who had retired before the superior force of the Scottish royalists from Belfast to Dundalk. A cessation of hostilities was concluded for three months; and the proposals of the Irish chieftain, modified by Monk, were transmitted to England for the ratification of parliament. By the "grandees" it was thought imprudent to submit them to an examination, which would make them public; but the answer returned satisfied the contracting parties; Monk supplied O'Nial with ammunition, and O'Nial undertook to intercept

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<sup>35</sup> On this obscure subject may be consulted Walker, ii. 150. Carte's Collection of Letters. i. 216, 219, 221, 222, 224, 267, 272, 297; ii. 363, 4; and the Journals, Aug. 31.

CHAP. I. the communication between the Scottish regi-  
 1649. ments in the north, and the grand army under  
 ——— Ormond in the heart of the kingdom<sup>36</sup>.

Cromwell  
 departs  
 for Ire-  
 land.

June 22.

Though the parliament had appointed Cromwell lord lieutenant of Ireland, and vested the supreme authority, both civil and military, in his person for three years; he was still unwilling to hazard his reputation and his prospects in a dangerous expedition without the adequate means of success. Out of the standing army of forty-five thousand men, with whose aid England was now governed, he demanded a force of twelve thousand veterans, with a plentiful supply of provisions and military stores, and the round sum of

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<sup>36</sup> O'Nial demanded liberty of conscience for himself, his followers, and their posterity; the undisturbed possession of their lands, as long as they remained faithful to the parliament; and, in return for his services, the restoration of his ancestor's estate, or an equivalent. (See both his draft, and the corrected copy by Monk in *Philop. Iren.* i. 191, and in *Walker*, ii. 233—8.) His agent, on his arrival in London, was asked by the grandees, why he applied to them and refused to treat with Ormond. He replied, because the late king had always made them fair promises; but, when they had done him service, and he could make better terms with their enemies, had always been ready to sacrifice them. Why then did not O'Nial apply to the parliament sooner? Because the men in power then had sworn to extirpate them; but those in power now professed toleration and liberty of conscience. (*Ludlow*, i. 255.) *Ludlow* adds, that the proposal was rejected, because the Ulster men had been the chief actors in the murder of the English, and liberty of religion would prove dangerous to public peace. But this rejection happened much later. It is plain that Jones, Monk, Coote, and O'Nial, understood that the agreement would be ratified, though it was delayed. *Walker*, ii. 198, 231, 245.



100,000*l.* in ready money<sup>38</sup>. On the day of his departure his friends assembled at Whitehall; three ministers solemnly invoked the blessing of God on the arms of his saints; and three officers, Goff, Harrison, and the lord lieutenant himself, expounded the scriptures “excellently well, and “pertinently to the occasion.” After these outpourings of the spirit, Cromwell mounted his carriage, drawn by six horses. He was accompanied by the great officers of state and of the army; his life guard, eighty young men, all of quality, and several holding commissions as majors and colonels, surprised the spectators by their splendid uniforms and gallant bearing; and the streets of the metropolis resounded, as he drove towards Windsor, with the acclamations of the populace and the clangor of military music<sup>39</sup>. It had been fixed that the expedition should sail from Milford-haven; but the impatience of the general was checked by the reluctance and desertion of his men. The recent transaction between Monk and O’Nial had diffused a spirit of distrust through the army. It was pronounced an apostacy from the principles on which they had fought. The exaggerated horrors of the massacre in 1641 were recalled to mind; the repeated resolutions of

CHAP.

I.  
1649.

July 10.

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<sup>38</sup> Cromwell received 3000*l.* for his outfit, 10*l.* per day as *general* while he remained in England, and 2000*l.* per quarter in Ireland, besides his salary as lord lieutenant. Council Book, July 12. No. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Whitclock, 413. Leicester’s Journal, 76.

CHAP. I. 1649. parliament to extirpate the native Irish, and the solemn engagement of the army to revenge the blood which had been shed, were warmly discussed ; and the invectives of the leaders against the late king, when he concluded a peace with the confederate catholics, were contrasted with their present backsliding, when they had taken the men of Ulster for their associates in the cause and their brethren in arms. To appease the growing discontent, parliament annulled the agreement. Monk, who had returned to England, was publicly assured that, if he escaped the punishment of his indiscretion, it was on account of his past services and good intentions. Peters from the pulpit employed his eloquence to remove the blame from the grandees ; and, if we may judge from the sequel, promises were made, not only that the good cause should be supported, but that the duty of revenge should be amply discharged.<sup>40</sup>

Jones gains the victory at Rathmines.

Aug. 1.

While the army was thus detained in the neighbourhood of Milford-haven, Jones, in Dublin, reaped the laurels which Cromwell had destined for himself. The royal army advanced on both banks of the Liffy to the siege of that capital ; and Ormond, from his quarters at Finglass, ordered certain works to be thrown up at a place called Bogatrath. His object was to exclude the horse of the garrison from the only pasturage in their possession ; but, by some mishap, the work-

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<sup>40</sup> Walker, ii. 230, 243. Whitelock, 416. Leicester's Journal, 82.

ing party did not reach the spot till an hour before sun-rise; and Jones, sallying from the walls, overpowered the guard, and raised an alarm in the camp. The confusion of the royalists encouraged him to follow up his success. Regiment after regiment was beaten; it was in vain that Ormond, aroused from his sleep, flew from post to post; the different corps acted without a concert; a general panic ensued, and the whole army on the right bank fled in every direction. The artillery, tents, baggage, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the conquerors, with two thousand prisoners, three hundred of whom were massacred in cold blood at the gate of the city. This was called the battle of Rathmines, a battle which destroyed the hopes of the Irish royalists, and taught men to doubt the abilities of Ormond. At court, his enemies ventured to hint suspicions of treason; but Charles, to silence their murmurs, and assure him of the royal favour, sent him the order of the garter.<sup>41</sup>

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

Aug. 2.

The news of this important victory hastened the departure of Cromwell. He sailed from Milford with a single division; his son-in-law, Ireton,

Cromwell  
lands.  
Aug. 13.

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<sup>41</sup> King's Pamphlets, No. 434, xxi. Whitelock, 410, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9. Clarendon, viii. 92, 93. Carte, Letters, ii. 394, 402, 408. Baillie, ii. 346. Ludlow, i. 257, 8. Ormond, before his defeat, confidently predicted the fall of Dublin (Carte, Letters, ii. 383, 389, 391); after it, he repeatedly asserts that Jones, to magnify his own services, makes the royalists amount to eighteen, whereas, in reality, they were only eight, thousand men. *Ibid.* 402, 413.

CHAP. followed with the remainder of the army, and a  
 I. fortnight was allowed the soldiers to refresh them-  
 1649. selves after their voyage. Aware that the royalists  
 ——— could assemble no army in the field, he marched  
 Aug. 18. to the siege of Drogheda. The defences of the  
 Sep. 3. place were contemptible; but the garrison con-  
 sisted of two thousand five hundred chosen men,  
 and the governor, sir Arthur Aston, had earned  
 in the civil war the reputation of a brave and  
 Sep. 9. experienced officer. In two days a breach was  
 effected; but Aston ordered trenches to be dug  
 within the wall, and the assailants on their first  
 Sep. 11. attempt were quickly repulsed. In the second,  
 more than a thousand men penetrated through  
 the breach; but they suffered severely for their  
 temerity, and were driven back with considerable  
 loss. Cromwell now placed himself at the head of  
 the reserve, and led them to the assault, animating  
 them by his voice and example. In the heat of  
 the conflict, it chanced that the royalist officer  
 who defended one of the trenches fell; his men  
 wavered; quarter was offered and accepted; and  
 the enemy, surmounting the breast-work, obtained  
 possession of the bridge, entered the town, and  
 successively overcame all opposition. The pledge  
 which had been given was now violated; and, as  
 soon as resistance ceased, a general massacre was  
 ordered or tolerated by Cromwell. During five  
 days the streets of Drogheda ran with blood:  
 revenge and fanaticism stimulated the passions of  
 the soldiers; from the garrison they turned their

Massacre  
 at Drogheda.

swords against the inhabitants, and one thousand unresisting victims were immolated together within the walls of the great church, whither they had fled for protection.<sup>42</sup> From Drogheda the conqueror led his men, flushed with slaughter, to the siege of Wexford. The timid counsels of the townsmen were repressed by the resolution of the governor; but a traitor opened the castle to the enemy; the adjacent wall was immediately scaled; and, after a stubborn but unavailing resistance in the market place, Wexford was abandoned to the mercy of the assailants. The tragedy, so recently acted at Drogheda, was renewed. No distinction was made between the defenceless inhabitant and the armed soldier; nor could the shrieks and prayers of three hundred females, who had gathered round the great cross,

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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At Wexford.

Oct. 12.

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<sup>42</sup> See Carte's Ormond. ii. 84. Carte, Letters, ii. 412. Philop. Iren. i. 120. Whitelock, 428. Ludlow, i. 261. Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus, in fine. Ormond repeatedly asserts that quarter was granted before the massacre. "All his officers and soldiers promising quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performing it as long as any place held out which encouraged others to yield. But when they had once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, then the word *no* quarter went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced against their wills to kill their prisoners." Carte, Letters, ii. 412. Cromwell seems to assert the contrary in his public despatch. "Being thus entered, we refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. . . . This is a marvellous great mercy." In another letter is admitted the additional massacre of a thousand of the inhabitants, who had fled to the great church for security. Whitelock, 428.

CHA P. preserve them from the swords of these ruthless  
 I. barbarians. By Cromwell himself, the number of  
 1649. the slain is reduced to two, by some writers it has  
 ————— been swelled to five, thousand.<sup>43</sup>

Ormond, unable to interrupt the bloody career of his adversary, waited with impatience for the determination of O’Nial. That chieftain had faithfully performed his engagements with the parliamentary commanders. He had thrown impediments in the way of the royalists; he had compelled Montgomery to raise the siege of Londonderry, and had rescued Coote and his small army, the last hope of the parliament in Ulster, from the fate which seemed to await them. At first the leaders in London hesitated after the victory of Rathmines; they publicly refused, to ratify the treaties made with him by their officers.<sup>44</sup> Stung with indignation, O’Nial accepted the offers of Ormond, and marched from Londonderry to join the royal army: but his progress was retarded by sickness, and he died at Clocknacter in Cavan. His officers, however, fulfilled his intentions; the arrival of the men of Ulster

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<sup>43</sup> Carte’s Ormond, ii. 92. Castlehaven, 99. Philop. Iren. i. 223.

<sup>44</sup> Council Book, Aug. 6. No. 67, 8, 9, 70. Journals, Aug. 10, 24. Walker, ii. 245—8. King’s Pamphlets. No. 435, xi. 437, xxxiii. The reader must not confound this Owen Roe O’Nial with another of the same name, one of the regicides, who claimed a debt of 5,065*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* of the parliament, and obtained an order for it to paid out of the forfeited lands in Ireland. Journ. 1653. Sep. 9.

revived the courage of their associates: and the English general was successively foiled in his attempts upon Duncannon and Waterford. His forces already began to suffer from the inclemency of the season, when lord Broghill, who had lately returned from England, debauched the fidelity of the regiments under lord Inchiquin. The garrisons of Cork, Youghall, Bandon, and Kinsale, declared for the parliament, and Cromwell seized the opportunity to close the campaign, and place his followers in winter quarters <sup>45</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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But inactivity suited not his policy or inclination. After seven weeks of repose he again summoned them into the field; and at the head of twenty thousand men, well appointed and disciplined, confidently anticipated the entire conquest of Ireland. The royalists were destitute of money, arms, and ammunition; a pestilential disease, introduced with the cargo of a ship from Spain, ravaged their quarters; in the north, Charlemont alone acknowledged the royal authority; in Leinster and Munster, almost every place of importance had been wrested from them by force or perfidy; and even in Connaught, their last refuge, internal dissension prevented that union which alone could save them from utter destruction. Their misfortunes called into action the factions which had lain dormant since the departure of the nuncio. The recent treachery of Inchiquin's

His further progress.  
1650.  
Jan. 29.

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<sup>45</sup> Phil. Iren. i. 231. Carte's Ormond, ii. 102.

CHAP. forces had engendered feelings of jealousy and sus-  
 I. picion; and many contended that it was better to  
 1650. submit at once to the conqueror than depend on  
 the doubtful fidelity of the lord lieutenant. Crom-  
 well met with little resistance: wherever he came,  
 he held out the promise of life and liberty of con-  
 science:<sup>46</sup> but the rejection of the offer, though it  
 were afterwards accepted, was punished with the  
 blood of the officers; and, if the place were taken by  
 force, with indiscriminate slaughter.<sup>47</sup> Proceed-  
 ing on this plan, one day granting quarter, another  
 putting the leaders only to the sword, and on the  
 next immolating the whole garrison, hundreds of  
 human beings at a time, he quickly reduced most  
 of the towns and castles in the three counties of  
 Limerick, Tipperary, and Kilkenny. But this  
 bloody policy at length recoiled upon its author.

<sup>46</sup> Liberty of conscience he explained to mean liberty of internal belief, not of external worship. See his letter in *Phil. Iren.* i. 270.

<sup>47</sup> The Irish commanders disdained to imitate the cruelty of their enemies. "I took," says lord Castlehaven, "Athy by storm with all the garrison (seven hundred men) prisoners. I made a present of them to Cromwell, desiring him by letter that he would do the like with me, as any of mine should fall into his power. But he little valued my civility. For, in a few days after, he besieged Gouvan; and the soldiers mutinying, and giving up the place with their officers, he caused the governor, Hammond, and some other officers, to be put to death." Castlehaven, 107. Ormond also says, in one of his letters: "the next day Rathfarnham was taken by storm, and all that were in it made prisoners; and though five hundred soldiers entered the castle before any officer of note, yet not one creature was killed; which I tell you by the way, to observe the difference betwixt our and the rebels making use of a victory." Carte, *Letters*, ii. 408.



Men, with no alternative but victory or death, learned to fight with the energy of despair. At the siege of Kilkenny the assailants, though twice repulsed from the breach, were, by the timidity of some of the inhabitants, admitted within the walls; yet, so obstinate was the resistance of the garrison, that, to spare his own men, the general consented to grant them honourable terms. From Kilkenny he proceeded to the town of Clonmel, where Hugh, the son of the deceased O'Nial, commanded with one thousand two hundred of the best troops of Ulster. The duration of the siege exhausted his patience; the breach was stormed a second time; and, after a conflict of four hours, the English were driven back with considerable loss. The garrison, however, had expended their ammunition; they took advantage of the confusion of the enemy to depart during the darkness of the night; and the townsmen the next morning, keeping the secret, obtained from Cromwell a favourable capitulation.<sup>48</sup> This was his last exploit in Ireland. From Clonmel he was recalled to England, to undertake a service of greater importance and difficulty, to which the reader must now direct his attention.

The young king, it will be remembered, had left the Hague on his circuitous route to Ireland, whither he had been called by the advice of Ormond and the wishes of the royalists. He was

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

March 28.

May 9.

May 10.

Proceed-  
ings in  
Scotland.  
1649.

<sup>48</sup> Whitelock, 449, 456. Castlehaven, 108. Ludlow, i. 265. Perfect Politician, 70.

CHAP. detained three months at St. Germain by the  
 I. charms of a mistress or the intrigues of his cour-  
 1649. tiers, nor did he reach the island of Jersey till  
 June. long after the disastrous battle of Rathmines.  
 Sep. That event made his further progress a matter of  
 serious discussion; and the difficulty was in-  
 Oct. creased by the arrival of Wynram, of Libertoun,  
 with addresses from the parliament and the kirk  
 of Scotland. The first offered, on his acknow-  
 ledgment of their authority as a parliament, to  
 treat with him respecting the conditions pro-  
 posed by their former commissioners: the latter,  
 in language unceremonious and insulting, laid be-  
 fore him the sins of his youth; his refusal to  
 allow the Son of God to reign over him in the  
 pure ordinances of church government and wor-  
 ship; his cleaving to counsellors who never had  
 the glory of God or the good of his people before  
 their eyes; his admission to his person of "that  
 "fugacious man and excommunicate rebel, James  
 "Graham," and, above all, "his giving the royal  
 "power and strength to the beast," by conclud-  
 ing a peace "with the Irish papists, the mur-  
 "derers of so many protestants." They bade  
 him remember the iniquities of his father's house,  
 and be assured that, unless he laid aside the  
 "service book so stuffed with Romish corruptions,  
 "for the reformation of doctrine and worship  
 "agreed upon by the divines at Westminster,"  
 and approved of the covenant in his three king-  
 doms, without which the people could have no

security for their religion or liberty, he would find that the Lord's anger was not turned away, but that his hand was still stretched against the royal person and family.<sup>49</sup>

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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This coarse and intemperate lecture was not calculated to make a convert of a young and spirited prince. Instead of giving an answer, he waited to ascertain the opinion of Ormond; and at last, though inclination prompted him to throw himself into the arms of his Irish adherents, he reluctantly submitted to the authority of that officer, who declared, that the only way to preserve Ireland was by provoking a war between England and Scotland.<sup>50</sup> Charles now condescended to give to the convention the title of estates of parliament, appointed Breda, a small town, the private patrimony of the prince of Orange, for the place of treaty; and met there the new commissioners, the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, with two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers. Their present scarcely differed from their former demands; nor were they less unpalatable to the king. To consent to them appeared to him an apostacy from the principles for which his father fought and died; an abandonment of the Scottish friends of his family to

Charles  
hesitates  
to accept  
the condi-  
tions.

1650.  
Jan. 11.

March 15.

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<sup>49</sup> Clar. State Papers, iii. app. 89—92. Carte's Letters, i. 323. Whitelock, 429. The address of the kirk was composed by Mr. Wood, and disapproved by the more moderate. Baillie, ii. 339, 345.

<sup>50</sup> Carte's Letters, i. 333, 340.

CHAP. I. the mercy of his and their enemies. On the other  
 I. hand, the prince of Orange importuned him to  
 1649. acquiesce; many of his counsellors suggested that,  
 if he were once on the throne, he might soften or  
 subdue the obstinacy of the Scottish parliament;  
 and his mother, by her letters, exhorted him not  
 to sacrifice to his feelings this his last resource,  
 the only remaining expedient for the recovery of  
 his three kingdoms. But the king had still  
 another resource; he sought delays; his eyes  
 were fixed on the efforts of his friends in the  
 north of Scotland; and he continued to indulge a  
 hope of being replaced without conditions on the  
 ancient throne of his ancestors.<sup>51</sup>

Progress  
 and defeat  
 of Mon-  
 trose.

1649.  
 Oct. 14.

While Charles was at St. Germain he had given  
 to Montrose a commission to raise the royal  
 standard in the highlands. That nobleman, with  
 indefatigable industry, solicited and obtained from  
 the several northern crowns supplies of men,  
 money, and ammunition. In autumn, by his  
 order, a band of exiles under the lord Kinnoul  
 had taken possession of Kirkwall in the Orkneys.  
 During the winter, though several of his ships  
 perished, he succeeded in landing about one hun-  
 dred officers, twelve hundred stand of arms, and  
 a considerable quantity of ammunition; and, in  
 March, Montrose himself joined his companions,  
 and led them into Caithness and Sutherland.  
 His banner displayed a naked arm and sword,

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<sup>51</sup> Carte's Letters, i. 338, 355. Whitelock, 430, 446. Clar.  
 iii. 343, 4.

bathed in blood, and painted on a black ground; and his declaration called on all true Scotsmen to aid in establishing their king on his throne, and in saving him from the treachery of those, who, if they once had him in their power, would sell him, as they had sold his father, to the English rebels. But his name had lost that magic influence which success had formerly thrown around it. The highlanders shunned his approach through fear, or watched his progress as foes: the declaration was burnt in Edinburgh by the hand of the hangman: and four thousand regular troops marched to oppose him under the command of David Leslie. The armies met at Corbiesdale in Rosshire. The royalists, twelve hundred in number, repelled the first charge of the enemy; by the second they were broken; four hundred threw down their arms and surrendered; and the rest, almost to a man, either perished in attempting to ford the river, or were slain by the revenge of the peasantry.<sup>52</sup> Montrose himself put on the dress of a husbandman, but was betrayed in the hut where he had sought an asylum, to Macleod, the laird of Assint. His captivity was a subject of indecent triumph to the kirk, who had excommunicated him, and to Argyle, who, in former

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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1650.  
April 17.

May 8.

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<sup>52</sup> Of the prisoners, about one hundred, being Irishmen, were shot at a post, one of the ministers observing, "this wark gaes 'bonnille on.'" Eighty women and children, who had followed the army of Montrose, were thrown over the bridge of Linnlithgow into the river. Kirkton, p. 48, note.

CHAP. times, had learned to respect and fear his valour.

1.  
1649.

May 18. The magistrates came to receive him at the gate of the capital. By their order the executioner placed him bare-headed and pinioned in a cart: his officers, the companions of his misfortune, twenty-three in number, were commanded to walk before him; and the procession paraded slowly through the streets to the common gaol.<sup>53</sup>

His con-  
demna-  
tion.  
May 20.

From his enemies Montrose could expect no mercy; but they hastened his death, that the king might not have time to intercede in his favour. When he appeared before the parliament, his features, pale and haggard, showed the fatigue and privations which he had endured: but his dress was splendid, his mien fearless, his language calm, firm, and dignified. To the chancellor, who, in a tone of bitterness and reprobation, enumerated the offences with which he was charged, he replied, that since the king had condescended to treat with them as estates, it became not a subject to dispute their authority; but that the apostacy and rebellion with which they reproached him were, in his estimation, acts of duty. Whatever he had done, either in the last or present reign, had been done with the sanction of the sovereign. If he had formerly taken up arms, it had been to divert his countrymen from the impious war which they waged against the

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<sup>53</sup> Carte's Letters, i. 345. Balfour, iii. 432, 439; iv. 8—13. Whitelock, 435, 452, 3, 4, 5. Clarendon, iii. 318—353. Laing, iii. 443.

royal authority in England ; if now, his object was to accelerate the existing negociation between them and their new king. As a Christian, he had always supported that cause which his conscience approved ; as a subject, he always fought in support of his prince ; and as a neighbour, he had frequently preserved the lives of those who had forfeited them against him in battle. The chancellor, in return, declared him a murderer of his fellow subjects, an enemy to the covenant and the peace of the kingdom, and an agitator, whose ambition had helped to destroy the father, and was now employed for the destruction of the son. Judgment, which had been passed in parliament some days before, was then pronounced by the dempster, that James Graham should be hanged for the space of three hours on a gibbet thirty feet high, that his head should be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth or Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and his body be interred by the hangman on the burrowmuir, unless he were previously released from excommunication by the kirk. During this trying scene, his enemies eagerly watched his demeanour. Twice he was heard to sigh, and his eyes occasionally wandered along the cornice of the hall. But he stood before them cool and collected : no symptom of perturbation marked his countenance, no expression of complaint or impatience escaped his lips ; he

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

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CHAP. showed himself superior to the insults of his ene-  
 I.  
 1649. mies, and unscared by the menaces of death.

— The same high tone of feeling supported the  
 And death.  
 May 20. unfortunate victim to the last gasp. When the  
 ministers admonished him that his punishment in  
 this world was but a shadow of that which awaited  
 him in the next, he indignantly replied, that he  
 gloried in his fate, and only lamented that he had  
 not limbs sufficient to furnish every city in Christ-  
 endom with proofs of his loyalty. On the scaffold,  
 he maintained the innocence of his conduct, praised  
 the character of the present king, and appealed  
 from the censures of the kirk to the justice of  
 heaven. As a last disgrace, the executioner hung  
 round his neck his late declaration, with the his-  
 tory of his former exploits. He smiled at the  
 malice of his enemies, and said that they had given  
 him a more brilliant decoration than the garter  
 with which he had been honoured by his sovereign.  
 Montrose, by his death, won more proselytes to  
 the royal cause than he had ever made by his  
 victories<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> Balfour, iv. 13, 15, 16, 19—22. Clar. iii. 353—356. White-  
 lock, 456. Colonel Hurry, whom the reader has seen successively  
 serving under the king and the parliament in the civil war, Spot-  
 tiswood, the grandson of the archbishop of that name, Sir W.  
 Hay, who had been forefaulted as a catholic, in 1647, Sibbald,  
 the confidential envoy of Montrose, and several others, were be-  
 headed. Of the common soldiers, some were given to different  
 lords to be fishermen or miners, and the rest enrolled in regiments  
 in the French service. Balfour, iv. 18, 27, 28, 32, 33, 44.



The failure of this attempt opened the eyes of Charles to the danger which he ran of being excluded from the Scottish throne. He assured the parliament by letter that, as he had previously forbidden Montrose to proceed on his expedition, he did not regret the defeat of a man who had presumed to act in opposition to his authority<sup>55</sup>; and he submitted without reserve to the demands of the commissioners, binding himself to take the Scottish covenant, and the solemn league and covenant; to disavow and declare null the peace with the Irish, and never to permit the free exercise of the catholic religion in Ireland, or any other part of his dominions; to acknowledge the authority of all parliaments held since the commencement of the late war; and to govern in civil matters by advice of the parliament; in religious, by that of the kirk<sup>56</sup>. These preliminaries being settled, he embarked on board a small squadron furnished by the prince of Orange, and, after a perilous navigation of three weeks, during which he had to contend with the stormy weather and to elude the pursuit of the parliamentary cruisers, he arrived in safety in the frith of Cromartie. The king was received with the honours due to his dignity; a court with proper officers was prepared for him, and the sum of 100,000*l*.

CHAP.  
I.  
1649.

Charles  
lands in  
Scotland.

May 12.

May 13.

June 2.

June 23.

<sup>55</sup> See Balfour, iv. 24, 25. He gives May 15th as the date of the king's letter to Montrose; but this must be a mistake; perhaps it should be Mar. 15th.

<sup>56</sup> Thurloe, i. 147.

CHAP. Scots, or 9000*l.* English, was voted for the  
 I.  
 1649. monthly expense of his household. But the par-  
 ———— liament had previously passed an act banishing  
 June 4. from Scotland several of the royal favourites by  
 name, and excluding the “engagers” from the  
 verge of the court, and all employment in the  
 state. After repeated applications the duke of  
 Buckingham, the lord Wilmot, and a few English  
 servants, obtained permission to remain with the  
 king; and many of the Scottish exiles embraced  
 the opportunity to withdraw from notice into the  
 western isles, or the more distant parts of the  
 country<sup>57</sup>.

Cromwell  
 is appoint-  
 ed to com-  
 mand in  
 Scotland.

It was the negotiation between the Scots and  
 their nominal king that arrested Cromwell in the  
 career of victory, and called him away from the  
 completion of his conquest. The rulers of the  
 commonwealth were aware of the intimate con-  
 nexion which the solemn league and covenant had  
 introduced between the English presbyterians and  
 the kirk of Scotland, whence they naturally in-  
 ferred that, if the pretender to the English were  
 once seated on the Scottish throne, their own  
 power would be placed on a very precarious foot-  
 ing. From the first, they had watched with  
 jealousy the unfriendly proceedings of the Scottish  
 parliament. Advice and persuasion had been  
 tried, and had failed. There remained the re-

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<sup>57</sup> Balfour, iv. 41, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67, 73, 77, 78. Whitelock, 462. Clarendon, iii. 346, 356, 7.

source of war; and war, it was hoped, would either compel the Scots to abandon the claims of Charles, or reduce Scotland to a province of the commonwealth. Fairfax, indeed, (he was supposed to be under the influence of a presbyterian wife and of the presbyterian ministers,) disapproved of the design<sup>58</sup>; but his disapprobation, though lamented in public, was privately hailed as a benefit by those who were acquainted with the aspiring designs of Cromwell, and built on his elevation the flattering hope of their own greatness. By their means, as soon as the lord lieutenant had put his troops into winter quarters, an order was obtained from parliament for him to attend his duty in the house; but he resumed his military operations, and two months were suffered to elapse before he noticed the command of the supreme authority, and condescended to make an unmeaning apology for his disobedience. On the renewal of the order, he left the command in Ireland to Ireton, and, returning to England, appeared in his seat. He was received with acclamations; the palace of St. James's was allotted for his residence, and a valuable grant of lands was voted as a reward for his eminent services. In a few days followed the appointment of Fairfax to the office of commander-in-chief, and of Cromwell to that of lieutenant-general of the army designed to be employed in Scotland. Each

CHAP.

I.  
1650.

1650.

Jan. 8.

Jan. 29.

April 2.

May 30.

June 12

June 14.

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<sup>58</sup> Whitlock, 438.

CHAP. I. signified his "readiness to observe the orders of  
 1650. "the house;" but Fairfax at the same time re-  
 June 24. vealed his secret and conscientious objections to  
 the council of state. A deputation of five mem-  
 bers, Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, Whitelock,  
 and St. John, waited on him at his house; the  
 conference was opened by a solemn invocation of  
 the Holy Spirit, and the three officers prayed in  
 succession with the most edifying fervour. Then  
 Fairfax said that, to his mind, the invasion of  
 Scotland appeared a violation of the solemn league  
 and covenant, which he had sworn to observe. It  
 was replied, that the Scots themselves had broken  
 the league by the invasion of England under the  
 duke of Hamilton; and that it was always lawful  
 to prevent the hostile designs of another power.  
 But he answered, that the Scottish parliament  
 had given satisfaction by the punishment of the  
 guilty; that the probability of hostile designs  
 ought indeed to lead to measures of precaution,  
 but that certainty was required to justify actual  
 invasion. No impression was made on his mind;  
 and, though Cromwell and his brother officers  
 earnestly solicited him to comply, "there was  
 "cause enough," says one of the deputation, "to  
 "believe that they did not over much desire  
 June 25. it."<sup>59</sup> The next day another attempt ended with  
 as little success; the lord general, alleging the

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<sup>59</sup> Whitelock, 460, 2. Ludlow says, "he acted his part so to  
 "the life, that I really thought him in earnest; but the conse-  
 "quence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such inten-

plea of infirm health and misboding conscience, sent back the last commission, and, at the request of the house, the former also; and the chief command of all the forces raised, or to be raised by order of parliament, was conferred on Oliver Cromwell. Thus this adventurer obtained at the same time the praise of moderation and the great object of his ambition. Fairfax retired to his estate in Yorkshire, where he lived with the privacy of a country gentleman, till he once more drew the sword, not in support of the commonwealth, but in favour of the king<sup>60</sup>.

To a spectator who considered the preparations of the two kingdoms, there could be little doubt of the result. Cromwell had passed the Tweed at the head of sixteen thousand men, most of them veterans, all habituated to military discipline, before the raw levies of the Scots had quitted their respective shires. By order of the Scottish parliament the army had been fixed at thirty thousand men; the nominal command had been given to the earl of Leven, the real, on account of the age and infirmities of that officer, to his relative, David Leslie; and instructions had been issued that the country between Berwick and the capital should be laid waste; that the cattle and provisions should be removed or destroyed; and that

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

June 26.

He  
marches  
to Edin-  
burgh.  
July 22.

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“tion.” i. 272. Hutchinson, who was present on one of these occasions, thought him sincere. Hutchin. 315. See note (A.)

<sup>60</sup> Whitelock, 438, 450, 457. Journals, Jan. 8, Feb. 25, Mar. 30, Ap. 15, May 2, 7, 30, June 4, 12, 14, 25, 26.

CHAP. I. the inhabitants should abandon their homes under  
 1650. the penalties of infamy, confiscation, and death.

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In aid of this measure reports were industriously circulated of the cruelties exercised by Cromwell in Ireland; that wherever he came, he gave orders to put all the males between sixteen and sixty to death, to deprive all the boys between six and sixteen of their right hands, and to bore the breasts of the females with red hot irons. The English were surprised at the silence and desolation which reigned around them; the only human beings whom they met on their march through this wilderness, were a few old women and children, who on their knees solicited mercy. But Cromwell conducted them by the sea coast; the fleet daily supplied them with provisions, and their good conduct gradually dispelled the apprehensions of the natives<sup>61</sup>. They found the Scottish levies posted behind a deep entrenchment, running from Edinburgh to Leith, fortified with numerous batteries, and flanked by the cannon of the castle at one extremity, and of the harbour at the other. Cromwell employed all his art to provoke, Leslie to avoid, an engagement. It was in vain that for more than a month the former marched and coun-

July 28.

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<sup>61</sup> Whitelock, 465, 466, 468. Perfect Diurnal, No. 324. See the three declarations: that of the parliament on the marching of the army; of the army itself, addressed "to all that are saints and partakers of the faith of God's elect in Scotland;" and the third from Cromwell, dated at Berwick, in the Parliamentary History, xix. 276, 298, 310.

termarched; that he threatened general, and made partial, attacks. Leslie remained fixed within his lines; or, if he occasionally moved, watched the motions of the enemy from the nearest mountains, or interposed a river or morass between the two armies. The English began to be exhausted with fatigue; sickness thinned their ranks; the arrival of provisions depended on the winds and waves; and Cromwell was taught to fear, not the valour of the enemy, but the prudence of their general<sup>62</sup>.

The reader will already have observed how much at this period the exercises of religion were mixed up with the concerns of state and even the operations of war. Both parties equally believed that the result of the expedition depended on the will of the Almighty, and that it was, therefore, their duty to propitiate his anger by fasting and humiliation. In the English army the officers prayed and preached; they "sanctified the camp," and exhorted the men to unity of mind and godliness of life. Among the Scots this duty was discharged by the ministers; and so fervent was their piety, so merciless their zeal, that, in addition to their prayers, they occasionally compelled the young king to listen to six long sermons on the same day, assuming an air of gravity, and displaying feelings of devotion which ill accorded with his real disposition. But the English had no national crime to deplore; by punishing the late

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

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Proceed-  
ings of the  
Scottish  
kirk.

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<sup>62</sup> Balfour, iv. 87, 88, 90. Whitelock, 467, 8.

CHAP. king *they* had atoned for the evils of the civil war:  
 I.  
 1650. the Scots, on the contrary, had adopted his son  
 ————— without any real proof of his conversion, and  
 therefore feared that they might draw down on  
 the country the punishment due to his sins and  
 those of his family. It happened that Charles, by  
 the advice of the earl of Eglington, presumed to  
 visit the army. He was received with shouts of  
 enthusiasm by the soldiers, who on their knees  
 pledged the health of their young sovereign; but  
 the committee of the kirk complained that his  
 presence led to ebriety and profaneness, and he  
 received a request equivalent to a command to  
 quit the camp. The next day a declaration was  
 made, that the company of malignants, engagers,  
 and enemies to the covenant, could not fail of  
 multiplying the judgments of God upon the land:  
 an inquiry was then instituted into the characters  
 of numerous individuals, and eighty officers, with  
 many of their men, were cashiered, that they  
 might not contaminate by their presence the army  
 of the saints<sup>63</sup>. Still it was for Charles Stuart,  
 the chief of the malignants, that they were to  
 fight, and therefore from him, to appease the  
 anger of the Almighty, an expiatory declaration  
 was required in the name of the parliament and  
 the kirk.

Expiatory  
 declara-  
 tion re-

In this instrument he was called upon to la-  
 ment, in the language of penitence and self abase-

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<sup>63</sup> Balfour, iv. 86, 89.



ment, his father's opposition to the work of God and the solemn league and covenant, which had caused the blood of the Lord's people to be shed, and the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in the king's house could not fail to be a high provocation against him, who is a jealous God visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children; to declare that he had subscribed the covenant with sincerity of heart, and would have neither friends nor enemies but those who were friends or enemies to it; to acknowledge the sinfulness of the treaty with the bloody rebels in Ireland, which he was made to pronounce null and void; to detest popery and prelacy, idolatry and heresy, schism and profaneness; and to promise that he would accord to a free parliament in England the propositions of the two kingdoms, and reform the church of England according to the plan devised by the assembly of divines at Westminster <sup>64</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

quired  
from  
Charles.

When first this declaration, so humbling to his pride, so offensive to his feelings, was presented to Charles for his signature, he returned an indignant refusal: a little reflection induced him to solicit the advice of the council, and the opinion of the principal ministers. But the godly refused to wait: the two committees of the kirk and kingdom protested that they disowned the quarrel and interest of every malignant party, dis-

He re-  
fuses, and  
then as-  
sents.

Aug. 10.

Aug. 13.

Aug. 14.

<sup>64</sup> Balfour, iv. 92. Whitelock, 469. "A declaration by the king's majesty to his subjects of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." Printed, 1650.

- CHAP. I. 1650. claimed the guilt of the king and his house, and would never prosecute his interest without his acknowledgment of the sins of his family and of his former ways, and his promise of giving satisfaction to God's people in both kingdoms. This protestation was printed and furtively sent to the
- Aug. 15. English camp: the officers of the army presented to the committee of estates a remonstrance and supplication expressive of their adhesion; and the ministers maintained from their pulpits that the king was the root of malignancy, and a hypocrite, who had taken the covenant without an intention
- Aug. 16. to keep it. Charles, yielding to his own fears, and the advice of his friends, at the end of three days subscribed, with tears, the obnoxious instrument. If it were folly in the Scots to propose to the young prince a declaration so repugnant to his feelings and opinions, it was greater folly still to believe that professions of repentance extorted with so much violence could be sincere or satisfactory; yet his subscription was received with expressions of joy and gratitude: both the army and the city observed a solemn fast for the sins of the two kings, the father and the son; and the ministers, now that the anger of heaven had been appeased, assured their hearers of an easy victory over a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army"<sup>65</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> Balfour, iv. 91, 92, 95. The English parliament in their answer exclaim: "What a blessed and hopeful change is wrought in a moment in this young king! How hearty is he become to

If their predictions were not verified, the fault was undoubtedly their own. The caution and vigilance of Leslie had triumphed over the skill and activity of his adversary. Cromwell saw no alternative but victory or retreat: of the first he had no doubt, if he could come into contact with the enemy: the second was a perilous attempt, when the passes before him were pre-occupied, and a more numerous force was hanging on his rear. At Musselburg, having sent the sick on board the fleet, he ordered the army to march the next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar; and the same night a meteor, which the imagination of the beholders likened to a sword of fire, was seen to pass over Edinburgh in a southeasterly direction, an evident presage in the opinion of the Scots, that the flames of war would be transferred to the remotest extremity of England<sup>66</sup>. At Dunbar, Cromwell drew up his men in the vicinity of Broxmouth-house; Leslie occupied with the Scots the heights of Lammermuir, and a ravine of the depth and breadth of thirty feet separated the advanced posts of the two armies. But here the committees of the estates

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

Battle of  
Dunbar.

Aug. 30.

Sep. 30.

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“ the cause of God and the work of reformation! How readily doth he swallow down these bitter pills, which are prepared for and urged upon him, as necessary to effect that desperate cure under which his affairs lie! But who sees not the gross hypocrisy of this whole transaction, and the sandy and rotten foundation of all the resolutions flowing hereupon?” See Parliamentary History, xix. 359—386.

<sup>66</sup> Balfour, iv. 94.

CHAP. and the kirk, afraid that the enemy should escape,  
 I.  
 1650. compelled their general to depart from his usual

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caution, and to make preparation for battle. Cromwell, with his officers, had spent part of the day in calling upon the Lord: while he prayed, the enthusiast felt an enlargement of the heart, a buoyancy of spirit, which he took for an infallible presage of victory; and, beholding through his glass the motion in the Scottish camp, he exclaimed, "they are coming down: the Lord hath  
 Sep. 3. "delivered them into our hands"<sup>67</sup>. During the night, he advanced the army to the edge of the ravine; and at an early hour in the morning the Scots attempted to seize a pass on the road from Dunbar to Berwick. After a sharp contest, the Scottish lancers, aided by their artillery, charged down the hill, drove the brigade of English cavalry from its position, and broke through the infantry, which had advanced to the support of the horse. Cromwell, turning to his own regiment of foot, exclaimed: "let the Lord arise  
 "and scatter his enemies." They instantly moved forward with their pikes levelled; the horse rallied; and the enemy's lancers hesitated, broke, and fled. At that moment the mist dispersed,

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<sup>67</sup> Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador, in his relation to the senate, says that Cromwell pretended to have been assured of the victory by a supernatural voice. *Prima che venisse alla battaglia, diede cuore ai soldati con assicurargli la vittoria predettagli da Dio, con una voce, che lo aveva a mezza notte riscosso dal sonno.* MS. copy in my possession.

and the first spectacle which struck the eyes of the  
 Scots, was the rout of their cavalry. A sudden  
 panic instantly spread from the right to the left  
 of their line: at the approach of the English they  
 threw down their arms and ran: the pursuit was  
 continued for more than eight miles: the dead  
 bodies of three thousand Scots strewed their na-  
 tive soil; and ten thousand prisoners, with the  
 artillery, ammunition, and baggage, became the  
 reward of the conquerors<sup>68</sup>.

CHAP.  
 I.  
 1650.

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Cromwell now thought no more of his retreat. He marched back to the capital: the hope of resistance was abandoned; Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country to the Forth submitted to the will of the English general. Still the presumption of the six ministers who formed the committee of the kirk, was not humbled. Though their predictions had been falsified, they were still the depositaries of the secrets of the Deity; and, in a "Short Declaration and Warning," they announced to their countrymen the thirteen causes of this national calamity. It was by the general profaneness of the land, by the manifest provocations of the king and the

Progress  
 of Crom-  
 well.

Sep. 12.

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<sup>68</sup> Carte's Letters, i. 381. Whitlock, 470, 471. Ludlow, i. 283. Balfour, iv. 97. Several proceedings, No. 50. Parl. Hist. xix. 343—352, 478. Of the prisoners, five thousand one hundred, something more than one half, being wounded, were dismissed to their homes, the other half were driven "like turkies" into England. Of these, one thousand six hundred had died of a pestilential disease, and five hundred were actually sick on Oct. 31. Whitlock, 471. Old Parl. Hist. xix. 417.

CHAP. I.  
1650. king's house, by the crooked and precipitant ways of statesmen in the treaty of Breda, by the toleration of malignants in the king's household, by suffering his guard to join in the battle without a previous purgation, by the diffidence of some officers who refused to profit by advantages furnished them by God, by the presumption of others who promised victory to themselves without eyeing of God, by the rapacity and oppression exercised by the soldiery, and by the carnal self-seeking of men in power, that God had been provoked to visit his people with so direful and yet so merited a chastisement<sup>69</sup>.

The king escapes and is taken.

To the young king the defeat at Dunbar was a subject of real and ill-dissembled joy. Hitherto he had been a mere puppet in the hands of Argyle and his party; now their power was broken, and it was not impossible for him to gain the ascendancy. He entered into a negotiation with Murray, Huntley, Athol, and the numerous royalists in the highlands: but the secret, without the particulars, was betrayed to Argyle, probably by Buckingham who disapproved of the project; and all the cavaliers but three received an order to leave the court in twenty-four hours—the kingdom in twenty days. The vigilance of the guards prevented the execution of the plan which had been laid: but one afternoon, under pretence of hawking, Charles escaped from Perth, and riding

Sep. 27.

Oct. 4.

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<sup>69</sup> Balfour, iv. 98—107.

forty-two miles, passed the night in a miserable hovel, called Clova, in the highlands. At break of day he was overtaken by colonel Montgomery, who advised him to return, while the viscount Dudhope urged him to proceed to the mountains, where he would be joined by seven thousand armed men. Charles wavered; but Montgomery directed his attention to two regiments of horse that waited at a distance, and the royal fugitive consented to return to his former residence in Perth<sup>70</sup>.

CHAP.  
1.  
1650.  
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Oct. 5.

The start (so this adventure was called) proved, however, a warning to the committee of estates. They prudently admitted the king's apology, that he had been deceived by information that he was that day to have been delivered to Cromwell; they allowed him, for the first time, to preside at their deliberations; and they employed his authority to pacify the royalists in the highlands, who had taken arms in his name under Huntley, Athol, Seaforth, and Middleton. These, after a long negociation, accepted an act of indemnity, and disbanded their forces<sup>71</sup>.

Oct. 10.  
Oct. 12.  
Nov. 4.

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<sup>70</sup> Balfour, iv. 109, 113, 114. Baillie, ii. 356. Whitelock, 476. *Miscellanea Aulica*, 152. It seems probable from some letters published in the correspondence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that Charles had planned his escape from the "villany and hypocrisy" of the party, as early as the day of the battle of Dunbar. Evelyn's *Mem.* v. 181—186. octavo.

<sup>71</sup> Balfour, iv. 118, 123, 129—135, 160. Baillie, ii. 356. A minister, James Guthrie, in defiance of the committee of estates, excommunicated Middleton; and such was the power of the kirk,

CHAP.

I.

1650.

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 The god-  
liness of  
Cromwell.

In the meanwhile Cromwell in his quarters at Edinburgh laboured to unite the character of the saint with that of the conqueror ; and, surrounded as he was with the splendour of victory, to surprise the world by a display of modesty and self-abasement. To his friends and flatterers, who fed his vanity by warning him to be on his guard against its suggestions, he replied, that he was but a feeble instrument in the hands of Almighty Power ; if God had risen in his wrath, if he had bared his arm, and avenged his cause, to him, and to him alone, belonged the glory<sup>72</sup>. Assuming the office of a missionary, he exhorted his officers in daily sermons to love one another, to repent from dead works, and to pray and mourn for the blindness of their Scottish adversaries ; and, pretending to avail him of his present leisure, he provoked a theological controversy with the ministers in the castle of Edinburgh, reproaching them with pride in arrogating to themselves the right of expounding the true sense of the solemn league and covenant ; vindicating the claim of laymen to preach the gospel and exhibit their spiritual gifts for the edification of their brethren ; and maintaining that, after the solemn fasts observed by both nations, after their many and earnest appeals to

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that even when the king's party was superior, Middleton was compelled to do penance in sackcloth in the church of Dundee, before he could obtain absolution, preparatory to his taking a command in the army. Baillie, 357. Balfour, 240.

<sup>72</sup> See a number of letters in Milton's State Papers, 18—35.



the God of armies, the victory gained at Dunbar must be admitted as an evident manifestation of the divine will in favour of the English commonwealth. Finding that he made no proselytes of his opponents, he published his arguments for the instruction of the Scottish people : but his zeal did not escape suspicion ; and the more discerning believed that, under the cover of a religious controversy, he was in reality employed in tampering with the fidelity of the governor<sup>73</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

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In a short time his attention was withdrawn to a more important controversy, which ultimately spread the flames of religious discord throughout the nation. There had all along existed a number of Scots who approved of the execution of the late king, and condemned even the nominal authority given to his son. Of these men, formidable by their talents, still more formidable by their fanaticism, the leaders were Wariston, the clerk register in the parliament, and Gillespie and Guthrie, two ministers in the kirk. In parliament the party, though too weak to control, was sufficiently strong to embarrass, and occasionally to influence, the proceedings ; in the kirk it formed indeed the minority, but a minority too bold and too numerous to be rashly irritated, or incautiously despised<sup>74</sup>. After the defeat at Dunbar permission was cheerfully granted by the committee of

Dissen-  
sions  
among the  
Scots.

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<sup>73</sup> Thurloe, i. 158—163.

<sup>74</sup> Baillie, ii. 353.

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

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estates for a levy of troops in the associated counties of Renfrew, Air, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, that part of Scotland, where fanaticism had long fermented, and the most rigid notions prevailed. The crusade was preached by Gillespie; his efforts were successfully seconded by the other ministers, and in a short time four regiments of horse, amounting almost to five thousand men, were raised under Strachan, Kerr, and two other colonels. The real design now began to unfold itself. First, the officers refused to serve under Leslie; and the parliament exempted them from his authority. Next, they hinted doubts of the lawfulness of the war in which they were engaged: and Cromwell, in whose army Strachan had fought at Preston, immediately opened a correspondence with him<sup>75</sup>. Then came the accident of “the start,” which embittered and emboldened the zeal of the fanatics; and in a long remonstrance, subscribed by ministers and elders, by officers and soldiers, and presented in their name to Charles and the committee of estates, they pronounced the treaty with the king unlawful and sinful, disowned his interest in the quarrel with the enemy, and charged the leading men in the nation with the guilt of the war, which they had provoked by their intention of invading

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<sup>75</sup> Baillie, ii. 350—352. Strachan was willing to give assurance not to molest England in the king’s quarrel. Cromwell insisted that Charles should be banished by act of parliament to, or imprisoned for life. Ib. 352.

England. The intemperate tone and disloyal tendency of this paper provoked at Perth irritation and alarm; and induced Cromwell to advance with his army from Edinburgh to Glasgow. But the western forces (so they were called) withdrew to Dumfries, where a meeting was held with Wariston, and a new draught of the remonstrance, in language still more energetic and vituperative, was adopted. On the return of Cromwell to the capital, his negociation with the officers was resumed, while Argyle and his friends laboured on the opposite side to mollify the obstinacy of the fanatics. But reasoning was found useless; the parliament condemned the remonstrance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and, since Strachan had resigned his commission, ordered Montgomery with three new regiments to take the command of the whole force. Kerr, however, before his arrival, had led the western levy to attack Lambert in his quarters at Hamilton; he was taken prisoner, designedly if we may believe report, and his whole army was dispersed. Soon afterwards Strachan, with sixty troopers, passed over to Lambert, and the associated counties, left without defence, submitted to the enemy. Still the framers and advocates of the remonstrance, though they knew that it had been condemned by the state and the kirk, though they had no longer an army to draw the sword in its support, adhered pertinaciously to its principles; the unity of the Scottish church was rent in twain, and the separation was

CHAP.  
I.  
1650.

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Oct. 30.

Nov. 25.

Nov. 28.

Dec. 1.

CHAP. afterwards widened by a resolution of the assem-  
 I. bly, that in such a crisis all Scotsmen might be  
 1650. employed in the service of the country<sup>76</sup>. Even  
 Dcc. 14. their common misfortunes failed to reconcile these  
 exasperated spirits. While they smarted under  
 the yoke of civil servitude, the two parties still  
 continued to persecute each other with all the  
 obstinacy and bitterness of religious warfare.  
 The royalists obtained the name of public reso-  
 lutioners; their opponents, of protestors or  
 remonstrants<sup>77</sup>.

Corona-  
 tion of  
 Charles.

1651.  
 Jan. 1.

Though it cost the young prince many an  
 internal struggle, yet experience had taught him  
 that he must soothe the religious prejudices of  
 the kirk, if he hoped ever to acquire the prepon-  
 derance in the state. On the first day of the new  
 year, he rode in procession to the church of Scone,  
 where his ancestors had been accustomed to re-  
 ceive the Scottish crown: there on his knees, with  
 his arm upraised, he swore by the Eternal and  
 Almighty God to observe the two covenants; to  
 establish the presbyterial government in Scotland  
 and in his family; to give his assent to acts for  
 establishing it in his other dominions; to rule

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<sup>76</sup> With the exception of persons "excommunicated, forfeited,  
 "notoriously profane, or flagitious, and professed enemies and  
 "opposers of the covenant and cause of God." Wodrow. In-  
 trod. iii.

<sup>77</sup> Baillie, ii. 348, 354—364. Balfour, iv. 136, 141—160, 173  
 —178, 187, 189. Whitelock, 475, 6, 7, 484. Sydney Papers, ii.  
 679. Burnet's Hamiltons, 425.

according to the law of God, and the loveable laws of the land; to abolish and withstand all false religions; and to root out all heretics and enemies of the true worship of God, convicted by the true church of God. Argyle then placed the crown upon his head, and seated him on the throne, and both nobility and people swore allegiance to him "according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant." At the commencement, during the ceremony, and after the conclusion, Douglas, the minister, addressed the king, reminding him that he was king by compact with his people; that his authority was limited by the law of God, the laws of the people, and the association of the estates with him in the government; that, though every breach did not dissolve the compact, yet every abuse of power to the subversion of religion, law, or liberty, justified opposition in the people; that it was for him, by his observance of the covenant, to silence those who doubted his sincerity; that the evils which had afflicted his family arose out of the apostacy of his father and grandfather; and that, if he imitated them, he would find that the controversy between him and God was not ended, but would be productive of additional calamities. The reader may imagine what were the feelings of Charles while he listened to the admonitions of the preacher, and when he swore to perform conditions which his soul abhorred, and which he knew that on the first opportunity he should

CHAP.

I.  
1651.

CHAP. break or elude<sup>78</sup>. But he passed with credit  
 I.  
 1651. through the ceremony; the coronation exalted  
 him in the eyes of the people, and each day  
 brought to him fresh accessions of influence and  
 authority. The kirk delivered Strachan as a  
 traitor and apostate to the devil; and the parlia-  
 ment forefaulted his associates, of whom several  
 hastened to make their peace by a solemn recan-  
 tation. Deprived of their support, the Campbells  
 gradually yielded to the superior influence of the  
 Hamiltons. Vexation, indeed, urged them to re-  
 proach the king with inconstancy and ingratitude;  
 but Charles, while he employed every art to  
 lull the jealousy of Argyle, steadily pursued his  
 purpose; his friends, by submitting to the  
 humbling ceremony of public penance, satisfied  
 the severity of the kirk; and, by the repeal  
 of the act of classes, they were released from all  
 previous forfeitures and disqualifications. In April  
 the king, with Leslie and Middleton as his lieu-  
 tenants, took the command of the army, which  
 had been raised by new levies to twenty thousand  
 men, and, having fortified the passages of the  
 Forth, awaited on the left bank the motions of  
 the enemy<sup>79</sup>.

May 21.

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<sup>78</sup> See the *Forme and Order of the Coronation of Charles II.*, as it was acted and done at Scounce, the first day of January, 1651. Aberdene, 1651.

<sup>79</sup> Carte, *Letters*, ii. 26, 27. Balfour, iv. 240, 268, 281, 301. It appears from this writer that a great number of the colonels of regiments were royalists or engagers (p. 210, 13). The six bri-

In the mean while Cromwell had obtained possession of the castle of Edinburgh by the perfidy or the timidity of the governor. Tantallon had been taken by storm, and Dunbarton had been attempted, but its defences were too strong to be carried by force, and its garrison too honest to be corrupted with money<sup>50</sup>. In February the lord general was afflicted with an ague, so ruinous to his health, and so obstinate in its duration, that in May he obtained permission to return to England, with the power of disposing, according to his judgment, of the chief command<sup>51</sup>. A rapid and unexpected improvement induced him to remain; and in July he marched with his army towards Stirling. The Scots faced him in their entrenched camp at Torwood; he turned aside to Glasgow; they took a position at Kilsyth; he marched back to Falkirk; and they resumed their position at Torwood. While by these movements the English general occupied the attention of his opponents,

CHAP.

I.  
1650.Cromwell  
lands in  
Fife.

Dec. 19.

1651.

Feb. 21.

April 20.

May 27.

July 3.

July 13.

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gades of horse seem to have been divided equally between old covenanters and royalists. The seventh was not given to any general, but would be commanded by Hamilton, as the eldest colonel (Ib. 299—301.) It is, therefore, plain that with the king for commander-in-chief, the royalists had the complete ascendancy.

<sup>50</sup> Balfour, iv. 229, 249, 296. Baillie, ii. 368.

<sup>51</sup> The council had sent two physicians to attend him. His answer to Bradshaw of March 24th, runs in his usual style. "Indeed, my lord, your service needs not me. I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my master and to you." New Parl. Hist. iii. 1363.

- CHAP. I. a fleet of boats had been silently prepared and brought to the Queensferry; a body of men crossed the frith, and fortified a hill near Innerkething; and Lambert immediately followed with a more numerous division. The Scots despatched Holburn with orders to drive the enemy into the sea; he was himself charged by Lambert with a superior force, and the flight of his men gave to the English possession of the fertile and populous country of Fife. Cromwell hastened to transport his army to the left bank of the river, and advance on the rear of the Scots. They retired: Perth, the seat of government, was besieged; and in a few days the colours of the commonwealth floated on its walls<sup>82</sup>.
- In the Scottish leaders the progress of the English excited the most fearful anticipations; to Charles it suggested the execution of what had long been his favourite object. The country to the south was clear of the enemy; and a proclamation to the army announced his resolve of marching into England, accompanied by such of his Scottish subjects as were willing to share the
- July 17.
- July 21.
- Aug. 2.
- Charles marches into England.
- July 30.

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<sup>82</sup> Balfour, 313. Journals, May 27. Leicester's Journal, 109. Whitelock, 490, 494, 497, 8, 9. Heath, 392, 393. According to Balfour, the loss on each side was "almost alyke," about 800 men killed; according to Lambert, the Scots lost two thousand killed, and fourteen hundred taken prisoners; the English had only eight men slain: "so easy did the Lord grant them that mercy." Whitelock, 501. I observe that in all the despatches of the commanders for the commonwealth their loss is most miraculously small.



fortunes and the perils of their sovereign. The boldness of the attempt dazzled the judgment of some; and the confidence of the young king dispelled the apprehensions of others. Their knowledge that, in case of failure, he must expect to meet with the same fate as his father justified a persuasion that he possessed secret assurances of a powerful co-operation from the royalists and the presbyterians of England. Argyle (nor was it surprising after the decline of his influence at court) solicited and obtained permission to retire to his own home; a few other chieftains followed his example; the rest expressed their readiness to stake their lives on the issue of the attempt, and the next morning eleven, some say fourteen, thousand men began their march from Stirling, in the direction of Carlisle<sup>83</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1651.

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July 31.

Cromwell was surprised and embarrassed. The Scots had gained three days' march in advance, and his army was unprepared to follow them at a moment's notice. He wrote to the parliament to rely on his industry and despatch; he sent Lambert from Fifeshire with three thousand cavalry to hang on the rear, and ordered Harrison with an equal number from Newcastle, to press on the flank of the enemy; and on the seventh day led his army of ten thousand men by the eastern coast, in the direction of York. The reduction of

Aug. 4.

Aug. 5.

Aug. 7.

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<sup>83</sup> Leicester's Journal, 110. Whitelock, 501. Clarendon, iii. 397.

CHAP. I. Scotland, a more easy task after the departure of  
 1651. the royal forces, was left to the vigilance of Monk,  
 ————— who had five thousand infantry and cavalry under  
 his command<sup>84</sup>.

So rapid was the advance of Charles, that he traversed the lowlands of Scotland, and the northern counties in England, without meeting a single foe. Lambert had joined Harrison near Warrington: their united forces amounted to nine thousand men; and their object was to prevent  
 Aug. 16. the passage of the Mersey. But they arrived too late to break down the bridge; and, after a few charges, formed in battle array on Knutsford-heath. The king, leaving them on the left, pushed  
 Aug. 22. forward till he reached Worcester, where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor, amidst the loud acclamations of the gentlemen of the county, who, under a suspicion of their loyalty, had been confined in that city by order of the council<sup>85</sup>.

Defeat of the earl of Derby. At the first news of royal march, the leaders at Westminster abandoned themselves to despair. They believed that Cromwell had come to a private understanding with the king; that the Scots would meet with no opposition in their progress; and that the cavaliers would rise simultaneously in every part of the kingdom<sup>86</sup>. From these terrors they were relieved by the arrival of de-

<sup>84</sup> Leicester's Journal, iii. 117. Balfour, iv. 314.

<sup>85</sup> Leicester's Journal, 113, 114. Whitelock, 502, 3. Clarendon, iii. 402.

<sup>86</sup> Hutchinson, 326.

spatches from the general, and by the observation CHAP. I.  
 that the royalists, unprepared for the event, had 1651.  
 hitherto made no movement; and with the re-  
 val of their hopes the council assumed a tone of  
 defiance, which was supported by measures the  
 most active and energetic. The declaration of Aug. 11.  
 Charles, containing a general pardon to all his  
 subjects, with the exception of Cromwell, Brad-  
 shaw, and Cook, was burnt in London by the  
 hands of the hangman; and a counter proclama-  
 tion was published, pronouncing Charles Stuart, Aug. 25.  
 his aiders, and abettors, guilty of high treason.  
 All correspondence with him was forbidden un-  
 der the penalty of death; all persons known or  
 suspected of attachment to his cause were placed  
 in custody, or confined to their own houses; and  
 the militia of several counties “tried and godly  
 “people” were called forth, and marched towards  
 the expected scene of action<sup>87</sup>. But Charles had  
 to contend, not only with the activity of his ene-  
 mies, but with the fanaticism of his followers.  
 The presbyterians of Lancashire had promised to  
 rise; and Massey, a distinguished officer of that  
 persuasion, was sent before to organize the levy;  
 but the committee of the kirk forbid him to em-  
 ploy any man who had not taken the covenant;  
 and, though Charles annulled their order, the  
 English ministers insisted that it should be  
 obeyed. Massey remained after the army had Aug. 17.

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<sup>87</sup> Journals, Aug. 12.

CHAP. I.  
1651. passed, and was joined by the Earl of Derby with sixty horse and two hundred and sixty foot, from the Isle of Man. A conference was held at Wigan, but reasoning and entreaty were employed in vain: the ministers insisted that all the catholics who had been enrolled should be dismissed; and that the salvation of the kingdom should be intrusted to the elect of God, who had taken the covenant. In the mean while Cromwell had despatched Colonel Lilburn, with his regiment of horse, into the county, and ordered reinforcements to join him from Yorkshire and Cheshire. Derby, with the concurrence of the royalists in Manchester, undertook to surprise Lilburn in his quarters near that town, but was himself surprised by Lilburn, who marched on Aug. 25. the same day to observe the earl's motions. They met unexpectedly in the lane leading from Manchester to Wigan. The heads of the opposite columns repeatedly charged each other; but the desperate courage of the cavaliers was foiled by the steadiness and discipline of their opponents; the lord Widrington, sir Thomas Tildesly, colonel Throckmorton, Boynton, Trollop, and about sixty of their followers were slain, and above three hundred privates made prisoners. The earl himself, who had received several slight wounds on the arms and shoulders, fled to Wigan with the enemy at his heels. Observing a house open, he flung himself from his horse and sprung into the passage. A female barred the door behind him;

the pursuers were checked for an instant ; and, when they began to search the house, he had already escaped through the garden. Weak with fatigue and the loss of blood, he wandered in a southerly direction, concealing himself by day, and travelling by night, till he found a secure asylum in a retired mansion, called Boscobel-house, situate between Brewood and Tong castle, and the property of Mr. Giffard, a recusant and royalist. There he was received and secreted by William Penderel and his wife, the servants entrusted with the care of the mansion ; and having recovered his strength, was conducted by the former towards the royal army at Worcester<sup>88</sup>.

The occurrences of each day added to the disappointments of Charles and the confidence of his enemies. He had summoned by proclamation all his male subjects between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join his standard at the general muster of his forces, on the 26th of August, in the Pitchcroft, the meadows between the city and the river. A few of the neighbouring gentlemen with their tenants, not two hundred in number, obeyed the call<sup>89</sup> ; and it was found that the

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I.  
1651.

Aug. 29.

Battle of  
Worcester.  
Aug. 23.

Aug. 26.

<sup>88</sup> Whitelock, 503, 4. Clarendon, iii. 399, 403. Memoirs of the Stanleys, 112—114. Journals, Aug. 29. Leicester's Journal, 116. Boscobel, 6—8, reprint of 1822 ; and the account published by parliament.

<sup>89</sup> They were lord Talbot, son to the earl of Shrewsbury, " with about sixty horse ; Mr. Mervin Touchet, Sir John Packington, Sir Walter Blount, Sir Ralph Clare, Mr. Ralph Sheldon of Beoly, Mr. John Washburn of Wichinford, with forty horse,

CHAP. whole amount of his force did not exceed twelve  
 I.  
 1651. thousand men, of whom one sixth part only was  
 ——— composed of Englishmen. But while a few strag-  
 gling royalists thus stole into his quarters, as if  
 it were to display by their paucity the hopeless-  
 ness of his cause, the daily arrival of hostile  
 reinforcements swelled the army in the neighbour-  
 Aug. 28. hood to more than thirty thousand men. At  
 length Cromwell arrived and was received with  
 enthusiasm. Lambert immediately attacked and  
 carried the bridge over the Severn at Upton;  
 and in the action Massey, the most eminent of  
 the royal generals, unfortunately received a wound,  
 which deprived the army of his services. A suc-  
 cession of partial but obstinate actions alternately  
 raised and depressed the hopes of the two parties:  
 the grand attempt was reserved by the lord-gene-  
 ral for his auspicious day, the 3d of September,  
 on which twelve months before he had defeated  
 the Scots at Dunbar. On that morning Fleet-  
 wood, who had advanced from Upton to Powick,  
 was ordered to force the passage of the Team,  
 while Cromwell, to preserve the communication,  
 threw a bridge of boats across the Severn at  
 Sep. 3. Bunshill, near the confluence of the two rivers.  
 About one in the afternoon, while Charles with  
 his staff observed from the tower of the cathedral

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“ Mr. Thomas Hornyhold of Blackmore-park, with forty horse,  
 “ Mr. Thomas Acton, Mr. Robert Blount of Kenswick, Mr.  
 “ Robert Wigmore of Lucton, Mr. F. Knotsford, Mr. Peter Blount,  
 “ and divers others.” Boscobel, 10.

the positions of the enemy, his attention was drawn by a discharge of musketry near Powick. He descended immediately, rode to the scene of action, and ordered Montgomery with a brigade of horse and foot to defend the line of the Team, and oppose the formation of the bridge. After a long and sanguinary struggle, Fleetwood effected a passage just at the moment when Cromwell, having completed the work, moved four regiments to his assistance. The Scots, though urged by superior numbers, maintained the most obstinate resistance; they disputed every field and hedge, repeatedly charged with the pike to check the advance of the enemy, and, animated by the shouts of the combatants on the opposite bank, sought to protract the contest with the vain hope that, by occupying the forces of Fleetwood, they might ensure the victory of their friends, who were engaged with Cromwell.

That commander, as soon as he had secured the communication across the river, ordered a battery of heavy guns to play upon Fort Royal, a work lately raised to cover the Sidbury gate of the city, and led his troops in two divisions to Perrywood and Red-hill. To Charles this seemed a favourable opportunity of defeating one half of the hostile force, while the other half was separated from it by the Severn. Leading out the whole of his disposable infantry, with the duke of Hamilton's troop of horse, and the English volunteers, he marched to attack the enemy in their

CHAP.

I.  
1651.

CHAP. position, and fought at the head of the highlanders  
 I. with a spirit worthy of a prince who staked his  
 1651. life for the acquisition of a crown. Fortune smiled  
 on his first efforts. The militia regiments shrunk  
 from the shock, and the guns of the enemy became  
 the prize of the assailants. But Cromwell had  
 placed some veteran batallions in reserve. They  
 restored the battle; and the royalists, in their  
 turn, began to retreat. Still they remained un-  
 broken, availing themselves of every advantage  
 of the ground to check the enemy, and anxiously  
 expecting the aid of their cavalry under Leslie,  
 which had remained in the city. From what  
 cause it happened is unknown; but that officer  
 did not appear on the field till the battle was lost,  
 and the infantry, unable to resist the superior  
 pressure of the enemy, was fleeing in confusion  
 to the gate under the shelter of the fort. The  
 fugitives rallied in Friar-street, and Charles,  
 riding among them, endeavoured by his words  
 and gestures to re-animate their courage. Instead  
 of a reply, they hung down their heads, or threw  
 away their arms. "Then shoot me dead," ex-  
 claimed the distressed prince, "rather than let  
 "me live to see the sad consequences of this day."  
 But his despair was as unavailing as had been  
 his entreaties; and his friends admonished him  
 to provide for his safety, for the enemy had al-  
 ready penetrated within the walls.

The king  
 escapes.

We left Fleetwood on the right bank pushing  
 the Scots slowly before him. At length they



abandoned the hope of resistance: their flight opened to him the way to St. John's, and its timid commander yielded at the first summons. On the other bank, Cromwell stormed the fort, put its defenders to the sword, and turned the guns upon the city. Within the walls irremediable confusion prevailed, and the enemy began to pour in by the quay, the castle hill, and the Sidbury-gate. Charles had not a moment to spare. Placing himself in the midst of the Scottish cavalry, he took the northern road by the gate of St. Martin's, while a few devoted spirits, with such troopers as dared to follow them, charged down Sidbury-street in the contrary direction<sup>90</sup>. They accomplished their purpose. The royal party cleared the walls, while *they* arrested the advance, and distracted the attention of the enemy. It was past the hour of sunset; and before dark all resistance ceased. Colonel Drummond surrendered the castle hill on conditions; the infantry in the street were killed or led prisoners to the cathedral; and the city was abandoned during the obscurity of the night to the licentious passions of the victors<sup>91</sup>.

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1651.

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<sup>90</sup> These were the earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, colonel Careless, and captains Hornychold, Giffard, and Kemble. Boscobel. 20.

<sup>91</sup> See Blount, Boscobel, 14—22. Whitelock, 507, 8. Bates, part ii. 221. Parl. Hist. xx. 40, 44—55. Ludlow, i. 314. Nothing can be more incorrect than Clarendon's account of this battle, iii. 409. Even Cromwell owns that "it was as stiff a contest for "four or five hours as ever he had seen." Parl. Hist. xx. 44.

CHAP.

I.

1651.

Loss of  
the royal-  
ists.

In this disastrous battle the slain on the part of the royalists amounted to three thousand men, the taken to a still greater number. The cavalry which escaped, broke into separate bodies; and so depressed was their courage, so bewildered were their counsels, that they successively surrendered to smaller parties of their pursuers. Many officers of distinction attempted, single and disguised, to steal their way through the country; but of these the Scots were universally betrayed by their accent; the English, for the most part, effected their escape<sup>92</sup>. The duke of Hamilton had been mortally wounded on the field of battle: the earls of Derby, Rothes, Cleveland, Kelly, and Lauder-

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<sup>92</sup> Thus the duke of Buckingham was conducted by one Mathews, a carpenter, to Bilstrop, and thence to Brooksby, the seat of lady Villiers, in Leicestershire; lord Talbot reached his father's house at Longford in time to conceal himself in a close place in one of the out-houses. His pursuers found his horse yet saddled, and searched for him during four or five days in vain, May was hidden 21 days in a hay mow, belonging to Bold, a husbandman, at Chessardine, during all which time a party of soldiers was quartered in the house. Boscobel, 35—37. Of the prisoners, eight suffered death by judgment of a court-martial sitting at Chester. One of these was the gallant earl of Derby, who pleaded that quarter had been granted him by captain Edge, and quarter ought to be respected by a court-martial. It was answered that quarter could be granted to enemies only, not to traitors. He offered to surrender his Isle of Man in exchange for his life, and petitioned for "his grace, the lord general's, and "the parliament's mercy." But his petition was not delivered by Lenthall before it was too late. It was read in the house on the eve of his death, at Bolton, in Lancashire, Oct. 15, 1651. State Trials, v. 294. Heath, 302. Leicester's Journal, 121. Journals, Oct. 14.

dale; the lords Sinclair, Kenmure, and Grandison; and the generals Lesley, Massey, Middleton, and Montgomery were made prisoners, at different times and in separate places. But the most interesting inquiry regarded the fortune of the young king. Though the parliament offered a reward of 1,000*l.* for his person, and denounced the penalties of treason against those who should afford him shelter; though parties of horse and foot scoured the adjacent counties in search of so valuable a prize; though the magistrates received orders to arrest every unknown person, and to keep a strict watch on the sea-ports and their neighbourhood, yet no trace of his flight, no clew to his retreat, could be discovered. Week after week passed away; of almost every other individual of note the fate was ascertained; that of Charles Stuart remained an impenetrable mystery. At last, when a belief prevailed, both among his friends and foes, that he had met with death from the peasantry, ignorant of his person and quality, the intelligence arrived, that on the 17th of October, forty-four days after the battle, he had landed in safety at Fecamp on the coast of Normandy.

The narrative of his adventures during this period of suspense and distress exhibits striking instances of hair-breadth escapes on the part of the king, and of unshaken fidelity on that of his adherents. During the night after the battle he found himself in the midst of the Scottish cavalry, a body of men too numerous to elude

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1651.

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Sep. 10.

Adventures of  
the king.

CHAP. I. 1651. pursuit, and too dispirited to repel an enemy. Under cover of the darkness he separated from them with about sixty horse: the earl of Derby recommended to him, from his own experience, the house at Boscobel as a secure retreat; and Charles Giffard undertook, with the aid of his servant Yates, to conduct him to Whiteladies, another house belonging to the family, and not far distant from Boscobel. At an early hour in the morning, after a ride of five-and-twenty miles, they reached Whiteladies; and while the others enjoyed a short repose from their fatigue, the king withdrew to an inner apartment, to prepare himself for the character which it was meant he should assume. His hair was cut close to the head, his hands and face were discoloured, his clothes were exchanged for the coarse and threadbare garments of a labourer, and a heavy wood-bill in his hand announced his pretended employment. At sunrise the few admitted to the secret took their leave of him with tears, and, summoning their companions on horseback, rode away, they scarcely knew whither, but with the cheering hope that they should draw the attention of the enemy from the retreat of the king to the pursuit of themselves. In less than an hour a troop of horse from Cotsal, under the command of colonel Ashenhurst, arrived at Whiteladies: but the king was already gone; a fruitless search only provoked their impatience, and they hastily followed the track of the fugitives.

Sep. 4.

At White-  
ladies.

Charles was now in the hands, and entirely at

the mercy of four brothers, (John, the fifth, had taken charge of the lord Wilmot,) labouring men, of the name of Penderel, and of Yates, his former guide, who had married a sister of the Penderels. He could not conceal from himself that their poverty might make them more accessible to temptation: but Derby and Giffard had conjured him to dismiss such thoughts: they were men of tried fidelity, who, born in the domain, and bred in the principles of a loyal and catholic family, had long been successfully employed in screening priests and cavaliers from the searchers of the civil magistrates and military officers<sup>93</sup>. By one of them, surnamed the trusty Richard, he was led into the thickest part of the adjoining wood, while the others posted themselves at convenient stations, to descry and announce the approach of the enemy. The day was wet and stormy; and Richard, attentive to the accommodation of his charge, who appeared sinking under the fatigue, caused by his efforts in the battle and the anxiety of his flight, spread a blanket for him under one

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I.  
1651.

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<sup>93</sup> The Penderels, whom this event has introduced to the notice of the reader, were originally six brothers, born at Hobbal Grange, in the parish of Tong. John, George, and Thomas served in the armies of Charles I. Thomas was killed at Stow; the other two survived the war, and were employed as woodwards at Boscobel. Of the remaining three, William took care of the house; Humphrey worked at the mill, and Richard rented part of Hobbal Grange. After the restoration, the five brothers waited on the king at Whitehall, on the 13th of June, 1660, and were graciously received, and dismissed with a princely reward.

CHAP. of the largest trees, and ordered the wife of Yates  
 I. to bring him the best refreshment which her house  
 1651. could afford. Charles was alarmed at the sight  
 of this unexpected visitant. Recovering himself,  
 he said "Good woman, can you be faithful to a  
 "distressed cavalier?" "Yes, sir," she replied,  
 "and I will die sooner than betray you." He  
 was afterwards visited by Jane, the mother  
 of the Penderels. The old woman kissed his  
 hands, fell on her knees, and blessed her God that  
 he had chosen *her* sons to preserve, as she was  
 confident they would, the life of their sovereign.

At Made-  
 ley.

It had been agreed between the king and Wil-  
 mot, that each should make the best of his way  
 to London, and inquire for the other by the name  
 of Ashburnham, at the Three Cranes in the Vintry.  
 By conversation with his guardian Charles was  
 induced to adopt a different plan, to seek an  
 asylum among the cavaliers in Wales, till a ship  
 could be procured for his transportation to France.  
 About nine in the evening they left the wood to-  
 gether for the house of Mr. Wolf, a catholic re-  
 cusant at Madeley, not far from the Severn; but  
 an accidental alarm lengthened their road, and  
 added to the fatigue of the royal wanderer<sup>94</sup>.  
 They reached Madeley at midnight; Wolf was

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<sup>94</sup> The mill at Evelyn was filled with fugitives from the battle; the miller, espying Charles and his guide, and afraid of a discovery, called out "rogues;" and they, supposing him an enemy, turned up a miry lane, running at their utmost speed. Boscobel, 47. Account from the Pepys MS. p. 16.

roused from his bed, and the strangers obtained admission. But their host felt no small alarm for their safety. Troops were frequently quartered upon him: two companies of militia actually kept watch in the village, and the places of concealment in his house had been recently discovered. As the approach of daylight made it equally dangerous to proceed or turn back, he secreted them behind the hay in an adjoining barn, and despatched messengers to examine the passages of the river. Their report that all the bridges were guarded, and all the boats secured, compelled the unfortunate prince to abandon his design. On the return of darkness he placed himself again under the care of his trusty guide, and with a heavy and misboding heart, retraced his steps towards his original destination, the house at Boscobel.

C H A P.  
I.  
1651.

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Sep. 5.

At Boscobel he found colonel Careless, one of those devoted adherents who, to aid his escape from Worcester, had charged the enemy at the opposite gate. Careless had often provoked, and as often eluded, the resentment of the roundheads: and experience had made him acquainted with every loyal man, and every place of concealment, in the country. By his persuasion Charles consented to pass the day with him amidst the branches of an old and lofty oak<sup>95</sup>. This cele-

In the  
royal oak.

Sep. 6.

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<sup>95</sup> This day Humphrey Penderel, the miller, went to Skefial to pay taxes, but in reality to learn news. He was taken before a military officer, who knew that Charles had been at Whiteladies.

CHAP. brated tree, which was afterwards destroyed to  
 I. satisfy the veneration of the cavaliers, grew near  
 1651. the common path in a meadow-field, which lay in  
 the centre of the wood. It had been partially lopped a few years before, and the new shoots had thrown round it a thick and luxuriant foliage. Within this cover the king and his companions passed the day. Invisible themselves they occasionally caught a glimpse of the red-coats (so the soldiers were called) passing among the trees, and sometimes saw them looking into the meadow. Their friends, William Penderel and his wife, whom Charles called my dame Joan, stationed themselves near, to give warning of danger; he pretending to be employed in his duty as woodward, and she in the labour of gathering sticks for fuel. But there arose no cause of immediate alarm; the darkness of the night relieved them from their tedious and irksome confinement; and Charles, having on his return to the house examined the hiding place, resolved to trust to it for his future security<sup>96</sup>.

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and tempted, with threats and promises, to discover where the king was; but nothing could be extracted from him, and he was allowed to return. Boscobel, 55. This, I suspect, to be the true story: but Charles himself, when he mentions the proposal made to Humphrey, attributes it to a man, at whose house he had changed his clothes. Account from the Pepys MS. p. 9.

<sup>96</sup> Careless found means to reach London, and cross the sea to Holland, where he carried the first news of the king's escape to the princess of Orange. Charles gave him for his coat of arms, by the name of Carlos, an oak in a field, or, with a fesse, gules,



The next day, Sunday, he spent within doors or in the garden. But his thoughts brooded over his forlorn and desperate condition ; and the gloom on his countenance betrayed the uneasiness of his mind. Fortunately in the afternoon he received by John Penderel a welcome message from lord Wilmot, to meet him that night at the house of Mr. Whitgrave, a recusant, at Moseley. The king's feet were so swollen and blistered by his recent walk to and from Madeley, that he gladly accepted the offer of Humphrey's horse from the mill ; nor did the appearance of the monarch disgrace that of the steed. He wore a coat and breeches of coarse green cloth, so threadbare that in many places they appeared white ; his doublet was of leather, old and soiled ; his shoes were heavy and slashed for the ease of his feet ; his stockings of green yarn had been much worn and darned at the knees ; and an old gray steeple-crowned hat, without band or lining, with a crooked thorn stick, completed the royal habiliments. The six brothers attended him with arms : two kept in advance, two followed behind, and one walked on each side. He had not gone far before he complained to Humphrey of the heavy jolting pace of the horse. " My liege," replied the miller, " you do not recollect that he carries " the weight of three kingdoms on his back."

CHAP.

I.  
1651.—  
Sep. 7.

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charged with three royal crowns, and for his crest a crown of oak leaves, with a sword and sceptre, crossed saltierwise. Boscobel, 85.

CHAP. I. At Moseley, cheered by the company of Wilmot, and the attentions of Whitgrave, and his chaplain, Mr. Huddleston<sup>97</sup>, he recovered his spirits, fought the battle of Worcester over again, and declared that, if he could find a few thousand men who had the courage to stand by him, he would not hesitate to meet his enemies a second time in the field. A new plan of escape was now submitted to his approbation. The daughter of colonel Lane of Bentley had obtained from the governor of Stafford a pass to visit Mrs. Norton, a relation near Bristol. Charles consented to assume the character of her servant, and Wilmot departed on the following night to make arrangements for his reception. In the mean time, to guard against a surprise, Huddleston constantly attended the king; Whitgrave occasionally left the house to observe what passed in the street; and sir John Preston, and two other boys, the pupils of Huddleston, were stationed as sentinels at the garret windows<sup>98</sup>. But the danger of discovery increased every hour. The confession of a cornet, who accompanied him, and was afterwards made

Scp. 8.  
At Mose-  
ley.

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<sup>97</sup> Mr. Whitgrave had served as lieutenant, Huddleston as gentleman volunteer in the armies of Charles I. The latter was of the family at Hutton John, in Cumberland. Leaving the service, he took orders, and was at this time a secular priest, living with Mr. Whitgrave. He afterwards became a Benedictine monk, and was appointed one of the queen's chaplains.

<sup>98</sup> Though ignorant of the quality of the stranger, the boys amused the king by calling themselves his life-guard. Boscobel, 78.

prisoner, divulged the fact that Charles had been left at Whiteladies; and the hope of reward stimulated the parliamentary officers to new and more active exertions. The house at Boscobel, on the day after the king's departure, was successively visited by two parties of the enemy: the next morning a second and more rigorous search was made at Whiteladies; and in the afternoon the arrival of a troop of horse alarmed the inhabitants of Moseley. As Charles, Whitgrave, and Huddleston were standing near a window, they observed a neighbour run hastily into the house, and in an instant heard the shout of "soldiers, soldiers!" from the foot of the staircase. The king was immediately shut up in the secret place; all the other doors were thrown open; and Whitgrave descending, met the troopers in front of his house. They seized him as a fugitive cavalier from Worcester; but he convinced them by the testimony of his neighbours, that for several weeks he had not quitted Moseley, and with much difficulty prevailed on them to depart without searching the house.

That night Charles proceeded to Bentley. It took but little time to transform the wood-cutter into a domestic servant, and to exchange his dress of green jump for a more decent suit of gray cloth. He departed on horseback with his supposed mistress behind him, accompanied by her cousin, Mr. Lassells; and, after a journey of three days, reached Mr. Norton's house without inter-

CHAP.  
I.  
1651.

Sep. 9.

At Mr.  
Norton's.

Sep. 11.

Sep. 14.

CHAP. I. 1651. ruption or danger. Wilmot stopped at sir John Winter's, a place in the neighbourhood. On the road, he had occasionally joined the royal party, as if it were by accident: more generally he preceded or followed them at a short distance. He rode with a hawk on his fist, and dogs by his side; and the boldness of his manner as effectually screened him from discovery as the most skilful disguise.

Sep. 15. The king on his arrival was indulged with a separate chamber, under pretence of indisposition; but the next morning he found himself in the company of two persons, of whom one had been a private in his regiment of guards at Worcester, the other a servant in the palace at Richmond, when Charles lived there several years before. The first did not recognize him, though he pretended to give a description of his person; the other, the moment the king uncovered, recollected the features of the prince, and communicated his suspicions to Lassells. Charles, with great judgment sent for him, discovered himself to him as to an old acquaintance, and required his assistance. The man, (he was butler to the family,) felt himself honoured by the royal confidence, and endeavoured to repay it by his services. He removed to a distance from the king two individuals in the house of known republican principles; he inquired, though without success, for a ship at Bristol to carry him to France or Spain; and he introduced lord Wilmot to his chamber at the

Sep. 17.

hour of midnight. There they sate in council, and resolved that the king should remove the next day to the house of colonel Windham, a cavalier whom he knew, at Trent near Sherburn; that a messenger should be despatched to prepare the family for his arrival: and that, to account for the sudden departure of Miss Lane, a counterfeit letter should be delivered to her, stating that her father was lying at the point of death. The plan succeeded: she was suffered to depart, and in two days the prince reached his destination. The following morning Miss Lane took her leave, and hastened back with Lassells to Bentley<sup>99</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1651.

Sep. 18.

Sep. 19.

Sep. 20.

In his retirement at Trent, Charles began to indulge the hope of a speedy liberation from danger. A ship was hired at Lyme to convey a nobleman and his servant (Wilmot and the king) to the coast of France; the hour and the place of embarkation were fixed; and a widow, who kept a small inn at Charmouth, consented to furnish a temporary asylum to a gentleman in disguise and a young female who had just escaped from the custody of a harsh and unfeeling guardian. The next evening Charles appeared in a servant's dress, with Juliana Coningsby riding behind him, and accompanied by Wilmot and Windham. The hostess received the supposed lovers with a hearty welcome; but their patience was soon put to the

Repeated  
disap-  
point-  
ments.

Sep. 23.

<sup>99</sup> This lady received a reward of 1000*l.* for her services, by order of the two houses. C. Journals, 1660, Dec. 19, 21.

CHAP. severest trial: the night passed away, no boat  
 I. entered the creek, no ship could be descried in  
 1651. the offing; and the disappointment gave birth to  
 —————  
 Sep. 24. a thousand jealousies and apprehensions. At  
 dawn of day the whole party separated; Wilmot,  
 with a servant, going to Lyme to inquire after  
 the master of the vessel; Charles, with his com-  
 panions, proceeding to Bridport to wait the re-  
 turn of Wilmot. In Bridport he found fifteen  
 hundred soldiers preparing to embark on an ex-  
 pedition against Jersey; but, unwilling to create  
 a real, by seeking to eschew an imaginary, dan-  
 ger, he boldly pushed forward to the inn, and led  
 the horses through the crowd with a rudeness  
 which provoked complaint. But a new danger  
 awaited him at the stable. The hostler chal-  
 lenged him as an old acquaintance, pretending to  
 have known him in the service of Mr. Potter, at  
 Exeter. The fact was that, during the civil war,  
 Charles had lodged at that gentleman's house.  
 He turned aside to conceal his alarm; but had  
 sufficient presence of mind to avail himself of the  
 partial mistake of the hostler, and to reply, "true,  
 " I once lived a servant with Mr. Potter; but as  
 " I have no leisure now, we will renew our ac-  
 " quaintance on my return to London over a pot  
 " of beer."

After dinner, the royal party joined Wilmot  
 out of the town. The master of the ship had  
 been detained at home by the fears and remon-  
 strances of his wife, and no promises could induce

him to renew his engagement. Confounded and dispirited, Charles retraced his steps to Trent: new plans were followed by new disappointments; a second ship, provided by colonel Philips at Southampton, was seized for the transportation of troops to Jersey; and mysterious rumours in the neighbourhood rendered unsafe the king's continuance at colonel Windham's<sup>100</sup>. At Heale, the residence of the widow Hyde, near Salisbury, he found a more secure retreat for five days, during which colonel Gunter, through the agency of Mansel, a loyal merchant, engaged a collier lying at New Shoreham. Charles hastened through Hambleton to Brighton, where he sate down to supper with Philips, Gunter, Mansel, and Tattershall, the master of the vessel. At table, Tattershall kept his eyes fixed on the king; after supper he called Mansel aside and complained of fraud. The person in gray was the king; he knew him well, having been detained by him in the river, when, as prince of Wales, he commanded the royal fleet in 1648. This information was speedily communicated to Charles, who took no notice of it to Tattershall; but, to make sure of his man, contrived to keep the party drinking and smoking round the table during the rest of the night.

Before his departure, while he was standing alone in a room, the landlord entered, and, going

CHAP.  
I.  
1651.

Sep. 25.

Oct. 8.

Oct. 14.

Oct. 15.

Charles  
escapes to  
France.

<sup>100</sup> A reward of 1000*l.* was afterwards given to Windham. C. Journals, Dec. 17, 1660.

CHAP. behind him, kissed his hand, which rested on the  
 I. back of a chair, saying at the same time, "I have  
 1651.

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"no doubt that, if I live, I shall be a lord, and  
 "my wife a lady." Charles laughed to show that  
 he understood his meaning, and joined the com-  
 Oct. 16. pany in the other apartment. At four in the  
 morning they all proceeded to Shoreham: on the  
 beach his other attendants took their leave; Wil-  
 mot accompanied him into the bark. There Tat-  
 tershall, falling on his knee, solemnly assured him  
 that, whatever might be the consequences, he  
 would put him safely on the coast of France.  
 The ship floated with the tide, and stood with  
 easy sail towards the Isle of Wight, as if she were  
 on her way to Deal, to which port she was bound.  
 But at five in the afternoon, Charles, as he had  
 previously concerted with Tattershall, addressed  
 the crew. He told them that he and his compa-  
 nion were merchants in distress, flying from their  
 creditors; desired them to join him in requesting  
 the master to run for the French coast; and, as a  
 further argument, gave them twenty shillings to  
 drink. Tattershall made many objections; but,  
 at last, with apparent reluctance, took the helm,  
 Oct. 17. and steered across the chanel. At day-break they  
 saw before them the small town of Fecamp, at the  
 distance of two miles; but the tide ebbing, they  
 cast anchor, and soon afterwards descried to lee-  
 ward a suspicious sail, which, by her manner of  
 working, the king feared, and the master believed,  
 to be a privateer from Ostend. She afterwards



proved to be a French hoy ; but Charles waited not to ascertain the fact ; the boat was instantly lowered, and the two adventurers were rowed safely into the harbour<sup>101</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1651.

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The king's deliverance was a subject of joy to the nations of Europe, among whom the horror excited by the death of the father had given popularity to the exertions of the son. In his expedition into England they had followed him with wishes for his success ; after his defeat at Worcester they were agitated with apprehensions for his safety. He had now eluded the hunters of his life : he appeared before them with fresh claims on their sympathy, from the spirit which he had displayed in the field, and the address with which he had extricated himself from danger. His adventures were listened to with interest ;

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<sup>101</sup> For the history of the king's escape, see Blount's *Boscobel*, with *Clastrum Regale Reseratum* ; the *Whitegrave Manuscript*, printed in the *Retrospective Review*, xiv. 26. *Father Huddleston's Relation* ; the *True Narrative and Relation* in the *Harleian Miscellany*, iv. 441, an account of his majesty's escape from Worcester ; dictated to Mr. Pepys by the king himself, and the narrative given by Bates in the second part of his *Elenchus*. In addition to these, we have a narrative by Clarendon, who professes to have derived his information from Charles and the other actors in the transaction, and asserts that, " it is exactly true ; " that there is nothing in it, the verity whereof can justly be suspected." (*Car. Hist.* iii. 427, 8.) Yet, whoever will compare it with the other accounts will see that much of great interest has been omitted, and much so disfigured as to bear little resemblance to the truth. It must be that the historian, writing in banishment, and at a great distance of time, trusted to his imagination to supply the defect of his memory.

CHAP. and his conduct was made the theme of general  
I. praise. That he should be the heir to the British  
1651. crowns was the mere accident of birth; that he  
— was worthy to wear them, he owed to the ener-  
gies of his own mind. In a few months, however,  
the delusion vanished. Charles had borne the blos-  
soms of promise; they were quickly blasted under  
the withering influence of dissipation and pleasure.

## CHAP. II.

## THE COMMONWEALTH.

I. VIGILANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT—II. SUBJUGATION OF IRELAND—III. OF SCOTLAND—IV. NEGOTIATION WITH PORTUGAL—V. WITH SPAIN—VI. WITH THE UNITED PROVINCES—NAVAL WAR—AMBITION OF CROMWELL—EXPULSION OF PARLIAMENT—CHARACTER OF ITS LEADING MEMBERS—SOME OF ITS ENACTMENTS.

IN the preceding chapter we have followed the fortunes of Charles Stuart, from his landing in Scotland to his defeat at Worcester and his escape to the continent: we may now direct our attention to the more important of the events which occurred in the mean time in England and Ireland.

1°. The form of government established in England was an oligarchy. A few individuals, under the cover of a nominal parliament, ruled the kingdom with the power of the sword. Could the sense of the nation have been collected, there cannot be a doubt that the old royalists of the cavalier, and the new royalists of the presbyterian party, would have formed a decided majority; but they were awed into silence and submission

CHAP.  
II.  
1649.

The  
common-  
wealth a  
mitary go-  
verment.

CHAP. by the presence of a standing army of forty-five  
 II. thousand men; and the maxim that "power gives  
 1649. "right" was held out as a sufficient reason why  
 they should swear fidelity to the commonwealth<sup>1</sup>.  
 This numerous army, the real source of their  
 security, proved, however, a cause of constant  
 solicitude to the leaders. The pay of the officers  
 and men was always in arrear; the debentures  
 which they received could be seldom exchanged  
 for money without a loss of fifty, sixty, or seventy  
 per cent.; and the plea of necessity was accepted  
 as an excuse for the illegal claim of free quarter  
 which they frequently exercised. To supply their  
 wants recourse was therefore had to additional  
 taxation, with occasional grants from the excise,  
 and large sales of forfeited property<sup>2</sup>; and, to  
 appease the discontent of the people, promises  
 were repeatedly made, that a considerable portion  
 of the armed force should be disbanded, and the  
 practice of free quarter be abolished. But of these  
 promises, the first proved a mere delusion; for,  
 though some partial reductions were made, on the  
 whole the amount of the army continued to in-  
 crease: the second was fulfilled; but in return,  
 the burthen of taxation was augmented; for the  
 monthly assessment on the counties gradually  
 swelled from sixty to ninety, to one hundred and

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<sup>1</sup> See Marchamont Nedham's "Case of the Commonwealth Stated," 4to. London, 1650.

<sup>2</sup> Journals, 1649, Ap. 18; Oct. 4. 1650, March 30. 1651, Sep. 2; Dec. 17. 1652, Ap. 7.

twenty, and, in conclusion, to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds<sup>3</sup>.

Another subject of disquietude sprung out of those principles of liberty which, even after the suppression of the late mutiny, were secretly cherished, and occasionally avowed, by the soldiery. Many, indeed, confided in the patriotism, and submitted to the judgment of their officers; but there were also many who condemned the existing government as a desertion of the good cause in which they had originally embarked. By the latter Lilburn was revered as an apostle and a martyr; they read with avidity the publications which repeatedly issued from his cell; and they condemned as persecutors and tyrants the men who had im- mured him and his companions in the Tower. Preparations had been made to bring them to trial as the authors of the late mutiny: but, on more mature deliberation, the project was abandoned, and an act was passed making it treason to assert that the government was tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful. No enactments, however, could check the hostility of Lilburn: and a new pamphlet from his pen, in vindication of "The Legal Fundamental Liberties of the People," put to the test the resolution of his opponents. They shrunk from the struggle: it was judged more prudent to forgive, or more dignified to despise, his efforts;

CHAP.  
II.  
1649.

Opposi-  
tion of  
Lilburn.

April 11.

May 12.

June 8.

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<sup>3</sup> Journal 1649, Ap. 7; Aug. 1; Dec. 7. 1650, May 21; Nov. 26. 1651, Ap. 15; Sep. 1; Dec. 19. 1652, Dec. 10. 1653, Nov. 24.

CHAP. II.  
1649. and, on his petition for leave to visit his sick family, he obtained his discharge<sup>4</sup>.

But this lenity made no impression on his mind. In the course of six weeks he published two more offensive tracts, and distributed them among the soldiery. A new mutiny broke out at Oxford: its speedy suppression emboldened the council: the demagogue was reconducted to his cell in the Tower; and Keble, with forty other commissioners, was appointed to try him for his last offence on the recent statute of treasons. It may, perhaps, be deemed a weakness in Lilburn that he now offered on certain conditions to transport himself to America: but he redeemed his character, as soon as he was placed at the bar. He repelled with scorn the charges of the prosecutors and the taunts of the court, electrified the audience by frequent appeals to Magna Charta and the liberties of Englishmen, and stoutly maintained the doctrine that the jury had a right to judge of the law as well as of the fact. It was in vain that the court pronounced this opinion "the most damnable heresy ever broached in the land," and that the government employed all its influence to win or intimidate the jurors: after a trial of three days Lilburn obtained a verdict of acquittal<sup>5</sup>.

Whether after his liberation any secret com-

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<sup>4</sup> Journals, 1649, Ap. 11; May 12; July 18. Council Book, May 2. Whitelock, 414.

<sup>5</sup> Journals, 1649, Sep. 11; Oct. 30. Whitelock, 424, 5. State Trials, ii. 151.

promise took place is uncertain. He subscribed the engagement, explaining it in a sense conformable to his own principles: and the parliament voted him a considerable sum in reparation of his sufferings in the star-chamber<sup>6</sup>. But two years later he had the imprudence to distribute a petition from Josiah Pimate, charging sir Arthur Hazlerig and the commissioners at Haberdasher's-hall with injustice and tyranny. This by the house was voted a breach of privilege, and the offender was condemned in a fine of 7,000*l.* with banishment for life. Probably the court of star-chamber never pronounced a judgment in which the punishment was more disproportionate to the offence. But his former enemies sought not justice on the culprit, but security to themselves. They seized the opportunity of freeing the government from the presence of a man whom they had so longed feared; and, as he refused to kneel at the bar while judgment was pronounced, they embodied the resolution in an act of parliament. To save his life Lilburn submitted; but his residence on the continent was short: the reader will soon meet him again in England<sup>7</sup>.

The levellers had boldly avowed their object; the royalists worked in the dark and by stealth: yet the council by its vigilance and promptitude proved a match for the open hostility of the one,

CHAP.  
II.  
1650.

And banishment.

Dec. 29.

1650.

July 30.

1652.

Jan. 15.

Jan. 20.

Plans of  
the royal-  
ists.

<sup>6</sup> Whitelock, 436. Journ. 1650, July 16, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Journals, 1651, Dec. 23. 1652, Jan. 15, 20, 30. Whitelock, 520. State Trials, v. 407—415.

CHAP. and the secret machinations of the other. A doubt  
 II. may, indeed, be raised of the policy of the “en-  
 1650. “gagement,” a promise of fidelity to the common-  
 wealth without king or house of lords. As long  
 as it was confined to those who held office under  
 the government, it remained a mere question of  
 choice; but when it was exacted from all Eng-  
 lishmen above seventeen years of age, under the  
 penalty of incapacity to maintain an action in any  
 court of law, it became to numbers a matter of  
 necessity, and served rather to irritate than to  
 produce security<sup>8</sup>. A more efficient measure was  
 the permanent establishment of a high court of  
 justice to inquire into offences against the state,  
 to which was added the organization of a system  
 of espionage by captain Bishop, under the direc-  
 tion of Scot, a member of the council. The  
 friends of monarchy, encouraged by the clamour  
 of the levellers and the professions of the Scots,  
 had begun to hold meetings, sometimes under the  
 pretence of religious worship, sometimes under  
 that of country amusements: in a short time they  
 divided the kingdom into districts called associ-  
 ations, in each of which it was supposed that a  
 certain number of armed men might be raised;  
 and blank commissions with the royal signature  
 were obtained, to be used in appointing colonels,  
 captains, and lieutenants, for the command of  
 these forces. Then followed an active correspon-

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<sup>8</sup> Leicester's Journal, 97—101.



dence both with Charles after his arrival in Scotland, and with the earl of Newcastle, the lord Hopton, and a council of exiles, first at Utrecht, and afterwards at the Hague. By the plan ultimately adopted, it was proposed that Charles himself or Massey, leaving a sufficient force to occupy the English army in Scotland, should, with a strong corps of cavalry, cross the borders between the kingdoms; that at the same time the royalists in several associations should rise in arms, and that the exiles in Holland, with five thousand English and German adventurers, should land in Kent, surprise Dover, and hasten to join their presbyterian associates in the capital<sup>9</sup>. But, to arrange and ensure the co-operation of all the parties concerned, required the employment of numerous agents, of whom, if several were actuated by principle, many were of doubtful faith and desperate fortunes. Some of these betrayed their trust; some undertook to serve both parties, and deceived each; and it is a curious fact, that, while the letters of the royalist agents often passed through the hands of Bishop himself, his secret papers belonging to the council of state were copied and forwarded to the king<sup>10</sup>. This conse-

CHAP.  
II.  
1650.

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Discover-  
ed and  
prevent-  
ed.

<sup>9</sup> Milton's State Papers, 35, 37, 39, 47, 49, 50. Baillie, ii. 348. Carte's Letters, i. 414.

<sup>10</sup> State Trials, v. 4. Milton's State Papers, 39, 47, 50, 57. One of these agents employed by both parties was a Mrs. Walters, alias Hamlin, on whose services Bishop placed great reliance. She was to introduce herself to Cromwell by pronouncing the word "prosperity." Ibid.

CHAP.  
II.  
1651.

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quence however followed, that the plans of the royalists were always discovered, and by that means defeated by the precautions of the council. While the king was on his way to Scotland, a number of blank commissions had been seized in the possession of Dr. Lewen, a civilian, who was adjudged to suffer the penalties of treason. Soon afterwards sir John Gell, colonel Eusebius Andrews, and captain Benson were arraigned on the charge of conspiring the destruction of the government established by law. They opposed three objections to the jurisdiction of the court. It was contrary to Magna Charta, which gave to every freeman the right of being tried by his peers; contrary to the petition of right, by which courts-martial (and the present court was most certainly a court-martial), had been forbidden; and contrary to the many declarations of parliament, that the laws, the rights of the people, and the courts of justice, should be maintained. But the court repelled the objections: Andrews and Benson suffered death, and Gell was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with the forfeiture of his property<sup>11</sup>.

Aug. 2.

Oct. 7.

Execution  
of Love.

Dec. 2.

These executions did not repress the eagerness of the royalists, or relax the vigilance of the council. In the beginning of December the friends of Charles took up arms in Norfolk, but

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<sup>11</sup> Whitelock, 464, 468, 473, 474. Heath, 269, 270. See mention of several discoveries in Carte's Letters, i. 443, 464, 472.

the rising was premature ; a body of roundheads dispersed the insurgents ; and twenty of the latter atoned for their temerity with their lives. The Scilly Isles, still in the possession of Grenville, the commander of the western association, were reduced ; a number of gentlemen in Hampshire, who had promised their services to the king, were arrested ; and the imprudent muster of two thousand men in Kent led to the imprisonment of the royalist inhabitants of that county. The council had resolved to attack the presbyterian party in their chief bulwark, the city, and Love, one of the most celebrated of the ministers, was apprehended with several of his associates. At his trial, he sought to save his life by an evasive protestation, which he uttered with the most imposing solemnity in the presence of the Almighty. But it was clearly proved against him that the meetings had been held in his house, the money collected for the royalists had been placed on his table, and the letters received, and the answers to be returned, had been read in his hearing. As soon as he received judgment, his friends presented several petitions in his favour ; respite after respite was obtained ; and the parliament, as if it had feared to decide without instructions, referred the case to Cromwell in Scotland. That general was instantly assailed with letters both from the friends and the foes of Love : he was silent : a longer time was granted by the house ; but he returned no answer ; and the

CHAP.

11.  
1650.1652.  
Jan. 12.1651.  
May 2.

July 15.

CHAP. II. 1650. —  
 Aug. 22. unfortunate minister lost his head on Tower-hill with the constancy and serenity of a martyr. Of his associates, one only, Gibbons, a citizen, shared his fate <sup>12</sup>.

Transac-  
 tions in  
 Ireland.

2<sup>o</sup>. To Charles it had been whispered by his secret advisers that the war between the parliament and the Scots would, by withdrawing the attention of the council from Ireland, allow the royal party to resume the ascendancy in that kingdom. But this hope quickly vanished. The resources of the commonwealth were seen to multiply with its wants: its army in Ireland was daily augmented by recruits in the island, and by reinforcements from England; and Ireton, to whom Cromwell, with the title of lord deputy, had left the chief command, pursued with little interruption the career of his victorious predecessor. Sir Charles Coote met the men of Ulster at Letterkenny: after a long and sanguinary action they were defeated; and the next day their leader, the warrior bishop of Clogher, was made prisoner by a fresh corps of troops from Inniskilling <sup>13</sup>. Lady

1650.  
 June 18.

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<sup>12</sup> Milton's State Papers, 50, 54, 66, 75, 76. Whitelock, 492, 3, 5, 500. State Trials, v. 43—294. Heath, 288, 290. Leicester's Journal, 107, 115, 123. A report, probably unfounded, was spread that Cromwell granted him his life, but the despatch was waylaid, and detained or destroyed by the cavaliers, who bore in remembrance Love's former hostility to the royal cause. Kennet, 185.

<sup>13</sup> Though he had quarter given and life promised, Coote ordered him to be hanged. Yet it was by Mac Mahon's persuasion that O'Nial in the preceding year had saved Coote by raising the

Fitzgerald, a name as illustrious in the military annals of Ireland as that of lady Derby in those of England, defended the fortress of Trecoghan; but neither the efforts of sir Robert Talbot within, nor the gallant attempt of lord Castlehaven without, could prevent its surrender<sup>14</sup>. Waterford, Carlow, and Charlemont, accepted honourable conditions, and the garrison of Duncannon, reduced to a handful of men by the ravages of the plague, opened its gates to the enemy<sup>15</sup>. Ormond, instead of facing the conquerors in the field, had been engaged in a long and irritating controversy with those of the catholic leaders who distrusted his integrity, and with the townsmen of Limerick and Galway, who refused to admit his troops within their walls. Misfortune had put an end to his authority; his enemies remarked that, whether he were a real friend or a secret foe, the cause of the confederates had never prospered under his guidance: and the bishops conjured him, that the very existence of the nation was at stake, to adopt measures which might heal the public dissensions, and unite all true Irishmen in the common defence. Since the loss of Munster by the defection of Inchiquin's forces, they had

CHAP.  
II.  
1650.

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June 25.

Aug. 20.

March 28.

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siege of Londonderry. (Clarendon, Short View, &c. in vol. viii. 115—149.) But Coote conducted the war like a savage. See several instances at the end of Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*.

<sup>14</sup> See Castlehaven's Memoirs, 120—124; and Carte's Ormond, ii. 116.

<sup>15</sup> Heath, 267, 270. Whitelock, 157, 9, 463, 4, 9.

CHAP. entertained an incurable distrust of their English  
 11.  
 1650. allies ; and, to appease their jealousy, he dismissed  
 ————— the few Englishmen who yet remained in the ser-  
 vice. Finding them rise in their demands, he  
 called a general assembly at Loughrea, announced  
 his intention, or pretended intention, of quitting  
 the kingdom ; and then, at the general request,  
 and after some demur, consented to remain.  
 Hitherto the Irish had cherished the expectation  
 that the young monarch would, as he had repeat-  
 edly promised, come to Ireland, and take the reins  
 of government into his hands ; they now, to their  
 disappointment, learned that he had accepted the  
 invitation of the Scots, their sworn and inveterate  
 enemies. In a short time, the conditions to which  
 he had subscribed began to transpire : that he had  
 engaged to annul the late pacification between  
 Ormond and the catholics, and had bound himself  
 by oath, not only not to permit the exercise of the  
 catholic worship, but to root out the catholic reli-  
 gion wherever it existed in any of his dominions.

Aug. 6. A general gloom and despondency prevailed : ten  
 Aug. 10. bishops and ten clergymen assembled at James-  
 town, and their first resolve was, to depute two of  
 their number to the lord-licutenant, to request that  
 he would put in execution his former design of  
 quitting the kingdom, and would leave his autho-  
 rity in the hands of a catholic deputy possessing  
 the confidence of the nation. Without, however,  
 Aug. 11. waiting for his answer, they proceeded to frame a  
 declaration, in which they charged Ormond with

negligence, incapacity, and perfidy ; protested that, though they were compelled by the great duty of self-preservation to withdraw from the government of the king's lieutenant, they had no intention to derogate from the royal authority; and pronounced that, in the existing circumstances, the Irish people were no longer bound by the articles of the pacification, but by the oath under which they had formerly associated for their common protection. To this, the next day they appended a form of excommunication equally affecting all persons who should abet either Ormond or Ireton, in opposition to the real interests of the catholic confederacy<sup>16</sup>.

Aug. 12.

The lord-lieutenant, however, found that he was supported by some of the prelates, and by most of the aristocracy. He replied to the synod at Jamestown, that nothing short of necessity should induce him to quit Ireland without the order of the king ; and the commissioners of trust expostulated with the bishops on their imprudence and presumption. But at this moment arrived copies of the declaration which Charles had been compelled to publish at Dunfermling in Scotland. The whole population was in a ferment. Their suspicions, they exclaimed, were now verified ; their fears and predictions accomplished. The king had pronounced them a race of " bloody rebels ;" he had disowned them for his subjects ; he had annulled

Discon-  
tent  
caused by  
the king's  
declara-  
tion in  
Scotland.

Aug. 31.

Sep. 2.

Aug. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Ponce, *Vindiciæ Eversæ*, 236—257. Clarendon, viii. 151, 154, 156. *Hibernia Dominicana*, 691. *Carte*, ii. 118, 120, 127.

- CHAP. II. 1650. the articles of pacification, and had declared to the whole world that he would exterminate their religion. In this excited temper of mind, the committee appointed by the bishops published both the declaration and excommunication. A single night intervened; their passions had leisure to cool: they repented of their precipitancy; and, by the advice of the prelates in the town of Galway, they published a third paper, suspending the effect of the former.
- Sep. 15.
- Sep. 16.

Ormond's first expedient was to pronounce the Dunfermling declaration a forgery; for the king from Breda, previously to his voyage to Scotland, had solemnly assured him that he would never, for any earthly consideration, violate the pacification. A second message informed him that it was genuine, but ought to be considered of no force, as far as it concerned Ireland, because it had been issued without the advice of the Irish privy council<sup>17</sup>. This communication encouraged the lord-

Oct. 15.

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<sup>17</sup> Carte's Letters, i. 391. Charles's counsellors at Breda had instilled into him principles which he seems afterwards to have cherished through life: "that honour and conscience were bugbears, and that the king ought to govern himself rather by the rulers of prudence and necessity." Ibid. Nicholas to Ormond, 435. At first Charles agreed to find some way "how he might with honour and justice break the peace with the Irish, if a free parliament in Scotland should think it fitting" afterwards "to break it, but on condition that it should not be published till he had acquainted Ormond and his friends, secured them, and been instructed how with honour and justice he might break it in regard of the breach on their part." P. 396, 397. Yct a little before he had resolutely



lieutenant to assume a bolder tone. He professed himself ready to assert, that both the king and his officers on one part, and the catholic population on the other, were bound by the provisions of the treaty; but he previously required that the commissioners of trust should condemn the proceedings of the synod at Jamestown, and join with him in punishing such of its members as should persist in their disobedience. They made proposals to the prelates, and received for answer, that protection and obedience were correlative; and, therefore, since the king had publicly excluded them, under the designation of "bloody rebels," from his protection, they could not understand how any officer acting by his authority could lay claim to their obedience<sup>18</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1650.

Oct. 23.

Oct. 29.

This answer convinced Ormond that it was time for him to leave Ireland; but, before his departure, he called a general assembly, and selected the marquess of Clanricard, a catholic nobleman, to command as his deputy. To Clanricard, whose health was infirm, and whose habits were domestic, nothing could be more unwelcome than such an appointment. Wherever he cast his eyes he was appalled by the prospect before him. He saw three-fourths of Ireland in the possession of a restless and victorious enemy: Connaught and Clare, which alone remained to the royalists, were

Departure  
of Or-  
mond.

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declared that no consideration should induce him to violate the same peace. P. 374, 379.

<sup>18</sup> Ponce, 257—261.

CHAP. depopulated by famine and pestilence; and politi-  
 II. cal and religious dissensions divided the leaders  
 1650. and their followers, while one party attributed the  
 national disasters to the temerity of the men who  
 presumed to govern under the curse of excommu-  
 nication; and the other charged their opponents  
 with concealing disloyal and interested views un-  
 der the mantle of patriotism and religion. Every  
 prospect of successful resistance was gone; the  
 Shannon, their present protection from the foe,  
 would become fordable in the spring; and then  
 the last asylum of Irish independence must be  
 overrun<sup>19</sup>. Under such discouraging circum-  
 stances it required all the authority of Ormond  
 and Castlehaven to induce him to accept an office  
 which opened no prospect of emolument or glory,  
 but promised a plentiful harvest of contradiction,  
 hardship, and danger.

- Nov. 25. In the assembly which was held at Loughrea,  
 the majority of the members disapproved of the  
 conduct of the synod, but sought rather to heal  
 by conciliation, than to perpetuate dissension. Or-  
 mond, having written a vindication of his con-  
 duct, and received an answer consoling, if not  
 Dec. 2. perfectly satisfactory to his feelings, sailed from  
 Dec. 7. Galway; but Clanricard obstinately refused to  
 enter on the exercise of his office, till reparation  
 had been made to the royal authority for the in-

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<sup>19</sup> See Clanricard's State of the Nation in his Memoirs, part  
 ii. p. 24.

sult offered to it by the Jamestown declaration. He required an acknowledgment, that it was not in the power of any body of men to discharge the people from their obedience to the lord-deputy, as long as the royal authority was vested in him; and at length obtained a declaration to that effect, but with a protestation, that by it “ the confederates did not waive their right to the faithful observance of the articles of pacification, nor bind themselves to obey every chief governor, who might be unduly nominated by the king, during his unfree condition among the Scots<sup>20</sup>.”

CHAP.  
II.  
1650.

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Dec. 24.

Aware of the benefit which the royalists in Scotland derived from the duration of hostilities in Ireland, the parliamentary leaders sought to put an end to the protracted and sanguinary struggle. Scarcely had Clanricard assumed the government, when Grace and Bryan, two catholic officers, presented themselves to the assembly with a message from Axtel, the governor of Kilkenny, the bearers of a proposal for a treaty of submission. By many the overture was hailed with transport. They maintained that nothing but a general negotiation could prevent those private treaties, which daily thinned their numbers, and exposed the more resolute to inevitable ruin; that the conditions held out were better than they had reason to expect *now*, infinitely better than they could expect

Refusal to  
treat with  
the parlia-  
ment.

1651.  
Jan. 10.

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<sup>20</sup> Carte, ii. 137—140. Walsh, App. 75—137. Belling in Poncium, 26.

CHAP. hereafter. Let them put the sincerity of their  
II. enemies to the test. If the treaty should succeed,  
1651. the nation would be saved; if it did not, the failure would unite all true Irishmen in the common cause, who, if they must fall, would not fall unrevenged. There was much force in this reasoning; and it was strengthened by the testimony of officers from several quarters, who represented that, to negotiate with the parliament was the only expedient for the preservation of the people. But Clanricard treated the proposal with contempt. To entertain it was an insult to him, an act of treason against the king; and he was seconded by the eloquence and authority of Castlehaven, who affected to despise the power of the enemy, and attributed his success to their own divisions. Had the assembly known the motives which really actuated these noblemen; that they had been secretly instructed by Charles to continue the contest at every risk, as the best means of enabling him to make head against Cromwell; that this, probably the last opportunity of saving the lives and properties of the confederates, was to be sacrificed to the mere chance of gaining a victory for the Scots, their bitter and implacable enemies<sup>21</sup>, many of the calamities which Ireland was yet doomed to suffer, would, perhaps, have been averted. But the majority allowed themselves to be persuaded: the motion to negotiate with the

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<sup>21</sup> Castlehaven's Memoirs, 116, 119, 120.

parliament was rejected, and the penalties of treason were denounced by the assembly, the sentence of excommunication by the bishops, against all who should conclude any private treaty with the enemy. Limerick and Galway, the two bulwarks of the confederacy disapproved of this vote, and obstinately refused to admit garrisons within their walls, that they might not be overawed by the military, but remain arbiters of their own fate.

The lord deputy was no sooner relieved from this difficulty, than he found himself entangled in a negotiation of unusual delicacy and perplexity. About the close of the last summer, Ormond had despatched the lord Taafe to Brussels, with instructions, both in his own name, and the name of the supreme council<sup>22</sup>, to solicit the aid of the duke of Lorrain, a prince of the most restless and intriguing disposition, who was accustomed to sell at a high price the services of his army to the neighbouring powers. The duke received him graciously: made him a present of 5000*l.*, and promised an additional aid of men and money, but on condition that he should be declared protector royal of Ireland, with all the rights belonging to that office—rights as undefined as the office itself was hitherto unknown. Taafe hesitated, but was encouraged to proceed by the queen mother, the

CHAP.  
II.  
1651.

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Offer from  
the duke  
of Lor-  
rain.

1650.  
Nov.

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<sup>22</sup> Compare the papers in the second part of Clanricard's Memoirs, 17, 18, 27, (folio, London, 1757,) with Carte's Ormond, ii. 143.

- CHAP. duke of York, and De Vic, the king's resident at  
 II. Brussels. They argued that, without aid to the  
 1651. Irish, the king must succumb in Scotland; that  
 ——— the duke of Lorrain was the only prince in Eu-  
 rope that could afford them succour; and that,  
 whatever might be his secret projects, they could  
 never be so prejudicial to the royal interests as  
 the subjugation of Ireland by the parliament<sup>23</sup>.
- Dec. 31. Taafe, however, took a middle way, and persuaded  
 the duke to send De Henin as his envoy to the  
 supreme council, with powers to conclude the  
 treaty in Ireland.
1651. The assembly had just been dismissed when  
 Treaty with that this envoy arrived. By the people, the clergy,  
 prince. the nobility, he was received as an angel sent from  
 heaven. The supply of arms and ammunition  
 Feb. 25. which he brought, joined to his promise of more

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<sup>23</sup> Clanricard, 4, 5, 17, 27. Ormond was also of the same opinion. He writes to Taafe that "nothing was done that were to be wished undone;" that the supreme council were the best judges of their own condition; that they had received permission from the king, for their own preservation, "even to receive conditions from the enemy, which must be much more contrary to his interest, than to receive helps from any other to resist them, almost upon any terms." Clanric. 33. 34. There is in the collection of letters by Carte, one from Ormond to Clanricard written after the battle of Worcester, in which that nobleman says that it will be without scruple his advice, that "fitting ministers be sent to the pope, and apt inducements proposed to him for his interposition, not only with all princes and states."—The rest of the letter is lost, or Carte did not choose to publish it; but it is plain from the first part that he thought the only chance for the restoration of the royal authority was in the aid to be obtained from the pope and the catholic powers. Carte's Letters, i. 461.

efficient succour in a short time, roused them from their despondency, and encouraged them to indulge the hope of making a stand against the pressure of the enemy. Clanricard, left without instructions, knew not how to act. He dared not refuse the aid so highly prized by the people; he dared not accede to demands so prejudicial to the king's authority. But if the title of protector royal sounded ungratefully in his ears, it was heard with very different feelings by the confederates, who had reason to conclude that, if the contest between Cromwell and the Scots should terminate in favour of the latter, the Irish catholics would still have need of a protector to preserve their religion from the exterminating fanaticism of the kirk. Clanricard was, however, inexorable, and his resolution finally triumphed over the eagerness of his countrymen, and the obstinacy of the envoy. From the latter he obtained an additional sum of 15,000*l.*, on the easy condition of naming agents to conduct the negotiation at Brussels according to such instructions as they should receive from the queen dowager, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond. The lord-deputy rejoiced that he had shifted the burthen from his shoulders. De Henin was satisfied, because he knew the secret sentiments of those to whose judgment the point in question had been referred<sup>24</sup>.

Taafe, having received his instructions in Paris

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<sup>24</sup> Clanricard, 1—16.

CHAP. (but verbal, not written instructions as Clanricard  
 II. had required), joined his colleagues, sir Nicholas  
 1651. Plunket, and Geoffrey Brown, in Brussels, and,  
 July 11. after a long but ineffectual struggle, subscribed to  
 July 27. the commands of the duke of Lorrain<sup>25</sup>. That  
 prince, by the treaty, engaged to furnish for the  
 protection of Ireland all such supplies of arms,  
 money, ammunition, shipping, and provisions, as  
 the necessity of the case might require; and in  
 return the agents, in the name of the people and  
 kingdom of Ireland, conferred on him, his heirs  
 and successors, the title of protector royal, toge-  
 ther with the chief civil authority and the com-  
 mand of the forces, but under the obligation of  
 restoring both, on the payment of his expenses, to  
 Charles Stuart, the rightful sovereign<sup>26</sup>. There  
 cannot be a doubt that each party sought to over-  
 reach the other.

It is re-  
 jected.

Oct. 12.

Oct. 20.

Clanricard was surprised that he heard nothing  
 from his agents, nothing from the queen or the  
 duke of Ormond. After a silence of several  
 months a copy of the treaty arrived. He read it  
 with indignation; he asserted that the envoys  
 had transgressed their instructions; he threatened  
 to declare them traitors by proclamation. But  
 Charles had now arrived in Paris after the defeat

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<sup>25</sup> Clanricard 31, 58. It is certain from Clanricard's papers that the treaty was not concluded till after the return of Taafe from Paris, p. 58.

<sup>26</sup> Clanricard, 34.



at Worcester, and was made acquainted with the whole intrigue. He praised the loyalty of the deputy, but sought to mitigate his displeasure against the three agents, exhorted him to receive them again into his confidence, and advised him to employ their services, as if the treaty had never existed. To the duke of Lorraine he despatched the earl of Norwich, to object to the articles which bore most on the royal authority, and to recommence the negotiation<sup>27</sup>. But the unsuccessful termination of the Scottish war taught that prince to look upon the project as hopeless; while he hesitated, the court of Brussels obtained proofs that he was intriguing with the French minister; and, to the surprise of Europe, he was suddenly arrested in Brussels, and conducted a prisoner to Toledo in Spain<sup>28</sup>.

CHAP.

II.

1651.

1652.

Feb. 10.

March 23.

Clanricard, hostile as he was to the pretensions of the duke of Lorraine, had availed himself of the money received from that prince to organize a new force, and oppose every obstacle in his power to the progress of the enemy. Ireton, who anticipated nothing less than the entire reduction of the island, opened the campaign with the siege of Limerick. The conditions which he offered were refused by the inhabitants, and, at their request, Hugh O'Nial with three thousand men undertook the defence of the city, but with an understanding

Siege of  
Limerick.

1651.

June 11.

<sup>27</sup> Clanricard, 36—41, 47, 50—54, 58. Also Ponce, 111—121.

<sup>28</sup> Thurloe, ii 90, 115, 127, 136, 611.

CHAP. that the keys of the gates and the government of  
 II. the place should remain in the possession of the  
 1651. mayor. Both parties displayed a valour and ob-  
 ———— stinacy worthy of the prize for which they fought.  
 Though lord Broghill defeated lord Muskerry, the  
 catholic commander in Munster; though Coote,  
 in defiance of Clanricard, penetrated from the  
 northern extremity of Connaught, as far as Athen-  
 ree and Portumna; though Ireton, after several  
 fruitless attempts, deceived the vigilance of Castle-  
 haven, and established himself on the right bank  
 of the Shannon; and though a party within the  
 walls laboured to represent their parliamentary  
 enemies as the advocates of universal toleration:  
 nothing could shake the constancy of the citizens  
 and the garrison. They harassed the besiegers by  
 repeated sorties; they repelled every assault; and  
 on one occasion they destroyed the whole corps,  
 which had been landed on “the island.” Even,  
 after the fatal battle of Worcester, to a second  
 summons they returned a spirited refusal. But  
 in October a reinforcement of three thousand men  
 from England arrived in the camp; a battery was  
 formed of the heavy cannon landed from the ship-  
 ping in the harbour; and a wide breach in the  
 wall admonished the inhabitants to prepare for an  
 assault. In this moment of suspense, with the  
 dreadful example of Drogheda and Wexford be-  
 fore their eyes, they met at the town-hall. It was  
 in vain that O’Nial remonstrated; that the bishops  
 of Limerick and Emly entreated and threatened;

July 15.

Oct. 23.

Stretch, the mayor, gave the keys to colonel Fen- CHAP.  
 nel, who seized St. John's gate, turned the cannon II.  
 on the city, and admitted two hundred of the 1652.  
 besiegers. A treaty was now concluded; and, if  
 the garrison and inhabitants preserved their lives  
 and property, it was by abandoning twenty-two  
 individuals to the mercy of the conqueror. Of  
 these some made their escape: the bishop of Emly,  
 Wolf, a Franciscan friar, major-general Purcell,  
 Barrow, a member of the council, and Stretch, the  
 mayor of the city, were immolated as an atone-  
 ment for the obstinate resistance of the besiegers.  
 By Ireton O'Nial was also doomed to die, but the  
 officers who formed the court, in admiration of his  
 gallantry, sought to save his life. Twice they  
 condemned him in obedience to the commander-  
 in-chief, who pronounced his spirited defence of  
 Clonmell an unpardonable crime against the state;  
 but the third time the deputy was persuaded to  
 leave them to the exercise of their own judgment,  
 and they pronounced in favour of their brave but  
 unfortunate captive. Ireton himself did not long  
 survive his victims. He was carried off by the  
 pestilential disease which ravaged the west of Ire-  
 land; and his death proved a severe loss to the  
 commonwealth, not only on account of his abilities  
 as an officer and a statesman, but because it re-  
 moved the principal check to the inordinate ambi-  
 tion of Cromwell<sup>29</sup>.

Oct. 27.

Nov. 25.

<sup>29</sup> Ludlow, i. 293, 6, 8, 9, 300, 7, 310, 316—324. Heath, 304, 5.  
 Ireton's Letter, printed by Field, 1651. Carte, ii. 154. The

CHAP. During the next winter the confederates had  
 11. leisure to reflect on their forlorn condition. Charles,  
 1652. indeed, a second time an exile, solicited them to  
 ———— persevere<sup>30</sup>; but it was difficult to persuade men  
 Submission of the Irish. to hazard their lives and fortunes without the  
 remotest prospect of benefit to themselves or to  
 Jan. 31. the royal cause; and in the month of March  
 March 7. the colonel Fitzpatric, a celebrated chieftain in the  
 county of Meath, laid down his arms, and ob-  
 tained in return the possession of his estate. The  
 March 21. example alarmed the confederates; and Clanricard, in their name, proposed a general capitulation: it was refused by the stern policy of Ludlow, who assumed the command on the death of Ireton; a succession of surrenders followed: and O'Dwyer, the town of Galway, Thurlogh, O'Nial, and the earl of Westmeath, accepted the terms dictated by the enemy; which were safety for their persons and personal property, the restoration of part of their landed estates, according to the qualifications to be determined by parliament, and permission to reside within the commonwealth, or to enter with a certain number of followers into the service of any foreign prince in amity with England. The benefit of these articles did not extend to persons who had taken

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parliament ordered Ireton's body to be interred at the public expense. It was conveyed from Ireland to Bristol, and thence to London, lay in state in Somerset-house, and on February 6th, was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel. Heath, 305.

<sup>30</sup> Clanricard, 51.

up arms in the first year of the contest, or had belonged to the first general assembly, or had committed murder, or had taken orders in the church of Rome. There were, however, several who, in obedience to the instructions received from Charles, resolved to continue hostilities to the last extremity. Lord Muskerry collected five thousand men on the borders of Cork and Kerry: he was obliged to retire before his opponents: his strong fortress of Ross opened its gates; and, after some hesitation, he made his submission. In the north, Clanricard reduced Ballyshannon and Donnegal: but there his career ended; Coote drove him into the Isle of Carrick, where he was compelled to accept the usual conditions. The last chieftain of note who braved the arms of the commonwealth was colonel Richard Grace: he beat up the enemy's quarters; but was afterwards driven across the Shannon with the loss of eight hundred of his followers. Colonel Santhey pursued him in his favourite retreat; his castle of Inchlough surrendered, and Grace capitulated with twelve hundred and fifty men<sup>31</sup>. There still remained a few straggling parties on the mountains and amidst the morasses under Mac Hugh, and Byrne, and O'Brian, and Cavanagh: these, however, were subdued in the course of

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1652.

July 5.

May 18.

July.

June 20.

Aug. 1.

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<sup>31</sup> On this gallant and honourable officer, who on several subsequent occasions displayed the most devoted attachment to the house of Stuart, see a very interesting article in Mr. Sheffield Grace's "Memoirs of the Family of Grace." P. 27.

CHAP. II. 1653. the winter; the Isle of Inisbouffin received a garrison, and a new force, which appeared in Ulster, under the lord Iniskilling, obtained, what was chiefly sought, the usual articles of transportation.

Jan. The subjugation of Ireland was completed<sup>32</sup>.

May 18. 2°. Here, to prevent subsequent interruption, I may be allowed to describe the state of this unhappy country, while it remained under the sway of the commonwealth.

State of Ireland.

On the death of Ireton, Lambert had been appointed lord-deputy: by means of a female intrigue he was set aside in favour of Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow<sup>33</sup>. To Fleetwood

<sup>32</sup> Ludlow, i. 341, 4, 7, 352, 4, 7, 9, 360. Heath, 310, 312, 324, 333, 344. Journals, Ap. 8, 21; May 18, 25; Aug. 18.

<sup>33</sup> Journals, Jan. 30, June 15, July 9. Lambert's wife and Ireton's widow met in the park. The first, as her husband was in possession, claimed the precedence, and the latter complained of the grievance to Cromwell, her father. Cromwell, as his patent of lord-lieutenant was on the point of expiring, refused to renew it: there could be no deputy where there was no lieutenant; and Lambert's appointment of deputy was in consequence revoked. But Mrs. Ireton was not content with this triumph over her rival. She married Fleetwood, obtained for him the chief command in place of Lambert, and returned with him to her former station in Ireland. Cromwell, however, paid for the gratification of his daughter's vanity. That he might not forfeit the friendship of Lambert, whose aid was necessary for his ulterior designs, he presented him with a considerable sum to defray the charges of the preparations which he had made for his intended voyage to Ireland. Ludlow, i. 355, 360. Hutchinson, 196. Lambert, however, afterwards discovered that Cromwell had secretly instigated Vane and Haslerig to oppose his going to Ireland, and, in revenge joined with them to depose Richard Cromwell for the sin of his father. Thurloe, vii. 660.

was assigned the command of the forces without a colleague; but in the civil administration were joined with him four other commissioners, Ludlow, Corbett, Jones, and Weaver. By their instructions they were commanded and authorised to observe, as far as it was possible, the laws of England in the exercise of the government and the administration of justice; to “endeavour the promulgation of the gospel, and the power of true religion and holiness;” to remove all disaffected or suspected persons from office; to allow no papist or delinquent to hold any place of trust, to practise as barrister or solicitor, or to keep school for the education of youth; to impose monthly assessments not exceeding 40,000*l.* in amount for the payment of the forces, and to imprison or discharge any person, or remove him from his dwelling into any other place or country, or permit him to return to his dwelling, as they should see cause for the advantage of the commonwealth<sup>34</sup>.

I. One of the first cares of the commissioners was to satisfy the claims of vengeance. In the year 1644 the catholic nobility had petitioned the king that an inquiry might be made into the murders alleged to have been perpetrated on each side in Ireland, and that justice might be executed on the offenders without distinction of country or religion. To the conquerors it appeared more expedient to confine the inquiry to one party; and a

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1652.

Aug. 24.

Trials before the high court of justice.

<sup>34</sup> Journals, Aug. 24.

CHAP. high court of justice was established to try all  
 II.  
 1652. catholics charged with having shed the blood of  
 ————— any protestant out of battle since the commence-  
 ment of the rebellion in 1641. Donnelan, a native,  
 was appointed president, with commissary-general  
 Reynolds, and Cook, who had acted as solicitor at  
 the trial of Charles I., for his assessors. The  
 court sate in great state at Kilkenny, and thence  
 made its circuit through the island by Waterford,  
 Cork, Dublin, and other places. Of the justice of  
 its proceedings we have not the means of forming  
 a satisfactory notion: but the cry for blood was  
 too violent, the passions of men were too much  
 excited, and the forms of proceeding too summary,  
 to allow the judges to weigh with cool and cau-  
 tious discrimination the different cases which came  
 before them. Lords Muskerry and Clanmaliere,  
 with Maccarthy Reagh, whether they owed it to  
 their innocence or to the influence of friends, had  
 the good fortune to be acquitted; the mother of  
 colonel Fitzpatric was burnt; Lord Mayo, colonels  
 Tool, Bagnal, and about two hundred more, suf-  
 fered death by the axe or by the halter. It was,  
 however, remarkable, that the greatest deficiency of  
 proof occurred in the province where the principal  
 massacres were said to have been committed. Of  
 the men of Ulster, sir Phelim O'Nial is the only  
 one whose conviction and execution has been  
 recorded<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> Ludlow, ii. 2, 5, 8—11. Heath, 332, 3.



II. Cromwell had not been long in the island before he discovered that it was impossible to accomplish the original design of extirpating the catholic population; and he, therefore, adopted the expedient of allowing their leaders to expatriate themselves and a portion of their countrymen, by entering into the service of foreign powers. This plan was followed by his successors in the war, and was perfected by an act of parliament, banishing all the catholic officers. Each chieftain, when he surrendered, stipulated for a certain number of men; every facility was furnished him to complete his levy; and the exiles hastened to risk their lives in the service of the catholic powers who hired them; many in that of Spain, others of France, others of Austria, and some of the republic of Venice. Thus the obnoxious population was reduced by the number of thirty, perhaps forty thousand able-bodied men; but it soon became a question how to dispose of their wives and families, of the wives and families of those who had perished by the ravages of disease and the casualties of war, and of the multitudes who, chased from their homes and employments, were reduced to a state of utter destitution. These at different times, to the amount of several thousands, were collected in bodies, driven on ship-board, and conveyed to the West Indies<sup>36</sup>. Yet

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1652.

Trans-  
portation  
of the na-  
tives.

<sup>36</sup> According to Petty (p. 187) six thousand boys and women were sent away. Lynch (*Cambrensis Eversus*, in fine,) says that they were sold for slaves. Bruodin, in his *Propugnaculum*, (Pragæ,

CHAP. with all these drains on the one party, and the  
 II. continual accession of English and Scottish colo-  
 1652. nists on the other, the catholic was found to exceed  
 the protestant population in the proportion of  
 eight to one<sup>37</sup>. Cromwell, when he had reached  
 the zenith of his power, had recourse to a new  
 expedient. He repeatedly solicited the fugitives,  
 who, in the reign of the late king, had settled in  
 New England, to abandon their plantations and  
 accept of lands in Ireland. On their refusal, he  
 made the same offer to the Vaudois, the protestants

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anno 1669) numbers the exiles at one hundred thousand. *Utra centum millia omnis sexus et ætatis, e quibus aliquot millia in diversas Americæ tabaccarias insulas relegata sunt*, p. 692. In a letter in my possession, written in 1656, it is said: *catholicos pauperes plenè navibus mittunt in Barbados et insulas Americæ. Credo jam sexaginta milla abivisse. Expulsis enim ab initio in Hispaniam et Belgium maritis, jam uxores et proles in Americam destinantur.*—After the conquest of Jamaica in 1655 the protector, that he might people it, resolved to transport a thousand Irish boys and a thousand Irish girls to the island. At first, the young women only were demanded; to which it is replied: “Al- though we must use force in taking them up, yet, it being so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit.” Thurloe, iv. 23. In the next letter H. Cromwell says: “I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there, and ours here, if you should think fit to send one thousand five hundred or two thousand young boys of twelve or fourteen years of age to the place aforementioned. *We* could well spare them, and they would be of use to you; and who knows but it may be a means to make them Englishmen, I mean rather Christians” (p. 40). Thurloe answers: “The committee of the council have voted one thousand girls, and as many youths, to be taken up for that purpose.” p. 75.

<sup>37</sup> Petty, *Polit. Arithmetic*, 29.

of Piedmont, but was equally unsuccessful. They preferred their native vallies, though under the government of a catholic sovereign whose enmity they had provoked, to the green fields of Erin, and all the benefits which they might derive from the fostering care and religious creed of the protector<sup>38</sup>.

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II.  
1652.

III. By an act, entitled an act for the settlement of Ireland, the parliament divided the royalists and catholics into different classes, and allotted to each class an appropriate degree of punishment. Forfeiture of life and estate was pronounced against all the great proprietors of lands, banishment against those who had accepted commissions; the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates against all who had borne arms under the confederates or the king's lieutenant, and the forfeiture of one-third against all persons whomsoever who had not been in the actual service of parliament, or had not displayed their constant good affection to the commonwealth of England. This was the doom of persons of property: to all others, whose estates, real and personal, did not amount to the value of 10*l*. a full and free pardon was graciously offered<sup>39</sup>.

First act  
of settle-  
ment.  
Aug. 12.

Care, however, was taken that the third parts, which by this act were to be restored to the

Second act  
of settle-  
ment.

<sup>38</sup> Hutchinson, Hist. of Massachusetts, 190. Thurloe, iii. 459.

<sup>39</sup> Journals, Aug. 12, 1652. Scobel, 197. Ludlow, i. 370. In the appendix I have copied this act correctly from the original in the possession of Thomas Lloyd, Esq. See note (B).

CHAP. original proprietors, were not to be allotted to  
 II. them out of their former estates, but “in such  
 1652. “places as the parliament, for the more effectual  
 “settlement of the peace of the nation, should  
 “think fit to appoint.” When the first plan of  
 extermination had failed, another project was  
 adopted of confining the catholic landholders to  
 Connaught and Clare, beyond the river Shannon,  
 and of dividing the remainder of the island,  
 Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, among protestant  
 colonists. This, it was said, would prevent the  
 quarrels which must otherwise arise between  
 the new planters and the ancient owners; it  
 would render rebellion more difficult and less  
 formidable; and it would break the hereditary  
 influence of the chiefs over their septs, and of the  
 1653. landlords over their tenants. Accordingly the  
 Sep. 26. little parliament, called by Cromwell and his offi-  
 cers, passed a second act, which assigned to all  
 persons claiming under the qualifications described  
 in the former, a proportionate quantity of land  
 on the right bank of the Shannon; set aside the  
 counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford  
 in Munster; of King’s County, Queen’s County,  
 west Meath, and east Meath in Leinster, and of  
 Down, Antrim, and Armagh in Ulster, to satisfy  
 in equal shares the English adventurers who had  
 subscribed money in the beginning of the con-  
 test, and the arrears of the army that had served  
 in Ireland since Cromwell took the command;  
 reserved for the future disposal of the government

the forfeitures in the counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow: and charged those in the remaining counties with the deficiency, if there should be any, in the first ten, with the liquidation of several public debts, and with the arrears of the Irish army contracted previously to the battle of Rathmines.

CHAP.  
II.  
1653.

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To carry this act into execution, the commissioners, by successive proclamations, ordered all persons who claimed under qualifications, and, in addition, all who had borne arms against the parliament, to “remove and transplant” themselves into Connaught and Clare before the 1st of May, 1654<sup>40</sup>. How many prevailed on themselves to obey, is unknown; but that they amounted to a considerable number is plain from the fact that the lands allotted to them in lieu of their third portions extended to more than eight hundred thousand English acres. Many, however, refused. Retiring into bogs and fastnesses, they formed bodies of armed men, and supported themselves and their followers by the depredations which they committed on the occupiers of their estates. They were called Raperees and Tories<sup>41</sup>; and so

Trans-  
planta-  
tion.

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<sup>40</sup> See on this question “The Great Subject of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed,” 1654. Laurence, “The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated,” 1654; and the answer to Laurence by Vincent Gookin, the author of the first tract.

<sup>41</sup> This celebrated party name, “Tory,” is derived from “to-ruighim,” to pursue for the sake of plunder. O’Connor, *Bib. Stowensis*, ii. 460.

CHAP. formidable did they become to the new settlers,  
 II. that, in certain districts, the sum of 200*l.* was  
 1653. offered for the head of the leader of the band,  
 and that of 40*l.* for the head of any one of the  
 privates <sup>42</sup>.

Oppres-  
 sive laws.

To maintain this system of spoliation, and to coerce the vindictive passions of the natives, it became necessary to establish martial law, and to enforce regulations the most arbitrary and oppressive. No catholic was permitted to reside within any garrison or market town, or to remove more than one mile from his own dwelling without a passport describing his person, age, and occupation ; every meeting of four persons besides the family was pronounced an illegal and treasonable assembly ; to carry arms, or to have arms at home, was made a capital offence ; and any transplanted Irishman, who was found on the left bank of the Shannon, might be put to death by the first person who met him, without the order of a magistrate. Seldom has any nation been reduced to a state of bondage more galling and oppressive. Under the pretence of the violation of these laws, their feelings were outraged, and their blood was shed with impunity. They held their property, their liberty, and their lives, at the will of the petty despots around them, foreign planters, and the commanders of military posts, who were stimulated by revenge and interest

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<sup>42</sup> Burton's Diary, ii. 210.

to depress and exterminate the native population<sup>43</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1653.

The religion of the Irish proved an additional source of solicitude to their fanatical conquerors. By one of the articles concluded with lord Westmeath, it was stipulated that all the inhabitants of Ireland should enjoy the benefit of an act lately passed in England “to relieve peaceable persons “from the rigours of former acts in matters of “religion;” and that no Irish recusant should be compelled to assist at any form of service contrary to his conscience. When the treaty was presented for ratification, this concession shocked and scandalized the piety of the saints. The first part was instantly negatived: and, if the second was carried by a small majority through the efforts of Marten and Vane, it was with a proviso that “the article should not give any the least “allowance, or countenance, or toleration, to the “exercise of the catholic worship in any manner “whatsoever<sup>44</sup>.”

—————  
Breach of  
articles.

In the spirit of these votes, the civil commissioners ordered by proclamation all catholic clergymen to quit Ireland within twenty days under the penalties of high treason, and forbid all other persons to harbour any such clergymen under the pain of death. Additional provisions tending to the same object followed in succession.

Religious  
persecu-  
tion.

Jan. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Bruodin, 693. Hibernia Dominicana, 706.

<sup>44</sup> Journals, 1652, June 1.

CHAP. II. 1653. Whoever knew of the concealment of a priest, and did not reveal it to the proper authorities, was made liable to the punishment of a public whipping and the amputation of his ears; to be absent on a Sunday from the service at the parish church, subjected the offender to a fine of thirty pence; and the magistrates were authorised to take away the children of catholics and send them to England for education, and to tender the oath of abjuration to all persons of the age of one and twenty years, the refusal of which subjected them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates real and personal <sup>45</sup>.

During this period the catholic clergy were exposed to a persecution far more severe than had ever been previously experienced in the island. In former times the chief governors dared not execute with severity the laws against the catholic priesthood, and the fugitives easily found security on the estates of the great landed proprietors. But now the Irish people lay prostrate at the feet of their conquerors; the military were distributed in small bodies over the country; their vigilance was sharpened by religious antipathy and the hope of reward; and the means of detection were facilitated by the prohibition of travelling without a licence from the magistrates. Of the many priests

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<sup>45</sup> Hibernia Dominicana, 707. Bruodin, 696. Porter, Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum (Romæ, 1690,) p. 292.



who still remained in the country several were discovered, and punished at the gallows; those who escaped detection concealed themselves in the caverns of the mountains, or in lonely hovels raised in the midst of the morasses, whence they issued during the night to carry the consolations of religion to the huts of their oppressed and suffering countrymen<sup>46</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1653.

3°. In Scotland the power of the commonwealth was as firmly established as in Ireland. When Cromwell hastened in pursuit of the king to Worcester, he left Monk with eight thousand men to complete the conquest of the kingdom. Monk invested Stirling; and the highlanders who composed the garrison, alarmed by the explosion of the shells from the batteries, compelled the governor to capitulate. The maiden castle, which had never been violated by the presence of a conqueror<sup>47</sup>, submitted to the English "sectaries;" and, what was still more humbling to the pride of the nation, the royal robes, part of the regalia, and the national records, were irreverently torn from their repositories, and sent to London as the trophies of victory. Thence the English general

Subjuga-  
tion of  
Scotland.

1651.

Aug. 14.

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<sup>46</sup> MS. letters in my possession. Bruodin, 696. A proclamation was also issued ordering all maids to marry or leave Ireland. They were successively transported to Belgium, France, and Spain, where they were hospitably received in the convents of their respective orders.

<sup>47</sup> "Hæc nobis invicta tulerunt centum sex proavi, 1617," was the boasting inscription which king James had engraved on the wall. Echard, 697.

CHAP. proceeded to Dundee, where he received a proud  
 II. defiance from Lumsden, the governor. During  
 1651. the preparations for the assault, he learned that  
 ——— the Scottish lords, whom Charles had entrusted  
 with the government in his absence, were holding  
 an assembly at Ellet, in Angus. By his order, a  
 thousand horse, under the colonels Alured and  
 Morgan, aided, as it was believed, by treachery,  
 Aug. 28. entered Ellet at four in the morning. Three  
 hundred prisoners were made, including the two  
 committees of the estates and the kirk, several  
 peers, and all the gentry of the neighbourhood;  
 and these, with such other individuals as the ge-  
 neral deemed hostile and dangerous to the com-  
 monwealth, followed the records of their country  
 to the English capital. At Dundee a breach was  
 soon made in the wall: the defenders shrunk from  
 the charge of the assailants; and the governor  
 and garrison were massacred. I must leave it to  
 the imagination of the reader to supply the suf-  
 ferings of the inhabitants from the violence, the  
 lust, and the rapacity of their victorious enemy.  
 In Dundee, on account of its superior strength,  
 many had deposited their most valuable effects;  
 and all these, with sixty ships and their cargoes in  
 the harbour, became the reward of the con-  
 querors <sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> Heath, 301, 2. Whitelock, 508. Journal, Aug. 27. Bal-  
 four, iv. 314, 315. " Mounche commaundit all, of quhatsummeur  
 " sex, to be putt to the edge of the suord. Ther wer 800 inhabi-  
 " tants and souldiers killed, and about 200 women and children.

Warned by this awful example, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Montrose, opened their gates; the earl of Huntley and lord Balcarras submitted; the few remaining fortresses capitulated in succession; and if Argyle, in the midst of his clan, maintained a precarious and temporary independence, it was not that he cherished the expectation of evading the yoke, but that he sought to draw from the parliament the acknowledgment of a debt which he claimed of the English government<sup>49</sup>. To destroy the prospect, by showing the hopelessness, of resistance, the army was successively augmented to the amount of twenty thousand men<sup>50</sup>: citadels were marked out to be built of stone at Ayr, Leith, Perth, and Inverness; and a long chain of military stations drawn across the highlands served to curb, if it did not tame, the fierce and indignant spirit of the natives. The parliament declared the lands and goods of the crown public property, and confiscated the estates of all who had joined the king or the duke of Hamilton in their invasions of England, unless they were engaged in

CHAP.  
II.  
1651.

Attempt  
to incor-  
porate it  
with Eng-  
land.

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“ The plounder and buttie they gatte in the toune, exceided 2 millions and a halffe” (about 200,000*l.*). That, however, the whole garrison was not put to the sword appears from the mention in the Journals (Sep. 12) of a list of officers made prisoners. Lumsden had quarter given him by captain Kelly; but, as the latter conducted him along the street to Monk, he was shot dead by major Butler. Echard, 698.

<sup>49</sup> Balfour, iv. 315. Heath, 304, 308, 310, 313. Whitelock, 514, 534, 543.

<sup>50</sup> Journals, Dec. 2, 1652.

CHAP. trade, and worth no more than 5*l.*, or not engaged  
 II. in trade, and worth only 100*l.* All authority de-  
 1652. rived from any other source than the parliament  
 —————  
 Jan. 31. of England was abolished by proclamation; the  
 different sheriffs and civil officers of doubtful  
 fidelity were removed for others attached to the  
 commonwealth; a yearly tax of 130,000*l.* was  
 imposed in lieu of free quarters for the support of  
 the army; and English judges, assisted by three  
 or four natives, were appointed to go the circuits,  
 and supersede the courts of session<sup>51</sup>. With grief  
 and shame the Scots submitted to these innova-  
 tions: but the resolution to incorporate the two  
 countries into one commonwealth, without kingly  
 government or the aristocratical influence of a  
 house of peers, was thought to fill up the measure  
 of national misery. There is a pride in the inde-  
 pendence of his country of which even the pea-  
 sant is conscious; and in this case to national

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<sup>51</sup> Ludlow, 345. Heath, 313, 326. Whitelock, 528, 542. Jour-  
 nals, Nov. 19. Leicester's Journal, 129. The English judges  
 were astonished at the spirit of litigation and revenge which the  
 Scots displayed during the circuit. More than one thousand in-  
 dividuals were accused before them of adultery, incest, and other  
 offences, which they had been obliged to confess in the kirk during  
 the last twenty or thirty years. When no other proof was brought,  
 the charge was dismissed. In like manner sixty persons were  
 charged with witchcraft. These were also acquitted; for, though  
 they had confessed the offence, the confession had been drawn  
 from them by torture. It was usual to tie up the supposed witch  
 by the thumbs, and whip her till she confessed; or to put the flame  
 of a candle to the soles of the feet, between the toes, or to parts  
 of the head, or to make the accused wear a hair shirt steeped in  
 vinegar, &c. See Whitelock, 543, 4, 5, 7, 8.

feeling the commands of religion were added. With the civil consequences of an union which would degrade Scotland to the state of a province, the ministers in their ecclesiastical capacity had no concern; but they forbade the people to give consent or support to the measure, because it was contrary to the covenant, and tended “to draw with it a subordination of the kirk to the state in the things of Christ<sup>52</sup>”. The parliamentary commissioners (they were eight, with St. John and Vane at their head), secure of the power of the sword, derided the menaces of the kirk. They convened at Dalkeith the representatives of the counties and burghs, who were ordered to bring with them full powers to treat and conclude respecting the incorporation of the two countries. Twenty-eight out of thirty-shires, and forty-four out of fifty-eight burghs, gave their consent; and the result was a second meeting at Edinburgh, in which twenty-one deputies were chosen to arrange the conditions with the parliamentary commissioners at Westminster. There conferences were held, and many articles discussed; but, before the plan could be amicably adjusted, the parliament itself, with all its projects, was overturned by the successful ambition of Cromwell<sup>53</sup>.

4° From the conquest of Ireland and Scotland we may now turn to the transactions between the

CHAP.  
II.  
1652.

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Sep. 22.

Oct. 12.

Transactions with  
Portugal.

<sup>52</sup> Whitelock, 521. Heath, 307.

<sup>53</sup> Journals, 1652, Sep. 15, 29; Oct. 29; Nov. 23.

CHAP. commonwealth and foreign powers. The king of  
 II. Portugal was the first who provoked its anger,  
 1649. and felt its vengeance. At an early period in 1649  
 —————  
 March. prince Rupert, with the fleet which had revolted  
 from the parliament to the late king, sailed from  
 the Texel, swept the Irish channel, and inflicted  
 severe injuries on the English commerce. Vane,  
 to whose industry had been committed the care of  
 the naval department, made every exertion to  
 equip a formidable armament, the command of  
 which was given to three military officers, Blake,  
 May. Dean, and Popham. Rupert retired before this  
 superior force to the harbour of Kinsale; the bat-  
 teries kept his enemies at bay; and the Irish sup-  
 plied him with men and provisions. At length the  
 victories of Cromwell by land admonished him to  
 quit his asylum: and, with the loss of three ships,  
 Oct. he burst through the blockading squadron, sailed  
 to the coast of Spain, and during the winter  
 months sought shelter in the waters of the Tagus.  
 1650. In spring, Blake appeared with eighteen men of  
 March. war at the mouth of the river: to his request  
 that he might be allowed to attack the pirate at  
 his anchorage, he received from the king of Por-  
 tugal a peremptory refusal; and in his attempt  
 to force his way up the river was driven back by  
 the fire from the batteries. In obedience to his  
 instructions he revenged himself on the Portu-  
 guese trade, and Don John, by way of reprisal,  
 arrested the English merchants, and took posses-  
 sion of their effects. Alarmed, however, by the

losses of his subjects, he compelled Rupert to quit the Tagus<sup>54</sup>, and despatched an envoy, named Guimaraes, to solicit an accommodation. Every paper which passed between this minister and the commissioners was submitted to the parliament, and by it approved, or modified, or rejected. Guimaraes subscribed to the preliminaries demanded by the council, that the English merchants arrested in Portugal should be set at liberty; that they should receive an indemnification for their losses; and that the king of Portugal should pay a sum of money towards the charges of the English fleet; but he protracted the negotiation by disputing dates and details, and was haughtily commanded to quit the territory of the commonwealth. Humbling as it was to Don John, he had no resource: the conde de Camera was sent, with the title of ambassador extraordinary; he assented to every demand, but the progress of the treaty was interrupted by the usurpation of Cromwell, and

CHAP.  
II.  
1652.

Oct.  
Dec. 17.  
1651.

April 4.  
April 22.

May 16.

1652.  
July 7.

1653.  
Jan. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Thurloe, i. 134, 142, 155. Heath, 254, 6, 275. Whitelock, 406, 429, 449, 463, 475. Clarendon, iii. 338. Rupert sailed into the Mediterranean, and maintained himself by piracy, capturing not only English but Spanish and Genoese ships. All who did not favour him were considered as enemies. Driven from the Mediterranean by the English, he sailed to the West Indies, where he inflicted greater losses on the Spanish than the English trade. Here his brother, prince Maurice, perished in a storm; and Rupert, unable to oppose his enemies with any hope of success, returned to Europe, and anchored in the harbour of Nantes, in March, 1652. He sold his two men of war to cardinal Mazarine. Heath, 337. Whitelock, 552. Clarendon, iii. 513, 520.

CHAP. another year elapsed before it was concluded. By  
 II. it valuable privileges were granted to the English  
 1652. traders; four commissioners, two English and  
 ————— two Portuguese, were appointed to settle all  
 1651. claims against the Portuguese government; and it  
 July 10. was agreed that an English commissary should  
 July 11. receive one half of all the duties paid by the  
 English merchants in the ports of Portugal, to  
 provide a sufficient fund for the liquidation of the  
 debt<sup>55</sup>.

With  
 Spain.

5<sup>o</sup>. To Charles I. (nor will it surprise us, if  
 we recollect his treatment of the Infanta,) the  
 court of Spain had always behaved with coldness  
 and reserve. The ambassador Cardenas continued  
 to reside in London, even after the king's execu-  
 tion, and was the first foreign minister whom the  
 parliament honoured with a public audience. He  
 made it his chief object to cement the friendship  
 between the commonwealth and his own country;  
 he saw with pleasure the hostility of the former  
 against Portugal and the United Provinces, the  
 ancient enemies of Spain; and he procured the  
 assent of his sovereign that an accredited minister  
 from the parliament should be admitted by the  
 court of Madrid. The individual selected for this  
 1650. office was Ascham, a man who by his writings  
 Jan. 31. had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the  
 April 3. royalists. He landed near Cadiz; proceeded under

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<sup>55</sup> Journals, 1650, Dec. 17; 1651, Ap. 4, 11, 22; May 7, 13,  
 16; 1652, Sep. 30, Dec. 15; 1653, Jan. 5. Whitelock, 486.  
 Dumont, vi p. ii. 82.



an escort for his protection to Madrid; and repaired to an inn, till a suitable residence could be procured. The next day, while he was sitting at dinner with Riba, a renegado friar, his interpreter, six Englishmen entered the house: four remained below to watch, two burst into the room, exclaiming, "welcome, gallants, welcome," and in a moment both the ambassador and the interpreter lay on the floor weltering in their blood. Of the assassins, one, a servant to Cottington and Hyde, the envoys from Charles, fled to the house of the Venetian ambassador, and escaped; the other five took refuge in a neighbouring chapel, whence, by the king's order, they were conducted to the common gaol. When the criminal process was ended, they all received judgment of death. The crime, it was acknowledged, could not be justified; yet the public feeling was in favour of the criminals: the people, the clergy, the foreign ambassadors, all sought to save them from punishment; and, though the right of sanctuary did not afford protection to murderers, the king was, but with difficulty, persuaded to send them back to their former asylum. Here, while they remained within its precincts, they were safe; but the moment they left the sanctuary, their lives became forfeited to the law. The people supplied them with provisions, and offered the means of escape. They left Madrid; the police pursued; Sparkes, a native of Hampshire, was taken about three miles from the city, and the parliament, unable to obtain more,

CHAP.  
II.  
1650.

May 26.

May 27.

CHAP. appeared to be content with the blood of this  
 II. single victim<sup>56</sup>.  
 1651.

6°. These negotiations ended peaceably: those  
 With the between the commonwealth and the United Pro-  
 United vinces, though commenced with friendly feelings,  
 Provinces. led to hostilities. It might have been expected  
 that the Dutch, mindful of the glorious struggle  
 for liberty maintained by their fathers, would have  
 viewed with exultation the triumph of the Eng-  
 lish republicans. But William the Second, prince  
 of Orange, had married a daughter of Charles I:  
 his views and interests were espoused by the mi-  
 litary and the people; and his adherents possessed  
 the ascendancy in the States General and in all  
 the provincial states, excepting those of West-  
 Friesland and Holland. As long as he lived, no  
 atonement could be obtained for the murder of  
 Dorislaus, no audience for Strickland, the resident  
 ambassador, though that favour was repeatedly  
 granted to Boswell, the envoy of Charles<sup>57</sup>. How-  
 ever, in November the prince died of the small-  
 pox in his twenty-fourth year; and a few days  
 later his widow was delivered of a son, William  
 III., the same who subsequently ascended the  
 throne of England. The infancy of his successor  
 emboldened the democratical party: they abo-  
 lished the office of stadtholder, and recovered the

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<sup>56</sup> Compare Clarendon, iii. 369, with the papers in Thurloe, i. 148—153, 202, and Harleian Miscellany, iv. 280.

<sup>57</sup> Thurloe, i. 112, 3, 4, 124.

ascendancy in the government. On the news of this revolution, the council advised that St. John, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, and Strickland, the former envoy, should be appointed ambassadors extraordinary to the States General. St. John, with the fate of Ascham before his eyes, sought to escape this dangerous mission: he alleged the infirmity of his health and the insalubrity of the climate; but the parliament derided his timidity, and his petition was dismissed on a division by a considerable majority<sup>58</sup>.

Among the numerous projects which the English leaders cherished under the intoxication of success, was that of forming, by the incorporation of the United Provinces with the commonwealth, a great and powerful republic, capable of striking terror into all the crowned heads of Europe. But so many difficulties were foreseen, so many objections raised, that the ambassadors received instructions to confine themselves to the more sober proposal of “a strict and intimate alliance and union,” which might give to each “a mutual and intrinsical interest” in the prosperity of the other. They made their public entry into the Hague with a parade and retinue becoming the representatives of a powerful nation: but external splendour did not check the popular feeling which expressed itself by groans and hisses, nor intimidate the royalists, who sought

CHAP.  
II.  
1651.

Negotiation at the  
Hague.

1651.

Jan. 28.

March 10.

<sup>58</sup> Journals, 1651, Jan. 21, 23, 28.

- CHAP. every occasion of insulting “the things called  
 II. “ambassadors”<sup>59</sup>. The States had not forgotten  
 1651. ——— the offensive delay of the parliament to answer  
 their embassy of intercession for the life of  
 Charles I.; nor did they brook the superiority  
 which it now assumed, by prescribing a certain  
 term within which the negotiation should be con-  
 cluded. Pride was met with equal pride: the  
 ambassadors were compelled to solicit a prolonga-  
 April 17. tion of their powers, and the treaty began to  
 proceed with greater rapidity. The English pro-  
 posed a confederacy for the preservation of the  
 May 10. liberties of each nation against all the enemies of  
 either by sea and land, and a renewal of the  
 whole treaty of 1495, with such modifications as  
 might adapt it to existing times and circumstances.  
 The States, having demanded in vain an explana-  
 June 11. tion of the proposed confederacy, presented a  
 counter project; but while the different articles  
 June 20. remained under discussion, the period prefixed

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<sup>59</sup> Thus they are perpetually called in the correspondence of the royalists. Carte's Letters, i. 447, 469; ii. 11. Strickland's servants were attacked at his door by six cavaliers with drawn swords; an attempt was made to break into St. John's bedchamber: Edward, son to the queen of Bohemia, publicly called the ambassadors rogues and dogs; and the young duke of York accidentally meeting St. John, who refused to give way to him, snatched the ambassador's hat off his head and threw it in his face, saying, “Learn, parricide, to respect the brother of your king.” “I scorn,” he replied, “to acknowledge either, you race of vagabonds.” The duke drew his sword, but mischief was prevented by the interference of the spectators. New Parl. Hist. iii. 361.

by the parliament expired, and the ambassadors departed. To whom the failure of the negotiation was owing became a subject of controversy. The Hollanders blamed the abrupt and supercilious carriage of St. John and his colleague; the ambassadors charged the States with having purposely created delay, that they might not commit themselves by a treaty with the commonwealth before they had seen the issue of the contest between the king of Scotland and Oliver Cromwell<sup>60</sup>.

In a short time that contest was decided in the battle of Worcester, and the States condescended to become petitioners in their turn. Their ambassadors arrived in England with the intention of resuming the negotiation where it had been interrupted by the departure of St. John and his colleague. But circumstances were now changed: success had enlarged the pretensions of the parliament; and the British, instead of shunning, courted a trial of strength with the Belgic lion. At the representation of certain merchants, who conceived themselves to have been injured by the Dutch navy, letters of marque had been granted to several individuals, and more than eighty prizes had been brought into the English ports<sup>61</sup>. In addition, the navigation act

CHAP.  
II.  
1651.

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Transferred to  
London.

<sup>60</sup> Thurloc, i. 179, 183, 188—195. Heath, 285—287. Carte's Letters, i. 464. Leicester's Journal, 107. Parl. History, xx. 496.

<sup>61</sup> It seems probable that the letters of marque were granted not against the Dutch, but the French, as had been done for

CHAP. had been passed and carried into execution, by  
 II. which it was enacted that no goods, the produce of  
 1651. Africa, Asia, and America, should be imported into  
 ———— this country in ships which were not the property  
 Oct. 9. of England or its colonies; and that no produce  
 or manufacture of any part of Europe should be  
 imported, unless in ships the property of England  
 or of the country of which such merchandize was  
 the proper growth or manufacture <sup>62</sup>. Hitherto the  
 Dutch had been the common carriers of Europe;  
 by this act, the offspring of St. John's resentment,  
 one great and lucrative branch of their commer-  
 cial prosperity was lopped off, and the first, but  
 fruitless demand of the ambassadors was that,  
 if not repealed, it should at least be suspended  
 during the negotiation.

The Dutch merchants had solicited permission to indemnify themselves by reprisals; but the States ordered a numerous fleet to be equipped, and announced to all the neighbouring powers that their object was, not to make war, but to afford protection to their commerce. By the council of

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some time, and that the Dutch vessels were detained under pretence of their having French property on board. *Suivant les pretextes de reprisailles contre les François et autres.* Dumont, vi. ii. 32.

<sup>62</sup> An exception was made in favour of commodities from the Levant seas, the East Indies, and the ports of Spain and Portugal, which might be imported from the usual places of trading, though they were not the growth of the said places. The penalty was the forfeiture of the ship and cargo, one moiety to the commonwealth, the other to the prosecutor. *New Parl. Hist.* iii. 1374.

state, the communication was received as a menace; the English ships of war were ordered to exact in the narrow seas the same honour to the flag of the commonwealth as had been formerly paid to that of the king; and the ambassadors were reminded of the claim of indemnification for the losses sustained by the English in the East-Indies, and of the tenth herring which was due from the Dutch fishermen for the permission to exercise their trade in the British seas.

While the conferences were yet pending, commodore Young met a fleet of Dutch merchantmen under convoy in the Channel; and, after a sharp action, compelled the men of war to salute the English flag. A few days later the celebrated Van Tromp appeared with two-and-forty sail in the Downs. To Bourne, the English commander, he apologized for his arrival, which, he said, was not with any hostile design, but in consequence of the loss of several anchors and cables on the opposite coast. The next day he met Blake off the harbour of Dover: an action took place between the rival commanders; and, when the fleets separated in the evening, the English cut off two ships of thirty guns, one of which they took, the other they abandoned on account of the damage it had received.

It was a question of some importance who was the aggressor. By Blake it was asserted that Van Tromp had gratuitously come to insult the English fleet in its own roads; and had provoked

CHAP.  
II.  
1652.

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Rencontre  
between  
Blake and  
Van  
Tromp.

1652.

May 14.

May 18.

May 19.

CHAP. II. 1652. the engagement by firing the first broadside. The Dutchman replied, that he was cruising for the protection of trade; that the weather had driven him on the English coast; that he had no thought of fighting till he received the fire of Blake's ship; and that, during the action, he had carefully kept on the defensive, though he might with his great superiority of force have annihilated the assailants <sup>63</sup>.

The States deprecate a rupture.

The reader will probably think, that those who submitted to solicit the continuance of peace were not the first to seek the commencement of hostilities. Immediately after the action at sea, the council ordered the English commanders to pursue, attack, and destroy all vessels the property of the United Provinces; and in the course of a month more than seventy sail of merchantmen, besides several men of war, were captured, stranded, or burnt. The Dutch, on the contrary, abstained from reprisals: their ambassadors thrice assured the council that the battle had happened

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<sup>63</sup> The great argument of the parliament in their declaration is the following: Tromp came out of his way to meet the English fleet, and fired on Blake without provocation: the States did not punish him, but retained him in the command; therefore he acted by their orders, and the war was begun by them. Each of these assertions was denied on the other side. Tromp showed the reasons which led him into the track of the English fleet; and the States asserted, from the evidence before them, that Tromp had ordered his sails to be lowered, and was employed in getting ready his boat to compliment the English admiral at the time when he received a broadside, from the impatience of Blake. Dumont, vi. p. ii. 33. Le Clerc, i. 315, 7. Basnage, i. 254.



without the knowledge, and to the deep regret of the States; and on each occasion earnestly deprecated the adoption of hasty and violent measures, which might lead to consequences highly prejudicial to both nations. They received an answer, which, assuming it as proved that the States intended to usurp the rights of England on the sea, and to destroy the navy, the bulwark of those rights, declared that it was the duty of parliament to seek reparation for the past and security for the future.

Soon afterwards Pauw, the grand pensionary, arrived. He repeated with the most solemn asseverations from his own knowledge the statement of the ambassadors; proposed that a court of inquiry, consisting of an equal number of commissioners from each nation, should be appointed, and exemplary punishment inflicted on the officer who should be found to have provoked the engagement; and demanded that hostilities should cease, and the negotiation be resumed. Receiving no other answer than had been already given to his colleagues, he asked what was meant by "reparation and security;" and was told by order of parliament, that the English government expected full compensation for all the charges to which it had been put by the preparations and attempts of the States, and hoped to meet with security for the future in an alliance which should render the interests of both nations consistent with each other. These, it was evident, were conditions to

CHAP. which the pride of the States would refuse to  
 II. stoop: Pauw demanded an audience to take leave  
 1652. of parliament; and all hope of a reconciliation  
 —————  
 June 30. vanished<sup>64</sup>.

Com-  
 mence-  
 ment of  
 hostilities.

If the Dutch had hitherto solicited peace, it was not that they feared the result of war. The sea was their native element; and the fact of their maritime superiority had long been openly or tacitly acknowledged by all the powers of Europe. But they wisely judged that no victory by sea could repay them for the losses which they must sustain from the extinction of their fishing trade, and the suspension of their commerce<sup>65</sup>. For the commonwealth, on the other hand, it was fortunate that the depredations of prince Rupert had turned the attention of the leaders to naval concerns. Their fleet had been four years in commission: the officers and men were actuated by the same spirit of civil liberty and religious enthusiasm which distinguished the land army: Ayscue had just returned from the reduction of Barbadoes with a powerful squadron; and fifty additional ships were ordered to be equipped, an object easily accomplished at a time when any merchantman capable of carrying guns could, with a few altera-

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<sup>64</sup> Compare the declaration of parliament of July 9 with that of the States General of July 23, Aug. 2. See also Whitelock, 537. Heath, 315—322. The Journals, June 5, 11, 25, 30; and Le Clerc, i, 318—321.

<sup>65</sup> The fishery employed in various ways 100,000 persons. Le Clerc, 321.

tions, be converted into a man of war<sup>66</sup>. Ayscue with the smaller division of the fleet remained at home to scour the channel. Blake sailed to the north, captured the squadron appointed to protect the Dutch fishing vessels, exacted from the busses the duty of every tenth herring, and sent them home with a prohibition to fish again without a licence from the English government. In the mean while Van Tromp sailed from the Texel with seventy men of war. It was expected in Holland that he would sweep the English navy from the face of the ocean. His first attempt was to surprise Ayscue, who was saved by a calm followed by a change of wind. He then sailed to the north to meet Blake. But his fleet was dispersed by a storm: five of his frigates fell into the hands of the English; and on his return he was received with murmurs and reproaches by the populace. Indignant at a treatment which he had not deserved, he justified his conduct before the States, and then laid down his commission<sup>67</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1652.

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De Ruyter, a name almost equally illustrious on the ocean, was appointed his successor. That officer sailed to the mouth of the channel, took under his charge a fleet of merchantmen, and on his

Success of  
de Ruyter.

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<sup>66</sup> From a list of hired merchantmen converted into men of war, it appears that a ship of nine hundred tons burthen, made a man of war of sixty guns; one of seven hundred tons, a man of war of forty-six; four hundred, of thirty-four; two hundred, of twenty; one hundred, of ten; sixty, of eight; and that about five or six men were allowed for each gun. Journals, 1651, May 29.

<sup>67</sup> Whitelock, 538, 9, 540, 1. Heath, 322. Le Clerc, i. 321.

CHAP. return was opposed by Ayscue with nearly an  
 11.  
 1652. equal force. The English commander burst  
 ——— through the enemy, and was followed by nine  
 sail: the rest of the fleet took no share in the  
 action, and the convoy escaped. The blame rested  
 not with Ayscue, but with his inferior officers:  
 but the council took the opportunity to lay him  
 aside, not that they doubted his courage or abi-  
 lities, but because he was suspected of a secret  
 leaning to the royal cause. To console him for  
 his disgrace, he received a present of 300*l.*, with  
 a grant of land of the same annual rent in  
 Ireland<sup>68</sup>.

Sep. 28. De Witte now joined De Ruyter, and took the  
 command. Blake accepted the challenge of battle,  
 and night alone separated the combatants. The  
 next morning the Dutch fled, and were pursued  
 as far as the Goree. Their ships were in general  
 of smaller dimensions, and drew less water than  
 those of their adversaries, who dared not follow  
 among the numerous sand-banks with which the  
 coast is studded<sup>69</sup>.

Of Van Tromp  
 over  
 Blake.  
 Nov. 29. Blake, supposing that naval operations would  
 be suspended during the winter, had detached  
 several squadrons to different ports, and was riding  
 in the Downs with thirty-seven sail, when he was  
 surprised by the appearance of a hostile fleet of

<sup>68</sup> Heath, 323. Le Clerc, i. 322.

<sup>69</sup> Heath, 326. Ludlow, i. 367. Whitelock, 545. Le Clerc,  
 i. 324.

double that number, under the command of Van Tromp, whose wounded pride had been appeased by a new commission. A mistaken sense of honour induced the English admiral to engage in the unequal contest. The battle raged from eleven in the morning till night. The English, though they burnt a large ship and disabled two others, had lost five sail either sunk or taken; and Blake, under cover of the darkness, ran up the river as far as Leigh. Van Tromp sought his enemy at Harwich and Yarmouth; returning, he insulted the coast as he passed; and continued to cruise backwards and forwards from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight<sup>70</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1652.

Nov. 30.

The parliament made every exertion to wipe away this disgrace. The ships were speedily refitted; two regiments of infantry embarked to act as marines; a bounty was offered for volunteers; the wages of the seamen were raised; provision was made for their families during their absence on service; a new rate for the division of prize-money was established; and, in aid of Blake, two officers, whose abilities had been already tried, Deane and Monk, received the joint command of the fleet. On the other hand, the Dutch were intoxicated with their success: they announced it to the world in prints, poems, and publications; and Van Tromp affixed a broom to the head of his

Another  
battle be-  
tween  
them.

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<sup>70</sup> Heath, 329. Ludlow, ii. 3. Neuville, iii. 68.

CHAP. mast as an emblem of his triumph. He had gone  
 II. to the Isle of Rhée to take the homeward bound  
 1653. trade under his charge, with orders to resume his  
 station at the mouth of the Thames, and to prevent the egress of the English. But Blake had already stationed himself with more than seventy sail across the channel opposite the Isle of Portland to intercept the return of the enemy. On the eighteenth of February the Dutch fleet, equal in number, with three hundred merchantmen under convoy, was discovered near Cape la Hogue, steering along the coast of France. The action was maintained with the most desperate obstinacy. The Dutch lost six sail, either sunk or taken, the English one, but several were disabled, and Blake himself was severely wounded.

Victory of Blake. The following morning the enemy were seen opposite Weymouth, drawn up in the form of a crescent covering the merchantmen. Many attempts were made to break through the line; and so imminent did the danger appear to the Dutch admiral, that he made signal for the convoy to shift for themselves. The battle lasted at intervals through the night; it was renewed with greater vigour near Boulogne in the morning; till Van Tromp, availing himself of the shallowness of the coast, pursued his course homeward unmolested by the pursuit of the enemy. The victory was decidedly with the English: the loss in men might be equal on both sides; but the Dutch themselves acknowledged that nine of their men of war and

twenty-four of the merchant vessels had been either sunk or captured<sup>71</sup>.

CHAP.

II.

1653.

This was the last naval victory achieved under the auspices of the parliament, which, though it wielded the powers of government with an energy that surprised the several nations of Europe, was doomed to bend before the superior genius or ascendancy of Cromwell. When that adventurer first formed the design of seizing the supreme authority, is uncertain; it was not till after the victory at Worcester that his object began gradually and cautiously to unfold itself. He saw himself crowned with the laurels of conquest; he held the chief command of a numerous and devoted army; and he dwelt with his family in a palace formerly the residence of the English monarchs. His adversaries had long ago pronounced him, in all but name "a king;" and his friends were accustomed to address him in language as adulatory as ever gratified the ears of the most absolute sovereign<sup>72</sup>. His importance was perpetually

Ambition  
of Crom-  
well.

<sup>71</sup> Heath, 335. Whitelock, 551. Leicester's Journal, 138. Le Clerc, i. 328. Basnage, i. 298—301.

<sup>72</sup> The general officers conclude their despatches to him thus: "we humbly lay ourselves with these thoughts, in this emergency, at your excellency's feet." Milton's State Papers, 71. The ministers of Newcastle make "their humble addresses to his godly wisdom," and present "their humble suits to God and his excellency," (Ibid. 82); and the petitioners from different countries solicit him to mediate for them to the parliament, "because God has not put the sword in his hand in vain." Whitelock, 517.

CHAP. forced upon his notice by the praise of his de-  
 II. pendants, by the foreign envoys who paid court  
 1653. to him, and by the royalists who craved his  
 ——— protection. In such circumstances it cannot be  
 surprising if the victorious general indulged the  
 aspirings of ambition; if the stern republican,  
 however he might hate to see the crown on the  
 brows of another, felt no repugnance to place it  
 upon his own.

Discon-  
 tent of the  
 military.

The grandees of the army felt that they no longer possessed the chief sway in the government. War had called them away to their commands in Scotland and Ireland; and during their absence, the conduct of affairs had devolved on those who in contradistinction, were denominated the statesmen. Thus, by the course of events, the servants had grown into masters, and the power of the senate had obtained the superiority over the power of the sword. Still the officers in their distant quarters jealously watched and severely criticised the conduct of the men at Westminster. With want of vigour in directing the military and naval resources of the country, they could not be charged: but it was complained that they neglected the internal economy of government; that no one of the objects demanded in the "agreement of the people" had been accomplished; and that, while others sacrificed their health and their lives in the service of the commonwealth, all the emoluments and patronage



were monopolized by the idle drones who remained in the capital<sup>73</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1653.

On the return of the lord-general, the council of officers had been re-established at Whitehall; and their discontent was artfully employed by Cromwell in furtherance of his own elevation. When he resumed his seat in the house, he reminded the members of their indifference to two measures earnestly desired by the country, the act of amnesty and the termination of the present parliament. Bills for each of these objects had been introduced as far back as 1649; but, after some progress, both were suffered to sleep in the several committees; and this backwardness of the "statesmen" was attributed to their wish to enrich themselves by forfeitures, and to perpetuate their power by perpetuating the parliament. The influence of Cromwell revived both questions. An act of oblivion was obtained, which, with some exceptions, pardoned all offences committed before the battle of Worcester, and relieved the minds of the royalists from the apprehension of additional forfeitures. On the question of the expiration of parliament, after several warm debates, the period was fixed for the 4th of November, 1654; a distance of three years, which, perhaps, was not the less pleasing to Cromwell, as it served to show how unwilling his adversaries were to resign

1651.  
Sep. 16.

1652.  
Feb. 24.

1651.  
Nov. 18.

<sup>73</sup> Whitelock, 549.

CHAP. their power. The interval was to be employed in  
 II. determining the qualifications of the succeeding  
 1653. parliament<sup>74</sup>.

Intrigues  
 of Crom-  
 well.

In the winter the lord-general called a meeting of officers and members at the house of the speaker ; and it must have excited their surprise, when he proposed to them to deliberate, whether it were better to establish a republic, or a mixed form of monarchical government. The officers in general pronounced in favour of a republic, as the best security for the liberties of the people ; the lawyers pleaded unanimously for a limited monarchy, as better adapted to the laws, the habits, and the feelings of Englishmen. With the latter Cromwell agreed, and inquired whom in that case they would choose for king. It was replied, either Charles Stuart or the duke of York, provided they would comply with the demands of the parliament ; and if they would not, the young duke of Gloucester, who could not have imbibed the despotic notions of his elder brothers. This was not the answer which Cromwell sought : he heard it with uneasiness ; and, as often as the subject was resumed, diverted the conversation to some other question. In conclusion, he gave his opinion, that, “ somewhat of a monarchical government  
 “ would be most effectual, if it could be established  
 “ with safety to the liberties of the people as  
 “ Englishmen and Christians<sup>75</sup>.” That the result

<sup>74</sup> Journals, 1651, Nov. 4, 14, 15, 18, 27 ; 1652, Feb. 24.

<sup>75</sup> Whitelock, 516.

of the meeting disappointed his expectations is evident; but he derived from it this advantage, that he had ascertained the sentiments of many, whose aid he might subsequently require. None of the leaders from the opposite party appear to have been present.

Jealous, however, of his designs, "the statesmen" had begun to fight him with his own weapons. As the commonwealth had no longer an enemy to contend with on the land, they proposed a considerable reduction in the number of the forces, and a proportionate reduction of the taxes raised for their support. The motion was too reasonable in itself, and too popular in the country to be resisted with safety: one-fourth of the army was disbanded, and the monthly assessment lowered from 120,000*l.* to 90,000*l.* Before the expiration of six months, the question of a further reduction was brought forward; but the council of war took the alarm, and a letter from Cromwell to the speaker induced the house to continue its last vote. In a short time it was again mentioned; but the next day six officers appeared at the bar of the house with a petition from the army, which, under pretence of praying for improvements, tacitly charged the members with the neglect of their duty. It directed their attention to the propagation of the gospel; the reform of the law; the removal from office of scandalous and disaffected persons; the abuses in the excise and the treasury; the arrears due to

CHAP.  
II.  
1653.

1651.

Oct. 2.

Oct. 7.

Dec. 19.

1652.

June 5.

June 15.

Aug. 12.

Aug. 13.

CHAP. the army ; the violation of articles granted to the  
 II. enemy ; and the qualifications of future and  
 1653. successive parliaments. Whitelock remonstrated  
 with Cromwell on the danger of permitting armed  
 bodies to assemble and petition. He slighted the  
 advice<sup>76</sup>.

His con-  
 ference  
 with  
 White-  
 lock.

Nov.

Soon afterwards the lord-general requested a private and confidential interview with that lawyer. So violent, he observed, was the discontent of the army, so imperious the conduct of the parliament, that it would be impossible to prevent a collision of interests and the subsequent ruin of the good cause, unless there were established "some authority so full and so high" as to be able to check these exorbitances, and to restrain both the army and the parliament. Whitelock replied that, for the army, his excellency had hitherto kept, and would continue to keep, it in due subordination ; but with respect to the parliament, reliance must be placed on the good sense and virtue of the majority. To control the supreme power was legally impossible. All, even Cromwell himself, derived their authority from it. At these words the lord-general abruptly exclaimed : "What, if a man should take upon him to be king ?" The commissioner answered, that the title would confer no additional benefit on his excellency. By his command of the army, his ascendancy in the house, and his reputation both

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<sup>76</sup> Whitelock, 541. Journals, 1651, Dec. 19. 1652, June 15 ; Aug. 12, 13.

at home and abroad, he already enjoyed, without the envy of the name, all the power of a king. When Cromwell insisted that the name would give security to his followers, and command the respect of the people, Whitelock rejoined, that it would change the state of the controversy between the parties, and convert a national into a personal quarrel. His friends had cheerfully fought with him to establish a republican in place of monarchical government: would they equally fight with him in favour of the house of Cromwell against the house of Stuart<sup>77</sup>? In conclusion, Cromwell conjured him to give his advice without disguise or qualification, and received this answer: Make a private treaty with the son of the late king, and place him on the throne; but on conditions which shall secure to the nation its rights, and to yourself the first place beneath the throne. The general coldly observed that a matter of such importance and difficulty deserved

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1653.

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<sup>77</sup> Henry, duke of Gloucester, and the princess Elizabeth were in England at the last king's death. In 1650 the council proposed to send the one to his brother in Scotland, and the other to her sister in Holland, allowing to each 1000*l.* per annum, as long as they should behave inoffensively. (*Journals*, 1650, July 24; Sept. 11.) But Elizabeth died on Sept. 8, of the same year, and Henry remained under the charge of Mildmay, governor of Carisbrook castle, till a short time after this conference, when Cromwell, as if he looked on the young prince as a rival, advised his tutor, Lovel, to ask permission to convey him to his sister, the princess of Orange. It was granted, with the sum of 500*l.* to defray the expense of the journey. *Leicester's Journal*, 103. *Heath*, 331. *Clarendon*, iii. 525, 6.

CHAP. mature consideration. They separated; and  
 II. Whitelock soon discovered that he had forfeited  
 1653. his confidence <sup>78</sup>.

With the  
 other  
 leaders.

At length Cromwell fixed on his plan to procure the dissolution of the parliament, and to vest for a time the sovereign authority in a council of forty persons, with himself at their head. It was his wish to effect this quietly by the votes of parliament—his resolution to effect it by open force, if such votes were refused. Several meetings were held by the officers and members at the lodgings of the lord-general in Whitehall. St. John and a few others gave their assent: the rest, under the guidance of Whitelock and Widdrington, declared that the dissolution would be dangerous, and the establishment of the proposed council unwarrantable. In the mean time, the house resumed the consideration of the new representative body; and several qualifications were voted; to all of which the officers raised objections, but chiefly to the “admission of new-  
 “ters,” a project to strengthen the government by the introduction of the presbyterian interest.  
 1653. “Never,” said Cromwell, “shall any of that  
 April 19. “judgment, who have deserted the good cause,  
 “be admitted to power.” On the last meeting, held on the 19th of April, all these points were long and warmly debated. Some of the officers

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<sup>78</sup> Whitelock, 548—551. Were the minutes of this conversation committed to paper immediately, or after the restoration? The credit due to them depends on this circumstance.

declared that the parliament must be dissolved "one way or other;" but the general checked their indiscretion and precipitancy; and the assembly broke up at midnight, with an understanding that the leading men on each side should resume the subject in the morning <sup>79</sup>.

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At an early hour the conference was recom- April 20.  
menced, and after a short time interrupted, in consequence of the receipt of a notice by the general that it was the intention of the house to comply with the desires of the army. This was a mistake: the opposite party had, indeed, resolved to pass a bill of dissolution, not, however, the bill proposed by the officers, but their own bill containing all the obnoxious provisions: and to pass it that very morning, that it might obtain the force of law before their adversaries could have time to appeal to the power of the sword <sup>80</sup>. While Harrison "most sweetly and humbly" conjured them to pause before they took so important a step, Ingoldsby hastened to inform the lord-general at Whitehall. His resolution was immediately formed; and a company of musketeers received orders to accompany him to the house.

At this eventful moment, big with the most

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<sup>79</sup> Compare Whitelock's narrative of this meeting (p. 554) with Cromwell's, in Milton's State Papers, 109.

<sup>80</sup> These particulars may be fairly collected from Whitelock, 554, compared with the declaration of the officers, and Cromwell's speech to his parliament. The intention to dissolve themselves is also asserted by Hazlerig. Burton's Diary, iii. 98.

CHAP. II. important consequences both to himself and his  
1653. country, whatever were the workings of Crom-

—————  
Cromwell  
expels the  
parlia-  
ment.

well's mind, he had the art to conceal them from the eyes of the beholders. Leaving the military in the lobby, he entered the house, and composedly seated himself on one of the outer benches. His dress was a plain suit of black cloth, with grey worsted stockings. For a while he seemed to listen with interest to the debate; but when the speaker was going to put the question, he whispered to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it;" and rising, put off his hat to address the house. At first, his language was decorous and even laudatory. Gradually he became more warm and animated; at last he assumed all the vehemence of passion, and indulged in personal vituperation. He charged the members with self-seeking and profaneness, with the frequent denial of justice, and numerous acts of oppression; with idolizing the lawyers, the constant advocates of tyranny; with neglecting the men who had bled for them in the field, that they might gain the presbyterians who had apostatized from the cause; and with doing all this in order to perpetuate their own power, and to replenish their own purses. But their time was come; the Lord had disowned them; he had chosen more worthy instruments to perform his work. Here the orator was interrupted by sir Peter Wentworth, who declared that he never before heard language so unparliamentary, language, too, the more offensive because it



was addressed to them by their own servant, whom they had too fondly cherished, and whom by their unprecedented bounty they had made what he was. At these words Cromwell put on his hat, and, springing from his place, exclaimed, "Come, come, sir, I will put an end to your prating." For a few seconds, apparently in the most violent agitation, he paced forward and backward, and then stamping on the floor, added, "You are no parliament. I say you are no parliament; bring them in, bring them in." Instantly the door opened, and colonel Worseley entered, followed by more than twenty musketeers. "This," cried sir Henry Vane, "is not honest. It is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Henry Vane," replied Cromwell, "O sir Henry Vane. The Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane. He might have prevented this. But he is a juggler, and has not common honesty himself." From Vane he directed his discourse to Whitelock, on whom he poured a torrent of abuse: then pointing to Challoner, "there," he cried, "sits a drunkard;" next, to Marten and Wentworth, "there are two whoremasters;" and afterwards selecting different members in succession, described them as dishonest and corrupt livers, a shame and a scandal to the profession of the gospel. Suddenly, however, checking himself, he turned to the guard, and ordered them to clear the house. At these words colonel Harrison took the speaker by

CHAP. the hand and led him from the chair; Algernon  
 II. Sidney was next compelled to quit his seat; and  
 1653. the other members, eighty in number, on the  
 approach of the military, rose and moved towards  
 the door. Cromwell now resumed his discourse.  
 "It is you," he exclaimed, "that have forced me  
 to do this. I have sought the Lord both day  
 and night, that he would rather slay me, than  
 put me on the doing of this work." Alderman  
 Allen took advantage of these words to observe  
 that it was not yet too late to undo what had  
 been done; but Cromwell instantly charged him  
 with pecculation, and gave him into custody.  
 When all were gone, fixing his eye on the mace,  
 "What," said he, "shall we do with this fool's  
 bauble? Here, carry it away." Then taking  
 the act of dissolution from the clerk, he ordered  
 the doors to be locked, and, accompanied by the  
 military, returned to Whitehall.

And the  
 council of  
 state.

That afternoon the members of the council  
 assembled in their usual place of meeting. Brad-  
 shaw had just taken the chair, when the lord-  
 general entered, and told them, that if they were  
 there as private individuals, they were welcome;  
 but if as the council of state, they must know  
 that the parliament was dissolved, and with it  
 also the council. "Sir," replied Bradshaw, with  
 the spirit of an ancient Roman, "we have heard  
 what you did at the house this morning, and  
 before many hours, all England will know it.  
 But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the

“parliament is dissolved. No power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves. Therefore take you notice of that.” After this protest they withdrew<sup>81</sup>.

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Thus, by the parricidal hands of its own children, perished the long parliament, which, under a variety of forms, had for more than twelve years defended and invaded the liberties of the nation. It fell without a struggle or a groan, unpitied and unregretted. The members slunk away to their homes, where they sought by submission to purchase the forbearance of their new master; and their partisans, if partisans they had, reserved themselves in silence for a day of retribution, which came not before Cromwell slept in his grave. The royalists congratulated each other on an event which they deemed a preparatory step to the restoration of the king; the army and navy in numerous addresses declared that they would live and die, stand and fall, with the lord-general, and in every part of the country the congregations of the saints magnified the arm of the Lord which had broken the mighty, that in lieu of the sway of mortal men, “the fifth monarchy, the reign of Christ, might be established upon earth<sup>82</sup>”.

Addresses  
of Congra-  
tulation.

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<sup>81</sup> See the several accounts in Whitelock, 554. Ludlow, ii. 19, 23. Leicester's Journal, 139. Hutchinson, 332. Several Proceedings, No. 186, and Burton's Diary, iii. 98.

<sup>82</sup> Whitelock, 555—558. Milton's State Papers, 90—97. Ellis, Second Series, iii. 368.

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It would, however, be unjust to the memory of those who exercised the supreme power after the death of the king, not to acknowledge that there existed among them men capable of wielding with energy the destinies of a great empire. They governed only four years; yet under their auspices the conquests of Ireland and Scotland were achieved, and a navy was created, the rival of that of Holland and the terror of the rest of Europe<sup>83</sup>. But there existed an essential error in their form of government. Deliberative assemblies are always slow in their proceedings; yet the pleasure of parliament, as the supreme power, was to be taken on every subject connected with the foreign relations or the internal administration of the country; and hence it happened that, among the immense variety of questions which came before it, those commanded immediate attention which were deemed of immediate necessity; while the others, though often of the highest importance to the national welfare, were first postponed, then neglected, and ultimately forgotten. To this habit of procrastination was perhaps owing the extinction of its authority. It disappointed the hopes of the country, and supplied Cromwell with the most plausible argument in defence of his conduct.

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<sup>83</sup> "We intended," says Scot, "to have gone off with a good savour, but we stayed to end the Dutch war. We might have brought them to oneness with us. Their ambassadors did

Of the parliamentary transactions up to this period, the principal have been noticed in the preceding pages. I shall add a few others which may be thought worthy the attention of the reader. 1<sup>o</sup>. It was complained that, since the abolition of the spiritual tribunals, the sins of incest, adultery, and fornication had been multiplied in consequence of the impunity with which they might be committed; and, at the prayer of the godly, they were made criminal offences, cognizable by the criminal courts, and punishable, the two first with death, the last with three months' imprisonment. But it was predicted at the time, and experience verified the prediction, that the severity of the punishment would defeat the purpose of the law. 2<sup>o</sup>. Scarcely a petition was presented which did not, among other things, pray for the reformation of the courts of law; and the house, after several long debates, acquiesced in a measure understood to be only the forerunner of several others, that the law books should be written, and law proceedings be conducted in the English language<sup>84</sup>. 3<sup>o</sup>. So enormous were the charges of the commonwealth, arising from continual wars by sea or land, that questions of finance continually engaged the attention of the house.

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1653.

Other proceedings of the late parliament.

Spiritual offences.

1650.

May 16.

Reformation of law.

Nov. 8.

Nov. 22.

Forfeitures and sequestrations.

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“ desire a coalition. This we might have done in four or five months. We never bid fairer for being masters of the whole world.” Burton’s Diary, iii. 112.

<sup>84</sup> Journals, May 10, Nov. 22. Whitelock, 178—183.

CHAP. There were four principal sources of revenue : the  
 II. customs ; the excise ; the sale of fee-farm rents<sup>85</sup>,  
 1653. of the lands of the crown, and of those belonging  
 to the bishops, deans, and chapters ; and the  
 sequestration and forfeiture of the estates of  
 papists and delinquents. The ordinances for the  
 latter had been passed as early as the year 1643,  
 and in the course of the seven succeeding years,  
 1650. the harvest had been reaped and gathered. Still  
 Jan. 22. some gleanings might remain ; and in 1650, an  
 act was passed for the better ordering and managing  
 such estates ; the former compositions were sub-  
 jected to examination ; defects and concealments  
 were detected ; and proportionate fines were in  
 1651. numerous cases exacted. In 1651, seventy indivi-  
 July 16. duals, most of them of high rank, all of opulent  
 fortunes, who had imprudently displayed their  
 attachment to the royal cause, were condemned to  
 forfeit their property both real and personal, for  
 the benefit of the commonwealth. The fatal  
 march of Charles to Worcester furnished grounds  
 1652. for a new proscription in 1652. First, nine-and-  
 Aug. 4. twenty, then six hundred and eighty-two royalists  
 Nov. 18. were selected for punishment. It was enacted that  
 those in the first class should forfeit their whole  
 property ; while to those in the second, the right  
 of pre-emption was reserved at the rate of one-

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<sup>85</sup> The clear annual income from the fee-farm rents amounted to 77,000*l.* In Jan. 1651, 25,300*l.* of this income had been sold for 225,650*l.* Journals, Jan. 8.

third part of the clear value, to be paid within four months<sup>56</sup>.

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4. During the late reign, as long as the presbyterians retained the ascendancy in parliament, they enforced with all their power uniformity of worship and doctrine. The clergy of the established church were ejected from their livings; and the professors of the catholic faith were condemned to forfeit two-thirds of their property, or to abjure their religion. Nor was the proof of recusancy to depend, as formerly, on the slow process of presentation and conviction; bare suspicion was held a sufficient ground for the sequestrator to seize his prey; and the complainant was told that he had the remedy in his own hands; he might take the oath of abjuration. When the independents succeeded to the exercise of the supreme power, both the persecuted parties indulged a hope of more lenient treatment; and both were disappointed. The independents, indeed, proclaimed themselves the champions of religious liberty: they repealed the statutes imposing penalties for absence from church; and they declared that men were free to serve God according to the dictates of conscience. Yet their notions of toleration were

Religious  
intole-  
rance.

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<sup>56</sup> Journals, 1651, July 16. 1652, Aug. 4; Nov. 18. Scobell, 156, 210. If any of the last were papists, and afterward disposed of their estates thus redeemed, they were ordered to banish themselves from their native country, under the penalty of having the laws against popery executed against them with the utmost severity. Addit Act of Nov. 18, 1652.

CHAP. II. 1653. very confined: they refused to admit either prelacy or popery, the service of the church of England, or of the church of Rome. The ejected clergymen were still excluded from the pulpit, and the catholics were still the victims of persecuting statutes. In 1650, an act was passed offering to the discoverers of priests and jesuits, or of their receivers and abettors, the same reward as had been granted to the apprehenders of highwaymen. Immediately officers and informers were employed in every direction; the houses of catholics were broken open and searched at all hours of the day and night; many clergymen were apprehended, and several were tried, and received judgment of death. Of these only one, Peter Wright, chaplain to the marquess of Winchester, suffered. The leaders shrunk from the odium of such sanguinary exhibitions, and transported the rest of the prisoners to the continent<sup>87</sup>.

1651. May 19.

But if the zeal of the independents was more sparing of blood than that of the presbyterians, it was not inferior in point of rapacity. The ordinances for sequestration and forfeiture were executed with unrelenting severity<sup>88</sup>. It is difficult to say which suffered from them most cruelly—families with small fortunes, who were thus

<sup>87</sup> Challoner, ii. 346. MS. papers in my possession.

<sup>88</sup> In 1650 the annual rents of catholics in possession of the sequestrators were returned at 62,048*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*  $\frac{3}{4}$ . It should, however, be observed that thirteen counties were not included. Journ. Dec. 17.



reduced to a state of penury; or husbandmen, servants, and mechanics, who, on their refusal to take the oath of abjuration, were deprived of two-thirds of their scanty earnings, even of their household goods and wearing apparel<sup>89</sup>. The sufferers ventured to solicit from parliament such indulgence as might be thought "consistent with the public peace and their comfortable subsistence in their native country." The petition was read: sir Henry Vane spoke in its favour; but the house was deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, and the prayer for relief was indignantly rejected<sup>90</sup>.

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1653.

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1652.

June 30.

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<sup>89</sup> In proof, I may be allowed to mention one instance of a catholic servant maid, an orphan, who, during a servitude of seventeen years, at seven nobles a year, had saved 20*l*. The sequestrators, having discovered with whom she had deposited her money, took two-thirds, 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. for the use of the commonwealth, and left her the remainder, 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. In March, 1652, she appealed to the commissioners at Haberdashers' hall, who replied that they could afford her no relief, unless she took the oath of abjuration. See this and many other cases in the "Christian Moderator, or Persecution for Religion, condemned by the Light of Nature, the Law of God, and Evidence of our own Principles." P. 77—84. London, 1652.

<sup>90</sup> Journals, 1652, June 30. The petition is in the Christian Moderator, p. 59.

## CHAP. III.

## THE PROTECTORATE.

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CROMWELL CALLS THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT—DISSOLVES IT—  
 MAKES HIMSELF PROTECTOR—SUBJUGATION OF THE SCOT-  
 TISH ROYALISTS—PEACE WITH THE DUTCH—NEW PARLIA-  
 MENT—ITS DISSOLUTION—INSURRECTION IN ENGLAND—  
 BREACH WITH SPAIN—TROUBLES IN PIEDMONT—TREATY  
 WITH FRANCE.

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 1653.

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Establish-  
 ment of a  
 new go-  
 vernment.

WHOEVER has studied the character of Cromwell, will have remarked the anxiety with which he laboured to conceal his real designs from the notice of his adherents. If credit were due to his assertions, he cherished none of those aspiring thoughts which agitate the breasts of the ambitious: the consciousness of his weakness taught him to shrink from the responsibility of power; and at every step in his ascent to greatness, he affected to sacrifice his own feelings to the judgment and importunity of others. But in dissolving the late parliament he had deviated from this his ordinary course; he had been compelled to come boldly forward by the obstinacy or policy of his opponents, who during twelve months had tri-

umphed over his intrigues, and were preparing to pass an act which would place new obstacles in his path. Now, however, that he had forcibly taken into his own hands the reins of government, it remained for him to determine, whether he should retain them in his grasp, or deliver them over to others. He preferred the latter. For the maturity of time was not yet come: he saw that, among the officers who blindly submitted to be the tools of his ambition, there were several who would abandon the idol of their worship, whenever they should suspect him of a design to subvert the public liberty. But if he parted with power for the moment, it was in such manner as to warrant the hope that it would shortly return to him under another form, not as won by the sword of the military, but as deposited with him by the judgment of parliament.

It could not escape the sagacity of the lord-general that the fanatics, with whose aid he had subverted the late government, were not the men to be entrusted with the destinies of the three kingdoms: yet he deemed it his interest to indulge them in their wild notions of civil and religious reformation, and to suffer himself for a while to be guided by their counsels. Their first measure was to publish a *Vindication of their Proceedings*<sup>1</sup>. The long parliament they pronounced incapable

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<sup>1</sup> Printed by Henry Hills and Thomas Brewster, printers to the army, 1653.

CHAP. “ of answering those ends which God, his people,  
 III. “ and the whole nation, expected.” Had it been  
 1653. permitted to sit a day longer, it would “ at one  
 ————— “ blow have laid in the dust the interest of all  
 “ honest men and of their glorious cause.” In  
 its place the council of war would “ call to the  
 “ government persons of approved fidelity and  
 “ honesty;” and therefore required “ public offi-  
 “ cers and ministers to proceed in their respective  
 “ places,” and conjured “ those who feared and  
 “ loved the name of the Lord, to be instant with  
 “ him day and night in their behalf<sup>2</sup>.”

They next proceeded to establish a council of state. Some proposed that it should consist of ten members : some of seventy, after the model of the Jewish Sanhedrim ; and others of thirteen, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. The last project was adopted as equally scriptural, and more convenient. With Cromwell, in the place of lord-president, were joined four civilians and eight officers of high rank ; so that the army still retained its ascendancy, and the council of state became in fact a military council.

From this moment for some months it would have embarrassed any man to determine where the supreme power resided. Some of the judges

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<sup>2</sup> Ludlow, ii. 24. Thurloe, i. 289, 395. Sir H. Vane, after all the affronts which he had received, was offered a place in the council ; but he replied that, though the reign of the saints was begun, he would defer his share in it till he should go to heaven. Thurloe, i. 265.

were superseded by others; new commissioners of the treasury and admiralty were appointed: even the monthly assessment of 120,000*l.* was continued for an additional half year; and yet these and similar acts, all of them belonging to the highest authority in the state, appeared to emanate from different sources; these from the council of war, those from the council of state, and several from the lord-general himself, sometimes with the advice of one or other, sometimes without the advice of either of these councils<sup>3</sup>.

At the same time the public mind was agitated by the circulation of reports the most unfounded, and the advocacy of projects the most contradictory. This day, it was rumoured that Cromwell had offered to recal the royal family on condition that Charles should marry one of his daughters; the next, that he intended to ascend the throne himself, and, for that purpose, had already prepared the insignia of royalty. Here, signatures were solicited to a petition for the re-establishment of the ancient constitution; there, for a government by successive parliaments. Some addresses declared the conviction of the subscribers that the late dissolution was necessary, others prayed that the members might be allowed to return to the house, for the sole purpose of legally dissolving themselves by their own authority. In

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Selection  
of mem-  
bers.

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<sup>3</sup> Whitelock, 556, 7, 9. Leicester's Journal, 142. Merc. Polit. No. 157.

CHAP. the meanwhile the lord-general continued to wear  
 III. the mask of humility and godliness; he prayed  
 1653. ——— and preached with more than his wonted fervour;  
 and his piety was rewarded, according to the re-  
 port of his confidants, with frequent communica-  
 tions from the Holy Spirit<sup>4</sup>. In the month of  
 May he spent eight days in close consultation with  
 his military divan; and the result was a determi-  
 nation to call a new parliament; but a parliament  
 modelled on principles unknown to the history of  
 this, or any other nation. It was to be a parlia-  
 ment of saints, of men who had not offered  
 themselves as candidates, and been chosen by the  
 people, but whose chief qualification consisted in  
 holiness of life, and whose call to the office of  
 legislators came from the choice of the council.  
 With this view the ministers took the sense of  
 the “congregational churches” in the several coun-  
 ties: the returns contained the names of the  
 persons, “faithful, fearing God, and hating covet-  
 “ousness,” who were deemed qualified for this  
 high and important trust; and out of these the  
 council in the presence of the lord-general selected  
 one hundred and thirty-nine representatives for  
 England, six for Wales, six for Ireland, and four  
 June 8. for Scotland<sup>5</sup>. To each of them was sent a writ  
 of summons under the signature of Cromwell,  
 requiring his personal attendance at Whitehall on

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<sup>4</sup> Thurloe, i. 256, 289, 306.

<sup>5</sup> Thurloe, i. 395. Compare the list of the members in Heath, (350) with the letters in Milton's State Papers, 92, 94, 96.

a certain day, to take upon himself the trust, and to serve the office, of member for some particular place. Of the surprise with which the writs were received by many, the reader may judge. Yet, out of the whole number, two only returned a refusal: by most the very extraordinary manner of their election was taken as a sufficient proof, that the call was from heaven<sup>6</sup>.

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On the appointed day, the fourth of July, one hundred and twenty of these faithful and godly men attended in the council-chamber at Whitehall. They were seated on chairs round the table; and the lord-general took his station near the middle window, supported by a numerous body of officers on each side. He addressed the company standing, and it was believed by his admirers, perhaps by himself, "that the Spirit of God spoke in him "and by him." Having vindicated in a long narrative the dissolution of the late parliament, he congratulated the persons present on the high office to which they had been called. It was not of their own seeking. It had come to them from God by the choice of the army, the usual channel through which in these latter days the divine mercies had been dispensed to the nation. He would not charge them, but he would pray that

Meeting  
of parlia-  
ment.  
July 4.

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<sup>6</sup> Thurloe, i. 274. Whitelock, 557. "It was a great satisfaction "and encouragement to some that their names had been presented, "as to that service, by the churches and other godly persons." Exact Relation of the Proceedings, &c. of the last Parliament, 1654, p. 2.

CHAP. they might “exercise the judgment of mercy and  
 III. “truth,” and might “be faithful with the saints,”  
 1653. — however those saints might differ respecting forms  
 of worship. His enthusiasm kindled as he proceeded; and the visions of futurity began to open to his imagination. It was, he exclaimed, marvellous in his eyes: they were called to war with the Lamb against his enemies: they were come to the threshold of the door, to the very edge of the promises and prophecies: God was about to bring his people out of the depths of the sea, perhaps to bring the Jews home to their station out of the isles of the sea: “God,” he exclaimed, “shakes the mountains, and they reel: God hath “a high hill, too, and his hill is as the hill of “Bashan; and the chariots of God are twenty “thousand of angels; and God will dwell upon “this hill for ever.” At the conclusion “of this grave, Christian, and seasonable speech,” he placed on the table an instrument under his own hand and seal, entrusting to them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months from that day, then to be transmitted by them to another assembly, the members of which they should previously have chosen<sup>7</sup>.

Its character.  
 July 5.

The next day was devoted by the new representatives to exercises of religion, not in any of the churches of the capital, but in the room where

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<sup>7</sup> Proceedings, No. 197. Parl. Hist. xx. 153. Milton's State Papers, 106. This last appears to me a more faithful copy than that printed by authority.



the late parliament was accustomed to sit. Thirteen of the most gifted among them successively prayed and preached, from eight in the morning till six in the evening; and several affirmed "that they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives, as they did on that day." As it was solely to their reputation for superior godliness, that the majority of the members owed their election, the lord-general probably expected from them little opposition to his measures; but they no sooner applied to business, than he saw reason to be alarmed at the promptitude and resolution which they displayed. Though not distinguished by their opulence, they were men of independent fortunes<sup>s</sup>; during the late revolutions they had learned to think for themselves on the momentous questions which divided the nation; and their fanaticism, by converting their opinions into matters of conscience, had superadded an obstinacy of character not easily to be subdued. To Cromwell himself they always behaved with respect. They invited

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<sup>s</sup> They have been generally described as men in trade, and of no education; and because one of them, Praise-God Barebone, was a leather-dealer in Fleet-street, the assembly is generally known by the denomination of Barebone's parliament. (Heath, 350.) It is, however, observed by one of them, that "if all had not very bulky estates, yet they had free estates, and were not of broken fortunes, or such as owed great sums of money, and stood in need of privilege and protection as formerly." Exact Relation, 19. See also Whitelock, 559.

CHAP. him, with four of his officers, to sit as a member  
 III. among them; and they made him the offer of the  
 1653. palace of Hampton-court in exchange for his house  
 ————— of Newhall. But they believed and showed that  
 they were the masters. They scorned to submit  
 to the dictation of their servants; and if they  
 often followed the advice, they as often rejected  
 the recommendations and amended the resolutions  
 of the council of state.

Prosecu-  
 tion of  
 Lilburne.

One of the first subjects which engaged their  
 attention was a contest, in which the lord-general,  
 with all his power, was foiled by the boldness of  
 a single individual. At the very moment when  
 he hoped to reap the fruit of his dissimulation  
 and intrigues, he found himself unexpectedly con-  
 fronted by the same fearless and enterprising de-  
 magogue, who, at the birth of the commonwealth,  
 had publicly denounced his ambition, and excited  
 the soldiery against him. Lilburne, on the disso-  
 lution of the long parliament, had requested per-  
 mission of Cromwell to return from banishment.

June 15. Receiving no answer, he came over at his own  
 risk, and, on the day after his arrival in the capi-  
 tal, was committed to Newgate. It seemed a case  
 which might safely be entrusted to a jury. His  
 return by the act of banishment had been made  
 felony; and of his identity there could be no  
 doubt. But his former partisans did not abandon  
 him in his distress. Petitions with thousands of  
 signatures were presented, praying for a respite  
 of the trial till the meeting of the parliament; and

Cromwell, willing, perhaps, to shift the odium from himself to that assembly, gave his consent. Lilburne petitioned the new parliament; his wife petitioned; his friends from the neighbouring counties petitioned; the apprentices in London not only petitioned but threatened. But the council laid before the house the depositions of spies and informers to prove that Lilburne, during his banishment, had intrigued with the royalists against the commonwealth<sup>9</sup>; and the prisoner himself, by the intemperance of his publications, contributed to irritate the members. They refused to interfere; and he was arraigned at the sessions; July 13. where, instead of pleading, he kept his prosecutors at bay during five successive days, appealing to Magna Charta and the rights of Englishmen, producing exceptions against the indictment, and demanding hisoyer, or the specification of the act for his banishment, of the judgment on which the act was founded, and of the charge which led to that judgment. The court was perplexed. They knew not how to refuse; for he claimed it as his right, and necessary for his defence. On the other hand, they could not grant it, because no record of the charge or judgment was known to exist.

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<sup>9</sup> It appears from Clarendon's Letters at the time, that Lilburne was intimate with Buckingham, and that Buckingham professed to expect much from him in behalf of the royal cause; while, on the contrary, Clarendon believed that Lilburne would do nothing for it, and Buckingham not much more. Clarendon Papers, iii. 75, 79, 98.

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His ac-  
quittal.

Aug. 11.

Aug. 16.

Aug. 18.

After an adjournment to the next sessions, two days were spent in arguing the exceptions of the prisoner, and his right to the oyer. At length, on a threat that the court would proceed to judgment, he pleaded not guilty. The trial lasted three days. His friends, to the amount of several thousands, constantly attended; some hundreds of them were said to be armed for the purpose of rescuing him, if he were condemned; and papers were circulated that, if Lilburne perished, twenty thousand individuals would perish with him. Cromwell, to encourage the court, posted two companies of soldiers in the immediate vicinity; quartered three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, in the city; and ordered a numerous force to march towards the metropolis. The particulars of the trial are lost. We only know that the prosecutors were content with showing that Lilburne was the person named in the act; that the court directed the jury to speak only to that fact; and that the prisoner made a long and vehement defence, denying the authority of the late parliament to banish him, because legally it had expired at the king's death, and because the house of commons was not a court of justice; and, maintaining to the jury, that they were judges of the law as well as of the fact; that, unless they believed him guilty of crime, they could not conscientiously return a verdict which would consign him to the gallows; and that an act of parliament, if it were evidently unjust,

was essentially void, and no justification to men, who pronounced according to their oaths. At a late hour at night, the jury declared him not guilty; and the shout of triumph, received and prolonged by his partisans, reached the ears of Cromwell at Whitehall.

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Aug. 20.

It was not, however, the intention of the lord-general that his victim should escape. The examination of the judges and jurymen before the council, with a certified copy of certain opprobrious expressions, used by Lilburne in his defence, was submitted to the house, and an order was obtained that, notwithstanding his acquittal, he should be confined in the Tower, and that no obedience should be paid to any writ of habeas corpus issued from the court of upper bench in his behalf. These measures gave great offence. It was complained, and with justice, that the men who pretended to take up arms against the king in support of the liberties of Englishmen, now made no scruple of trampling the same liberties under foot, whenever it suited their resentment or interest<sup>10</sup>.

Aug. 22.

Aug. 27.

Nov. 26.

In the prosecution and punishment of Lilburne, the parliament was unanimous; on most other

Parties in  
parliament.

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<sup>10</sup> He was sent from the Tower to Elizabeth castle in Jersey, and discharged a little before his death, in 1657. He died a quaker. See Thurloe, i. 324, 367, 8, 9, 429, 430, 435, 441, 2, 451, 453. Exact Relation, p. 5. State Trials, v. 415—450. Whitelock, 558, 560, 1, 3, 591. Journals, July, 13, 14; Aug. 2, 22, 27; Nov. 26.

CHAP. points it was divided into two parties distinctly  
 III. marked, that of the independents, who, inferior  
 1653. in number, superior in talents, adhered to the  
 lord-general and the council; and that of the  
 anabaptists, who, guided by religious and political  
 fanaticism, ranged themselves under the banner  
 of major-general Harrison as their leader. These  
 "sectaries" anticipated the reign of Christ with  
 his saints upon earth; they believed themselves  
 called by God to prepare the way for this  
 marvellous revolution; and they considered it  
 their duty to commence by reforming all the  
 abuses which they could discover either in church  
 or state<sup>11</sup>.

In their proceedings there was much to which  
 no one, who had embarked with them in the same  
 cause, could reasonably object. They established  
 a system of the most rigid economy; the regulations  
 of the excise were revised; the constitution  
 of the treasury was simplified and improved;  
 unnecessary offices were totally abolished, and the  
 salaries of the others considerably reduced; the  
 public accounts were subjected to the most rigorous  
 scrutiny; and new facilities were given to the sale  
 of the lands now considered as national property.  
 But the fanaticism of their language, and the  
 extravagance of their notions, exposed them to  
 ridicule; their zeal for reform, by interfering with  
 the interests of several different bodies at the same

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<sup>11</sup> Thurloe, i. 392, 6, 501, 515, 523.

time, multiplied their enemies; and, before the dissolution of the house, they had earned, justly or unjustly, the hatred of the army, of the lawyers, of the gentry, and of the clergy.

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1<sup>o</sup>. It was with visible reluctance that they voted the monthly tax of 120,000*l.* for the support of the military and naval establishments. They were, indeed, careful not to complain of the amount: their objections were pointed against the nature of the tax, and the inequality of the assessments<sup>12</sup>: but this pretext could not hide their real object from the jealousy of their adversaries, and their leaders were openly charged with seeking to reduce the number of the army, that they might lessen the influence of the general.

Taxes.

2<sup>o</sup>. From the collection of the taxes they proceeded to the administration of the law. In almost every petition presented of late years to the supreme authority of the nation, complaints had been made of the court of chancery, of its dilatory proceedings, and of the enormous expense which it entailed on its suitors, and of the suspicious nature of its decisions, so liable to be influenced by the personal partialities and interests of the judge<sup>13</sup>. The long parliament did not

Reform of  
law.

<sup>12</sup> In some places men paid but two; in others, ten or twelve shillings in the pound. *Exact Relation*, p. 10. The assessments fell on the owners, not on the tenants. *Thurloe*, i. 755.

<sup>13</sup> "It was confidently reported by knowing gentlemen of worth, that there were depending in that court 23,000 (2 or 3000?) causes; that some of them had been there depending five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty years; and that there

CHAP. venture to grapple with the subject ; but this, the  
 III. little parliament, went at once to the root of the  
 1653. evil, and voted that the whole system should be  
 abolished. But then came the appalling difficulty,  
 how to dispose of the causes actually pending in  
 the court, and how to substitute in its place a less  
 objectionable tribunal. Three bills introduced for  
 that purpose were rejected as inapplicable or  
 insufficient : the committee prepared a fourth : it  
 was read twice in one day, and committed, and  
 would probably have passed, had not the subse-  
 quent proceedings been cut short by the dissolution  
 of the parliament<sup>14</sup>.

But the reformers were not content with the  
 abolition of a single court : they resolved to  
 cleanse the whole of the Augean stable. What,  
 they asked, made up the law ? A voluminous  
 collection of statutes, many of them almost un-  
 known, and many inapplicable to existing circum-

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“ had been spent in causes many hundreds, nay, thousands of  
 “ pounds to the utter undoing of many families.” Exact Rela-  
 “ tion, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Journals, Aug. 5 ; Oct. 17, 22 ; Nov. 3. Exact Relation,  
 12—15. The next year, however, Cromwell took the task into  
 his own hands ; and, in 1655, published an ordinance, consisting  
 of sixty seven articles “ for the better regulating and limiting  
 “ the jurisdiction of the high court of chancery.” Widrington and  
 Whitelock, the commissioners of the great seal, and Lenthall,  
 master of the rolls, informed him by letter, that they had sought  
 to the Lord, but did not feel themselves free to act according to  
 the ordinance. The protector took the seals from the two first,  
 and gave them to Fiennes and Lisle ; Lenthall overcame his  
 scruples, and remained in office. See the ordinance in Scobell,  
 324 : the objections to it in Whitelock, 621.



stances ; the dicta of judges, perhaps ignorant, frequently partial and interested ; the reports of cases, but so contradictory that they were regularly marshalled in hosts against each other ; and the usages of particular districts, only to be ascertained through the treacherous memories of the most aged of the inhabitants. Englishmen had a right to know the laws by which they were to be governed ; it was easy to collect from the present system all that was really useful ; to improve it by necessary additions ; and to comprise the whole within the small compass of a pocket volume. With this view, it was resolved to compose a new body of law ; the task was assigned to a committee ; and a commencement was made by a revision of the statutes respecting treason and murder<sup>15</sup>. But these votes and proceedings scattered alarm through the courts at Westminster, and hundreds of voices, and almost as many pens, were employed to protect from ruin the venerable fabric of English jurisprudence. They ridiculed the presumption of these ignorant and fanatical legislators, ascribed to them the design of substituting the law of Moses for the law of the land, and conjured the people to unite in defence of their own “birthright and “inheritance,” for the preservation of which so many miseries had been endured and so much blood had been shed<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Journals, Aug. 18, 19 ; Oct. 20. Exact Relation, 15—18.

<sup>16</sup> The charge of wishing to introduce the law of God was frequently repeated by Cromwell. It owed its existence to this,

CHAP. 4<sup>o</sup>. From men of professed sanctity much had  
 III. been expected in favour of religion. The sincerity  
 1653. of their zeal they proved by the most convincing  
 ———— test,—an act for the extirpation of popish priests  
 Zeal for and jesuits, and the disposal of two-thirds of the  
 religion. real and personal estates of popish recusants<sup>17</sup>.  
 After this preliminary skirmish with antichrist,  
 they proceeded to attack Satan himself “in his  
 “strong hold” of advowsons. It was, they con-  
 tended, contrary to reason, that any private indi-  
 vidual should possess the power of imposing a  
 spiritual guide upon his neighbours; and, there-  
 fore, they resolved that presentations should be  
 abolished, and the choice of the minister be vested  
 in the body of the parishioners: a vote which  
 taught the patrons of livings to seek the protection  
 of the lord-general against the oppression of the  
 parliament. From advowsons, the next step was  
 to tithes. At the commencement of the session,  
 after a long debate, it was generally understood  
 that tithes ought to be done away, and in their  
 place a compensation be made to the impropiators,  
 and a decent maintenance be provided for the

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that they would not allow of the punishment of death for theft,  
 or of the distinction between manslaughter and murder, because  
 no such things are to be found in the law of Moses. Exact Re-  
 lation, 17.

<sup>17</sup> To procure ready money for the treasury, it was proposed  
 to allow recusants to redeem the two-thirds for their lives, at four  
 years' purchase. This amendment passed, but with great oppo-  
 sition, on the ground that it amounted to a toleration of idolatry.  
 Ibid. 11. Thurloe, i. 553.

clergy. For five months the committee entrusted with the subject was silent : now, to prevent as it was thought, the agitation of the question of advowsons, they presented a report respecting the method of ejecting scandalous, and settling godly ministers ; to which they appended their own opinion, that incumbents, rectors, and impropiators, had a property in tithes. This report provoked a debate of five days. When the question was put on the first part, though the committee had mustered all the force of the independents in its favour, it was rejected by a majority of two. The second part, respecting the property in tithes, was not put to the vote : its fate was supposed to be included in that of the former ; and it was rumoured through the capital that the parliament had voted the abolition of tithes, and with them of the ministry, which derived its maintenance from tithes<sup>18</sup>.

Here it should be noticed that, on every Monday during the session, Feakes and Powell, two anabaptist preachers, had delivered weekly lectures to numerous audiences at Blackfriars. They were eloquent enthusiasts, commissioned, as they fancied, by the Almighty, and fearless of any earthly tribunal. They introduced into their sermons most of the subjects discussed in parliament, and advocated the principles of their sect with a force and extravagance which alarmed Cromwell and

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Ana-  
baptist  
preachers.

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<sup>18</sup> Journals, July 15—19 ; Nov. 17 ; Dec. 1, 6—10, Exact Relation, 418—24.

CHAP. the council. Their favourite topic was the Dutch  
 III.  
 1653. war. God, they maintained, had given Holland  
 ————— into the hands of the English; it was to be the  
 landing place of the saints, whence they should  
 proceed to pluck the w—— of Babylon from her  
 chair, and to establish the kingdom of Christ on  
 the continent; and they threatened with every  
 kind of temporal and everlasting woe the man  
 who should advise peace on any other terms than  
 the incorporation of the United Provinces with  
 the commonwealth of England<sup>19</sup>. When it was  
 known that Cromwell had receded from this  
 demand, their indignation stripped the pope of  
 many of those titles with which he had so long  
 been honoured by the protestant churches, and  
 the lord-general was publicly declared to be the  
 beast in the Apocalypse, the old dragon, and the  
 man of sin. Unwilling to invade the liberty of  
 religious meetings, he for some time bore these  
 insults with an air of magnanimity: at last he  
 Dec. 6. summoned the two preachers before himself and  
 the council. But the heralds of the Lord of Hosts  
 quailed not before the servants of an earthly  
 commonwealth: they returned rebuke for rebuke,  
 charged Cromwell with an unjustifiable assump-

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<sup>19</sup> Beverningk, one of the Dutch ambassadors, went to the meeting on one of these occasions. In a letter, he says: "the scope and intention is to preach down governments, and to stir up the people against the united Netherlands. Being then in the assembly of the saints, I heard one prayer, two sermons. But, good God! what cruel and abominable, and most horrid trumpets of fire, murder, and flame." Thurloe, i. 412.

tion of power, and departed from the conference unpunished and unabashed<sup>20</sup>.

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By the public the sermons at Blackfriars were considered as explanatory of the views and principles of the anabaptists in the house. The enemies of these reformers multiplied daily: ridicule and abuse were poured upon them from every quarter; and it became evident to all but themselves that the hour of their fall was rapidly approaching. Cromwell, their maker, had long ago determined to reduce them to their original nothing; and their last vote respecting the ministry appeared to furnish a favourable opportunity. The next day, the Sunday, he passed with his friends in secret consultation; on the Monday they mustered in considerable numbers, and at an early hour took their seats in the house. Colonel Sydenham rose. He reviewed all the proceedings of the parliament, condemned them as calculated to injure almost every interest in the state, and, declaring that he would no longer sit in so useless an assembly, moved that the house should proceed to Whitehall, and deliver back the supreme power into the hands of him from whom it was derived. The motion was seconded and opposed; but the independents had come to act not to debate. They immediately rose; the speaker, who was in the secret, left the chair; the serjeant and the clerk accompanied him, and

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Dissolu-  
tion of  
parlia-  
ment.  
Dec. 12.

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<sup>20</sup> Thurloc, i. 442, 534, 545, 560, 591, 621.

CHAP. near fifty members followed in a body. The  
 III. reformers, twenty-seven in number, gazed on each  
 1653. other with surprise; their first resource was to  
 fall to prayer; and they were employed in this  
 holy exercise when Goff and White, two officers,  
 entered, and requested them to withdraw. Being  
 required to show their warrant, they called in a  
 company of soldiers. No resistance was now  
 offered; the military cleared the house, and the  
 keys were left with the guard <sup>21</sup>.

In the mean while the speaker, preceded by the  
 mace, and followed by Sydenham and his friends,  
 walked through the street to Whitehall. In the  
 way, and after his arrival, he was joined by  
 several members, by some through curiosity, by  
 others through fear. At Whitehall, a form of  
 resignation of the supreme power was hastily  
 engrossed by the clerk, subscribed by the speaker  
 and his followers, and tendered by them to Crom-  
 well. The lord-general put on an air of surprise:  
 he was not prepared for such an offer, he would  
 not load himself with so heavy a burthen. But  
 his reluctance yielded to the remonstrances and  
 entreaties of Lambert and the officers, and the  
 instrument was laid in a chamber of the palace  
 for the convenience of such members as had not  
 yet the opportunity of subscribing their names.  
 On the third day the signatures amounted to

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<sup>21</sup> Exact Relation, 25, 26. True Narrative, 3. Thurloe. i. 730, 637. I adopt the number given by Mansel, as he could have no motive to diminish it.

eighty, an absolute majority of the whole house: on the fourth, a new constitution was published, and Cromwell obtained the great object of his ambition,—the office and authority, though without the title, of king<sup>22</sup>.

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On that day, about one in the afternoon, the lord-general repaired in his carriage from the palace to Westminster-hall, through two lines of military, composed of five regiments of foot and three of horse. The procession formed at the door. Before him walked the aldermen, the judges, two commissioners of the great seal, and the lord mayor; behind him the two councils of state and of the army. They ascended to the court of chancery, where a chair of state with a cushion had been placed on a rich carpet. Cromwell was dressed in a suit and cloak of black

Cromwell  
assumes  
the office  
of protec-  
tor.  
Dec. 16.

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<sup>22</sup> Exact Relation, 26. True Narrative, 4. Ludlow. ii. 33. Clarendon, iii. 484. Thurloe, i. 754. The author of this new constitution is not known. Ludlow tells us that it was first communicated by Lambert to a council of field officers. When some objections were made, he replied, that the general was willing to consider any amendments which might be proposed, but would not depart from the project itself. Some therefore, suggested that, after the death of the present lord-general, the civil and military government should be kept separate, and that no protector should be succeeded by any of his relatives. This gave so much offence that, at a second meeting, Lambert, having informed them that the lord-general would take care of the civil administration, dismissed them to their respective commands. Ludlow, ii. 37. It is to this, perhaps, that the Dutch ambassador alludes, when he says that Cromwell desisted from his project of being declared king on account of the displeasure of the officers. Thurloe, i. 644.

CHAP. velvet, with long boots, and a broad gold band  
 III. round his hat. He took his place before the  
 1653. 

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 chair, between the two commissioners: the judges  
 stood around it, and the civic officers ranged  
 themselves on the right, the military on the left  
 side of the court.

Lambert now came forward to address the lord-general. He noticed the dissolution of the late parliament; observed that the exigency of the time required a strong and stable government, and prayed his excellency in the name of the army and the three nations to accept the office of protector of the commonwealth. Cromwell, though it was impossible to conceal the purpose for which he had come thither, could not yet put off the habit of dissimulation; and if, after some demur, he expressed his consent, it was with an appearance of reluctance which no one present could believe to be real.

Instru-  
 ment of  
 govern-  
 ment.

Jessop, one of the clerks of the council, was next ordered to read the "instrument of government," consisting of forty-two articles. 1<sup>o</sup>. By it the legislative power was vested in a lord-protector and parliament, but with a provision that every act passed by the parliament should become law at the expiration of twenty days, even without the consent of the protector; unless he could persuade the house of the reasonableness of his objections. The parliament was not to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without its own consent, within the first five months after its



meeting; and a new parliament was to be called within three years after the dissolution of the last. The number of the members was fixed according to the plan projected by the long parliament, at four hundred for England, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. Most of the boroughs were disfranchised, and the number of county members was increased. Every person possessed of real or personal property to the value of 200*l.* had a right to vote, unless he were a malignant or delinquent, or professor of the catholic faith; and the disqualifications to which the electors were subject, attached also to the persons elected. 2°. The executive power resided in the lord-protector acting with the advice of his council. He possessed, moreover, the power of treating with foreign states with the *advice*, and of making peace or war with the *consent*, of the council. To him also belonged the disposal of the military and naval power, and the appointment of the great officers of state with the approbation of parliament, and, in the intervals of parliament, with that of the council, but subject to the subsequent approbation of the parliament. 3°. Laws could not be made, nor taxes imposed, but by common consent in parliament. 4°. The civil list was fixed at 200,000*l.*, and a yearly revenue ordered to be raised for the support of an army of 30,000 men, two-thirds infantry, and one-third cavalry, with such a navy as the lord-protector should think necessary. 5°. All who professed faith in God by

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Jesus Christ were to be protected in the exercise of their religion, with the exception of prelatists, papists, and those who taught licentiousness under the pretence of religion. 6°. The present lord-protector was named the lord-general Cromwell; his successors were to be chosen by the council. The first parliament was to assemble on the third of the following December; and till that time the lord protector was vested with power to raise the monies necessary for the public service, and to make ordinances which should have the force of law, till orders were taken in parliament respecting the same.

At the conclusion, Cromwell, raising his right hand and his eyes to heaven with great solemnity, swore to observe, and cause to be observed, all the articles of the instrument; and Lambert, falling on his knees, offered to the protector a civic sword in the scabbard, which he accepted, laying aside his own, to denote that he meant to govern by constitutional, and not by military, authority. He then seated himself in the chair; put on his hat while the rest stood uncovered; received the seal from the commissioners, the sword from the lord mayor; delivered them back again to the same individuals; and, having exercised these acts of sovereign authority, returned in procession to his carriage, and repaired in state to Whitehall. The same day the establishment of the government by a lord-protector and triennial parliaments, and the acceptance of the protector-

ship by the lord-general, were announced to the public by proclamation, with all the ceremonies hitherto used on the accession of a new monarch <sup>23</sup>.

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It cannot be supposed that this elevation of Cromwell to the supreme power was viewed with satisfaction by any other class of men than his brethren in arms, who considered his greatness as their own work, and expected from his gratitude their merited reward. But the nation was surfeited with revolutions. Men had suffered so severely from the ravages of war and the oppression of the military; they had seen so many instances of punishment incurred by resistance to the actual possessors of power; they were divided and subdivided into so many parties, jealous and hateful of each other; that they readily acquiesced in any change which promised the return of tranquillity in the place of solicitude, danger, and misery. The protector, however, did not neglect the means of consolidating his own authority. Availing himself of the powers intrusted to him by the "instrument," he gave the chief commands in the army to men in whom he could confide; quartered the troops in the manner best calculated to put down any insurrection; and, among the multitude of ordinances which he published, was

He publishes ordinances.

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<sup>23</sup> Whitelock, 571—8. Thurloe, i. 639, 641. Ludlow, ii. 40. The alteration in the representation, which had been proposed in the long parliament, was generally considered an improvement. Clar. Hist. iii. 495.

CHAP. careful to repeal the acts enforcing the engage-  
 III.  
 1653. ment; to forbid all meetings on race-courses or at  
 ——— cock-pits; to explain what offences should be  
 deemed treason against his government; and to  
 establish a high court of justice for the trial of  
 those who might be charged with such offences.

Arrests  
 his oppo-  
 nents.

1654. He could not, however, be ignorant that, even  
 among the former companions of his fortunes,  
 the men who had fought and bled by his side,  
 there were many who, much as they revered the  
 general, looked on the protector with the most  
 cordial abhorrence. They were stubborn unbend-  
 ing republicans, partly from political, partly from  
 religious principle. To them he affected to un-  
 bosom himself without reserve. He was still, he  
 protested, the same humble individual whom they  
 had formerly known him. Had he consulted his  
 own feelings, "he would rather have taken the  
 "staff of a shepherd" than the dignity of pro-  
 tector. Necessity had imposed the office upon  
 him: he had sacrificed his own happiness to pre-  
 serve his countrymen from anarchy and ruin;  
 and, as he now bore the burthen with reluctance,  
 he would lay it down with joy, the moment he  
 could do so with safety to the nation. But this  
 language made few proselytes. They had too  
 often already been the dupes of his hypocrisy,  
 the victims of their own credulity: they scrupled  
 not, both in public companies, and from the pul-  
 pit, to pronounce him "a dissembling perjured  
 "villain;" and they openly threatened him with

“ a worse fate than had befallen the last tyrant.” CHAP. III. 1653.  
 If it was necessary to silence these declaimers, it was also dangerous to treat them with severity. He proceeded with caution, and modified his displeasure by circumstances. Some he removed from their commissions in the army and their ministry in the church: others he did not permit to go at large, till they had given security for their subsequent behaviour; and those who proved less tractable, or appeared more dangerous, he incarcerated in the Tower. Among the last were Harrison, formerly his fellow-labourer in the dissolution of the long parliament, now his most implacable enemy; and Feakes and Powell, the anabaptist preachers, who had braved his resentment during the last parliament. Symson, their colleague, shared their imprisonment, but procured his liberty by submission<sup>24</sup>.

To the royalists, as he feared them less, he showed less forbearance. Charles, who still resided in Paris, maintained a constant correspondence with the friends of his family in England, for the two-fold purpose of preserving a party ready to take advantage of any revolution in his favour, and of deriving from their loyalty advances of money for his own support and that of his followers. Among the agents whom he employed, were men who betrayed his secrets, or pretended

Executes several royalists.

Feb. 30.

July 26.

<sup>24</sup> Thurloe, i. 641, 2; ii. 67, 8. Whitelock, 580, 2, 596. Ludlow, ii. 47.

- CHAP. secrets, to his enemies<sup>25</sup>, or who seduced his  
 III. adherents into imaginary plots, that by the disco-  
 1653. ————— very they might earn the gratitude of the pro-  
 tector. Of the latter class was an individual  
 named Henshaw, who had repaired to Paris, and  
 been refused what he solicited, admission to the  
 royal presence. On his return, he detailed to  
 certain royalists a plan by which the protector  
 might be assassinated on his way to Hampton-  
 court; the guards at Whitehall be overpowered;  
 the town be surprised; and the royal exile be  
 proclaimed. Men were found to listen to his  
 suggestions; and when a sufficient number was  
 May 24. entangled in the toil, forty were apprehended and  
 examined. Of these, many consented to give  
 evidence; three were selected for trial before the  
 June 30. high court of justice. Fox, one of the three,  
 pleaded guilty, and thus, by giving countenance to  
 the evidence of Henshaw, deserved and obtained  
 his pardon. Vowell, a schoolmaster, and Gerard,  
 a young gentleman two-and-twenty years of age,  
 July 6. received judgment of death. The first suffered  
 on the gallows, glorying that he died a martyr in  
 July 10. the cause of royalty. Gerard, before he was  
 beheaded, protested in the strongest terms that,  
 though he had heard, he had never approved of,

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<sup>25</sup> Clarendon informs Nicholas (June 12), that in reality no one secret had been betrayed or discovered. Cla. Pap. iii. 247. A committee of royalists, under the name of the "Sealed Knot," was known to exist in London, but the members could not be discovered. Thurloe, ii. 64, 5, 70. 1.

the design<sup>26</sup>. In the depositions it was pretended that Charles had given his consent to the assassination of the protector. Cromwell, though he professed to disbelieve the charge, as a measure of self-defence, threatened the exiled prince that, if any such attempt were encouraged, he should have recourse to retaliation, and, at the same time, intimated that it would be no difficult matter for him to execute his threat<sup>27</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

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On the same scaffold, but an hour later, perished a foreign nobleman, only nineteen years old, Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador. Six months before, he and Gerard, whose execution we have just noticed, had quarelled in the New Exchange. Pantaleon, the next evening, repaired to the same place with a body of armed followers; a fray ensued; Greenway, a person

Don Pan-  
taleon Sa.

1653.

Nov. 21.

Nov. 22.

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<sup>26</sup> State Trials, v. 517—540. Thurloe, ii. 416, 446, 7. White-lock, 591, 2, 3. Henshaw was not produced on the trial. It was pretended that he had escaped. But we learn from Thurloe that he was safe in the Tower, and so Gerard suspected in his speech on the scaffold.

<sup>27</sup> Cromwell did not give credit to the plots for murdering him. Thurloe, ii. 512, 533. Clarendon writes thus on the subject to his friend Nicholas: "I do assure you upon my credit I do not know, and upon my confidence, the king does not, of any such design. Many wild, foolish persons propose wild things to the king, which he civilly discountenances, and then they and their friends brag what they hear, or could do; and, no doubt, in some such noble rage that hath now fallen out which they talk so much of at London, and by which many honest men are in prison, of which whole matter the king knows no more than secretary Nicholas doth." Clar. Pap. iii. 247. But see post, note 56.

CHAP. unconcerned in the dispute, was killed by accident  
 III. or mistake : and the Portuguese fled to the house  
 1654. of the ambassador, whence they were conducted  
 ————— to prison by the military. The people, taking up  
 the affair as a national quarrel, loudly demanded  
 the blood of the reputed murderers. On behalf  
 of Pantaleon it was argued : 1<sup>o</sup>, that he was an  
 ambassador, and therefore answerable to no one  
 but his master ; 2<sup>o</sup>, that he was a person attached  
 to the embassy, and therefore covered by the  
 privilege of his principal. But the instrument,  
 which he produced in proof of the first allegation,  
 was no more than a written promise that he  
 should succeed his brother in office ; and, in reply  
 to the second, it was maintained that the privilege  
 of an ambassador, whatever it might be, was  
 personal, and did not extend to the individuals in  
 1654. his suite. At the bar, after several refusals, he  
 July 5. was induced by the threat of the *peine forte et  
 dure* to plead not guilty ; and his demand of  
 counsel, on account of his ignorance of English  
 law, was rejected on the ground that the court  
 was “ of counsel equal to the prisoner and the  
 “ commonwealth.” He was found guilty, and  
 condemned, with four of his associates. To three  
 of these the protector granted a pardon ; but no  
 entreaties of the several ambassadors could prevail  
 July 10. in favour of Pantaleon. He was sacrificed, if we  
 believe one of them, to the clamour of the people,  
 whose feelings were so excited, that when his head



fell on the scaffold, the spectators proclaimed their joy by the most savage yells of exultation<sup>28</sup>.

These executions had been preceded by one of a very different description. Colonel Worsley had apprehended in his bed a catholic clergyman, of the name of Southworth, who, thirty-seven years before, had been convicted at Lancaster, and sent into banishment. The old man (he had passed his seventy-second year), at his arraignment, pleaded that he had taken orders in the church of Rome, but was innocent of any treason. The recorder advised him to withdraw his plea, and gave him four hours for consideration. But Southworth still owned that he was a catholic and in orders: judgment of death was pronounced; and the protector, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, resolved that he should suffer. It was not that Cromwell approved of sanguinary punishments in matters of religion, but that he had no objection to purchase the good will of the godly by shedding the blood of a priest. Whether it were through curiosity or respect, two hundred carriages and a crowd of

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

And a catholic  
clergy-  
man.

June 23.

<sup>28</sup> See in State Trials, v. 461—518, a numerous collection of authorities and opinions respecting this case. Also *ibid.* 536. That Pantaleon and his friends were armed, cannot be denied: was it for revenge? So it would appear from the relation in Somers, Tracts, iii. 65, Whitelock, 569, and State Trials, v. 482. Was it solely for defence? Such is the evidence of Metham (Thurloe, ii. 222), and the assertion of Pantaleon at his death. Whitelock, ii. 595.

CHAP. horsemen, followed the hurdle on which South-  
 III. worth was drawn to the place of execution. On  
 1654. ——— the scaffold, he spoke with satisfaction of the  
 manner of his death, but at the same time pointed  
 out the inconsistency of the men who pretended to  
 have taken up arms for liberty of conscience, and  
 yet shed the blood of those who differed from  
 them in religious opinions. He suffered the usual  
 punishment of traitors<sup>29</sup>.

Concili-  
 ates the  
 army in  
 Ireland.

The intelligence of the late revolution had been received by the military in Ireland and Scotland with open murmurs on the part of some, and a suspicious acquiescence on that of others. In Ireland, Fleetwood knew not how to reconcile the conduct of his father-in-law with his own principles, and expressed a wish to resign the government of the island: Ludlow and Jones, both staunch republicans, looked on the protector as a hypocrite and an apostate, and though the latter was more cautious in his language, the former openly refused to act as civil commissioner under the new constitution; and in most of the garrisons several of the principal officers made no secret of their dissatisfaction: in one case they even drew up a remonstrance against “the government by a single person.” But Cromwell averted the storm which threatened him, by his prudence and firmness. He sent his son Henry on a visit to Fleetwood, that he might learn the true disposition of

<sup>29</sup> Thurloe, ii. 406. Whitlock, 592. Challener, ii. 354. Knaresborough's Collections, MS.

the military: the more formidable of his opponents were silently withdrawn to England; and several of the others found themselves suddenly but successively deprived of their commands. In most cases interest proved more powerful than principle: and it was observed that out of the numbers, who at first crowded to the anabaptist conventicle at Dublin, as a profession of their political creed, almost all who had any thing to lose, gradually abandoned it for the more courtly places of worship. Even the anabaptists themselves learned to believe that the ambition of a private individual could not defeat the designs of the Lord, and that it was better for men to retain their situations under the protector, than, by abandoning them, to deprive themselves of the means of promoting the service of God, and of hastening the reign of Christ upon earth <sup>30</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

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In Scotland the spirit of disaffection equally prevailed among the superior officers; but their attention was averted from political feuds by military operations. In the preceding years, under the appearance of general tranquillity, the embers of war had continued to smoulder in the highlands: they burst into a flame on the departure of Monk to take the command of the English fleet. To Charles in France, and his partisans in Scotland, it seemed a favourable moment; the earls of Glencairn and Balcarras,

Subdues  
the Scot-  
tish royal-  
ists.

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<sup>30</sup> Thurloc, ii. 149, 150, 162, 214.

CHAP. were successively joined by Angus, Montrose,  
 III.  
 1654. Athol, Seaforth, Kenmure, and Lorn, the son of  
 ————— Argyle; and Wogan, an enterprising officer,  
 1653. landing at Dover, raised a troop of loyalists in  
 Nov. 22. London, and, traversing England under the colours  
 of the commonwealth, reached in safety the  
 quarters of his Scottish friends. The number of  
 the royalists amounted to some thousands; the  
 nature of the country, and the affections of the  
 natives were in their favour; and their spirits  
 were supported by the repeated, but fallacious,  
 intelligence of the speedy arrival of Charles  
 himself at the head of a considerable force. A  
 petty, but most destructive, warfare ensued.  
 Robert Lilburne, the English commander, ra-  
 vaged the lands of all who favoured the royalists;  
 the royalists, those of all who remained neuter, or  
 aided their enemies. But in a short time personal  
 feuds distracted the councils of the insurgents;  
 and, as the right of Glencairn to the chief com-  
 mand was disputed, Middleton arrived with a  
 royal commission, which all were required to  
 obey. To Middleton the protector opposed Monk.  
 1654. It was the policy of the former to avoid a battle,  
 Feb. 1. and exhaust the strength of his adversary by  
 April 8. marches and counter-marches in a mountainous  
 country, without the convenience of roads or  
 quarters: but in an attempt to elude his pursuer,  
 July 19. Middleton fell in with Morgan, the commander  
 of an English division; his men, embarrassed  
 in the defile, were slain or made prisoners; and

his loss taught the royalist leaders to deserve mercy by the promptitude of their submission. The earl of Tullibardine set the example; Glencairn followed; they were imitated by their associates; and the lenity of Monk contributed as much as the fortune of war to the total suppression of the insurgents<sup>31</sup>. Cromwell, however, did not wait for the issue of the contest. Before Monk had joined the army, he published three ordinances, by which, of his supreme authority, he incorporated Scotland with England, absolved the natives from their allegiance to Charles Stuart, abolished the kingly office and the Scottish parliament, with all tenures and superiorities importing servitude and vassalage, erected courts-baron to supply the place of the jurisdictions which he had taken away, and granted a free pardon to the nation, with the exception of numerous individuals subjected to different degrees of punishment. Thus the whole frame of the Scottish constitution was subverted: but no one ventured to remonstrate or oppose. The spirit of the nation had been broken. The experience of the past, and the presence of the military, convinced the people that resistance was fruitless: of the nobility, many languished within the walls of their prisons in England, and the

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

Aug. 24.

April 12.

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<sup>31</sup> See the ratification of the surrenders of Tullibardine, Glencairn, Heriot, Forrester, Kenmure, Montrose, and Seaforth, dated at different times between Aug. 24 and Jan. 10, in the Council Book, 1655, Feb. 7.

CHAP. others were ground to the dust by the demands of  
 III. their creditors and the exactions of the seques-  
 1654. ——— trators ; and even the kirk had been taught to  
 feel that its authority, though celestial in its  
 origin, was no match for the earthly power of the  
 commonwealth <sup>32</sup>.

Is courted  
 by foreign  
 powers.

By foreign powers the recent elevation of  
 Cromwell was viewed without surprise. They  
 were acquainted with his ambition, and had  
 anticipated his success. All who had any thing  
 to hope from his friendship, or to fear from his

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<sup>32</sup> Scobell, 289, 293—5. Whitelock, 583, 597, 9. Burnet, i. 100—4. Oxford, 1823. Baillie, ii. 377, 381. Milton's State Papers, 130, 131. The last year (July 20) the general assembly met in Edinburgh, but colonel Cotterel entered and inquired by what authority they sate there. It was answered that they "were a spiritual court of Jesus Christ, which meddled not with any thing civil ; that their authority was from God, and established by the laws of the land ; and that by the solemn league and covenant a great part of the English army was bound to defend their meeting." But Cotterel understood not this language. He ordered the members to follow him, marched them, surrounded by the military, a mile out of the town, and then forbade them to meet together in a greater number than three persons, or to remain in Edinburgh after eight o'clock on the following morning. See Baillie's pathetic lamentation on this event, vol. ii. p. 370. Yet Kirkton, another theological luminary, tells us that, "all the time of this government the work of the gospel prospered (in Scotland) not a little but mightily. I verily believe there were more souls converted unto Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the reformation. Ministers were painful, people were diligent—at their solemn communions many congregations met in great multitudes, some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance, (so serious were they in spiritual exercises) for three days at least." Kirkton, 54, 55.

enmity, hastened to offer their congratulations, and ambassadors and envoys from most of the princes of Europe, crowded to the court of the protector. He received them with all the state of a sovereign. From his apartment in the cockpit he had removed with his family to those which in former times had been appropriated to the king: they were newly furnished in the most costly and magnificent style; and in the banquetting room was placed a chair of state on a platform, raised by three steps above the floor. Here the protector stood to receive the ambassadors. They were instructed to make three reverences, one at the entrance, the second in the midway, and the third at the lower step, to each of which Cromwell answered by a slight inclination of the head. When they had delivered their speeches, and received the reply of the protector, the same ceremonial was repeated at their departure. On one occasion he was requested to permit the gentlemen attached to the embassy to kiss his hand; but he advanced to the upper step, bowed to each in succession, waved his hand, and withdrew. On the conclusion of peace with the States, the ambassadors received from him an invitation to dinner. He sate alone on one side of the table, they, with some lords of the council, on the other. Their ladies were entertained by the lady protectress. After dinner both parties joined in the drawing-room: pieces of music were performed, and a psalm was sung, a copy of which Cromwell

CHAP. gave to the ambassadors, observing that it was the  
 III. best paper that had ever passed between them.  
 1653. ——— The entertainment concluded with a walk in the  
 gallery<sup>33</sup>.

Treaty  
 with the  
 States.

The first treaty which demanded his notice was that with the United Provinces. During his government the English navy had not forfeited that proud superiority over its maritime rival, which it had originally acquired under the fostering care of the parliament. In the preceding month of May the hostile fleets, each consisting of about one hundred sail, had put to sea, the English commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawson; the Dutch by Van Tromp, De Ruyter, De Witte, and Evertsens. While Monk insulted the coast of Holland, Van Tromp cannonaded the town of Dover. They afterwards met each other off the North Foreland, and the action continued the whole day. The enemy lost two sail: on the part of the English, Deau was killed by a chain shot. He fell by the side of Monk, who instantly spread his cloak over the dead body, that the men might not be alarmed at the fate of their commander.

1653.  
 June 2.

Victory of  
 the Eng-  
 lish.  
 June 3.

The battle was renewed the next morning. Though Blake, with eighteen sail, had joined the English in the night, Van Tromp fought with the most determined courage; but a panic per-

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<sup>33</sup> Clarendon Papers, iii. 240. Thurloe, i. 50, 69, 154, 257. It appears from the Council Book that the quarterly expense of the protector's family amounted to 35,000*l.* 1655, March 14.



vaded his fleet; his orders were disobeyed; several captains fled from the superior fire of the enemy; and, ultimately, the Dutch sought shelter within the Wielings and along the shallow coast of Zealand. They lost one-and-twenty sail; thirteen hundred men were made prisoners, and the number of killed and wounded was great in proportion<sup>34</sup>.

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1653.

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Cromwell received the news of this victory with transports of joy. Though he could claim no share in the merit (for the fleet owed its success to the exertions of the government which he had overturned), he was aware that it would shed a lustre over his own administration; and the people were publicly called upon to return thanks to the Almighty for so signal a favour. It was observed that on this occasion he did not command but invite; and the distinction was hailed by his admirers as a proof of the humility and single-mindedness of the lord-general<sup>35</sup>.

To the States, the defeat of their fleet proved a subject of the deepest regret. It was not the loss of men and ships that they deplored: such loss might soon be repaired; but it degraded them in the eyes of Europe by placing them in the

The  
Dutch  
offer to  
negotiate.

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<sup>34</sup> Whitelock, 557. Ludlow, ii. 27. Heath, 344. Le Clerc, i. 333. Basnage, i. 103. It appears from the letters in Thurloe, that the English fought at the distance of half cannon shot, till the enemy fell into confusion, and began to fly, when their disabled ships were surrounded, and captured by the English frigates. Thurloe, i. 269, 270, 3, 7, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Whitelock, 558.

- CHAP. posture of suppliants deprecating the anger of  
 III. a victorious enemy. In consequence of the im-  
 1653. ——— portunate entreaties of the merchants, they had  
 previously appointed ambassadors to make propo-  
 sals of peace to the new government; but these  
 May 26. ministers did not quit the coast of Holland till  
 after the battle; and their arrival in England  
 at this particular moment was universally attri-  
 buted to a conviction of inferiority arising from  
 the late defeat. They were introduced with due  
 June 22. honour to his excellency and the council; but  
 found them unwilling to recede from the high de-  
 mands formerly made by the parliament. As to  
 the claim of indemnification for the past, the am-  
 bassadors maintained that, if a balance were struck  
 of their respective losses, the Dutch would be  
 found the principal sufferers; and, to the demand  
 of security for the future, they replied, that it  
 might be obtained by the completion of that treaty,  
 which had been interrupted by the sudden depar-  
 ture of St. John and Strickland from the Hague.  
 July 19. The obstinacy of the council induced the am-  
 bassadors to demand passports for their return; but  
 means were found to awaken in them new hopes,  
 and to amuse them with new proposals. In the  
 conferences, Cromwell generally bore the principal  
 part. Sometimes he chided the ambassadors in  
 no very courteous terms; sometimes he described  
 with tears the misery occasioned by the war; but  
 he was always careful to wrap up his meaning in  
 such obscurity, that two months elapsed before

the Dutch could distinctly ascertain his real purpose. They were then informed, that England would waive the claim of pecuniary compensation, provided Van Tromp were removed for a while from the command of their fleet, as an acknowledgment that he was the aggressor; but that, on the other hand, it was expected that the States should consent to the incorporation of the two countries into one great maritime power, to be equally under the same government, consisting of individuals chosen out of both. This was a subject on which the ambassadors had no power to treat; and it was agreed that two of their number should repair to the Hague for additional instructions<sup>36</sup>.

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III.  
1653.

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July 26.

But, a few days before their departure, another battle had been fought at sea, and another victory won by the English. For eight weeks Monk had blockaded the entrance of the Texel; but Van Tromp, the moment his fleet was repaired, put to sea, and sought to redeem the honour of the Belgic flag. Each admiral commanded about one hundred sail; and as long as Tromp lived, the victory hung in suspense; but he fell by a musket shot: the Dutch began to waver; in a short time they fled, and the pursuit continued till midnight. That which distinguished this from every preceding action was the order issued by Monk to make

A second  
victory.

July 31.

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<sup>36</sup> See on this subject a multitude of original papers in Thurloe, i. 268, 284, 302, 8, 315, 6, 340, 362, 370, 2, 381, 2, 394, 401.

CHAP. no prizes, but to sink or destroy the ships of the  
 III. enemy. Hence the only trophies of victory were  
 1653. the prisoners, men who had been picked up after  
 ——— they had thrown themselves into the water, or  
 had escaped in boats from the wrecks. Of these,  
 more than a thousand were brought to England,  
 a sufficient proof that, if the loss of the enemy  
 did not amount to twenty sail, as stated by Monk,  
 it exceeded nine small vessels, the utmost allowed  
 by themselves<sup>37</sup>.

Progress  
 of the ne-  
 gotiation.

During the absence of the other ambassadors,  
 Cromwell sought several private interviews with  
 the third who remained, Beverningk, the deputy  
 from the States of Holland: and the moderation  
 with which he spoke of the questions in dispute,  
 joined to the tears with which he lamented the  
 enmity of two nations so similar in their political  
 and religious principles, convinced the Dutchman  
 that an accommodation might be easily and  
 promptly attained. At his desire his colleagues  
 returned; the conferences were resumed; the  
 most cheering hopes were indulged; when sud-  
 denly the English commissioners presented seven-  
 and-twenty articles, conceived in a tone of insult-  
 ing superiority, and demanding sacrifices painful  
 and degrading. A few days later the parliament  
 was dissolved; and, as it was evident that the  
 interests of the new protector required a peace, the

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<sup>37</sup> Le Clerc, i. 335. Basnage, i. 313. Several Proceedings, No. 197. Perfect Diurnal, No. 187. Thurloe, i. 392. 420, 448.

ambassadors began to affect indifference on the subject, and demanded passports to depart. Cromwell, in his turn, thought proper to yield: some claims were abandoned; others were modified, and every question was adjusted with the exception of this, whether the king of Denmark, the ally of the Dutch, who, to gratify them, had seized and confiscated twenty-three English merchantmen in the Baltic<sup>38</sup>, should be comprehended or not in the treaty. The ambassadors were at Gravesend on their way home, when Cromwell proposed a new expedient, which they approved. They proceeded, however, to Holland; obtained the approbation of the several States, and returned to put an end to the treaty. But here again, to their surprise, new obstacles arose. Beverningk had incautiously boasted of his dexterity: he had, so he pretended, compelled the protector to lower his demands by threatening to break off the negotiation; and Cromwell now turned the tables upon him by playing a similar game. At the same time that he rose in some of his demands, he equipped a fleet of one hundred sail, and ordered several regiments to embark. The ambassadors, aware that the States had made no provision to oppose this formidable armament, reluctantly acquiesced; and on the 5th of April, after a negotiation of ten months, the peace was definitively signed<sup>39</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

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1654.  
Jan. 6.

Feb. 28.

April 5.

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<sup>38</sup> Basnage, i. 289.

<sup>39</sup> Thurloe, i. 570, 607, 616, 624, 643, 650; ii. 9, 19, 28, 36, 74, 5, 123, 137, 195, 197. Le Clerc, i. 340—3. During the whole

CHAP. III. 1654. By this treaty the English cabinet silently abandoned those lofty pretensions which it had originally put forth. It made no mention of indemnity for the past, or security for the future; of the incorporation of the two states; of the claim of search; of the tenth herring; or of the exclusion of the prince of Orange from the office of stadtholder. To these humiliating conditions the pride of the States had refused to submit; and Cromwell was content to accept two other articles, which, while they appeared equally to affect the two nations, were in reality directed against the Stuart family and its adherents. It was stipulated that neither commonwealth should harbour or aid the enemies, rebels, or exiles, of the other; but that either, being previously required, should order such enemies, rebels, or exiles, to leave its territory under the penalty of death before the expiration of twenty-eight days. To the demand, that the same respect which had been paid to the flag of the king should be paid to that of the commonwealth, the Dutch did not object. The only questions which latterly retarded the conclusion of the treaty regarded the compensation to be made to the merchants for the deprivations on their trade in the East Indies before, and the detention of their ships by the king of

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negotiation, it appears from these papers that the despatches of and to the ambassadors were opened, and copies of almost all the resolutions taken by the States procured by the council of state. See particularly, ii. 99, 153.

Denmark during, the war. It was, however, agreed that arbitrators should be chosen out of both nations, and that each government should be bound by their award<sup>40</sup>. These determined that the island of Polerone should be restored, and damages to the amount of 170,000*l.* should be paid to the English East India Company; that 3,615*l.* should be distributed among the heirs of those who suffered at Amboyna; and that a compensation of 97,973*l.* should be made to the traders to the Baltic<sup>41</sup>.

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III.  
1654.

Aug. 30.

On one subject, in the protector's estimation of considerable importance, he was partially successful. Possessed of the supreme power himself, he considered Charles as a personal rival, and made it his policy to strip the exiled king of all hope of foreign support. From the prince of Orange, so nearly allied to the royal family, Cromwell had little to fear during his minority; and, to render him incapable of benefiting the royal cause in his more mature age, he attempted to exclude him by the treaty from succeeding to

Secret  
treaty  
with Hol-  
land.

<sup>40</sup> Dumont, v. par. ii. 74.

<sup>41</sup> See the award, *ibid.* 85, 88. By Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador who resided during the war at Amsterdam, we are told that the Dutch acknowledged the loss of 1,122 men of war and merchantmen; and that the expense of this war exceeded that of their twenty years' hostilities with Spain. He states that their inferiority arose from three causes; that the English ships were of greater bulk; the English cannon were of brass, and of a larger caliber; and the number of prizes made by the English at the commencement crippled the maritime resources of their enemies, *Relazione*, MS.

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those high offices which might almost be considered as hereditary in his family. The determined refusal of the States had induced him to withdraw the demand; but he intrigued, through the agency of Beverningk, with the leaders of the Louvestein faction, and obtained a secret article, by which the States of Holland and West Friesland promised never to elect the prince of Orange for their stadtholder, nor suffer him to have the chief command of the army and navy. But the secret transpired; the other States highly resented this clandestine negotiation; complaints and remonstrances were answered by apologies and vindications; an open schism was declared between the provinces, and every day added to the exasperation of the two parties. On the whole, however, the quarrel was favourable to the pretensions of the young prince, from the dislike with which the people viewed the interference of a foreign potentate, or rather, as they termed him, of an usurper, in the internal arrangements of the republic<sup>42</sup>.

Negotia-  
tion with  
Spain.  
1653.

The war in which the rival crowns of France and Spain had so long been engaged, induced both Louis and Philip to pay their court to the new protector. Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, had the advantage of being on the spot. He waited on Cromwell to present to him the con-

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<sup>42</sup> Dumont, 79. Thurloe, vol. ii. iii. passim. See *La Deduction, or Defence of the States of Holland*, in *Le Clerc*, i. 345, and *Basnage*, i. 342.



gratulations of his sovereign, and to offer to him the support of the Spanish monarch, if he should feel desirous to rise a step higher, and assume the style and office of king. To so flattering a message, a most courteous answer was returned; and the ambassador proceeded to propose an alliance between the two powers, of which the great object should be to confine within reasonable bounds the ambition of France, which, for so many years, had disturbed the tranquillity of Europe. This was the sole advantage to which Philip looked: to Cromwell the benefit would be, that France might be compelled to refuse aid and harbour to Charles Stuart and his followers; and to contract the obligation of maintaining jointly with Spain the protector in the government of the three kingdoms. Cromwell listened, but gave no answer: he appointed commissioners to discuss the proposal, but forbade them to make any promise, or to hold out any hope of his acquiescence. When Don Alonzo communicated to them the draft of a treaty which he had all but concluded with the deputies appointed by the late parliament, he was asked whether the king of Spain would consent to a free trade to the West Indies; would omit the clause respecting the inquisition; reduce to an equality the duties on foreign merchandize; and give to the English merchant the pre-emption of the Spanish wool. He replied, that his master would as soon lose his eyes as suffer the interference of any foreign power on the two first questions:

CHAP. as to the others, satisfactory adjustments might  
 III. easily be made. This was sufficient for the present.  
 1654. Cromwell affected to consider the treaty at an end ; though the real fact was, that he meditated a very different project in his own mind, and was careful not to be precluded by premature arrangements<sup>43</sup>.

With  
 France.

The French ambassador, though he commenced his negotiation under less propitious auspices, had the address or good fortune to conduct it to a more favourable issue. That the royal family of France, from its relationship to that of England, was ill-disposed towards the commonwealth, there could be no doubt : but its inclinations were controlled by the internal feuds which distracted, and the external war which demanded, the attention of the government. The first proof of hostility was supposed to be given before the death of the king, by a royal arret prohibiting the importation into France of English woollens and silks : and this was afterwards met by an order of parliament equally prohibiting the importation into England of French woollens, silks, and wines. The alleged infraction of these commercial regulations led to the arrest and subsequent condemnation of vessels belonging to both nations : each govern-

1648.  
 Oct. 21.

1649.  
 Aug. 23.  
 Aug. 13.

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<sup>43</sup> Thurloe, i. 705, 759, 760. Dumont, v. part ii. p. 106. The clause respecting the inquisition was one which secured the English traders from being molested by that court, on condition they gave no scandal: modo ne dent scandalum. This condition Cromwell wished to be withdrawn.

ment issued letters of marque to the sufferers among its subjects ; and the naval commanders received instructions to seek that compensation for the individuals aggrieved which the latter were unable of themselves to obtain<sup>44</sup>. Thus the maritime trade of both countries was exposed to the depredations of private and national cruisers, while their respective governments were considered as remaining at peace. But in 1651, when the cardinal Mazarin had been banished from France, it was resolved by Cromwell, who had recently won the battle of Worcester, to tempt the fidelity of D'Estrades, the governor of Dunkirk and a dependant on the exiled minister. An officer of the lord-general's regiment made to D'Estrades the offer of a considerable sum, on condition that he would deliver the fortress into the hands of the English ; or of the same sum, with the aid of a military force to the cardinal, if he preferred to treat in the name of his patron. The governor complained of the insult offered to his honour ; but intimated that, if the English wished to purchase Dunkirk, the proposal might be addressed to his sovereign. The hint was taken, and the

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

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Respect-  
ing Dun-  
kirk.

1652.  
Feb.

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<sup>44</sup> See the Instructions to Popham. " In respect that many of the English so spoiled are not able to undergo the charge of setting forth ships of their own to make seizures by such letters of marque ; . . . you shall, as in the way and execution of justice, seize, arrest, &c. such ships and vessels of the said French king or any of his subjects, as you shall think fit, . . . and the same keep in your custody, till the parliament declare their further resolution concerning the same." Thurloe, i. 144.

CHAP. offer was made, and debated in the royal council  
 III. at Poitiers. The cardinal, who returned to  
 1654. France at the very time, urged its acceptance<sup>45</sup> ;  
 but the queen mother and the other counsellors  
 were so unwilling to give the English a footing  
 in France, that he acquiesced in their opinion, and  
 a refusal was returned. Cromwell did not fail to  
 resent their disappointment. By the facility which  
 he afforded to the Spanish levies in Ireland, their  
 army in Flanders was enabled to reduce Grave-  
 lines, and, soon afterwards, to invest Dunkirk.  
 May 8. That fortress was on the point of capitulating  
 when a French flotilla of seven sail, carrying from  
 twenty to thirty guns each, and laden with stores  
 and provisions, was descried stealing along the  
 shore to its relief. Blake, who had received  
 Sep. 5. secret orders from the council, gave chase ; the  
 whole squadron was captured, and the next day  
 Dunkirk opened its gates<sup>46</sup>. By the French court  
 this action was pronounced an unprovoked and  
 unjustifiable injury ; but Mazarin coolly calculated  
 Dec. 10. the probable consequences of a war, and, after  
 some time, sent over Bordeaux, under the pre-  
 tence of claiming the captured ships, but in re-  
 ality to oppose the intrigues of the agents of Spain,

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<sup>45</sup> Here Louis XIV., to whom we are indebted for this anecdote, observes, that it was the cardinal's maxim de pourvoir, à quelque prix qu'il fût, aux affaires présentes, persuadé que les maux à venir, trouveroient leur remede dans l'avenir même. Œuvres de Louis XIV. i. 170.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 168—170. See also Heath, 325. Thurloe, i. 214. Whitelock, 513.

of the prince of Condé, and of the city of Bordeaux, who laboured to obtain the support of the commonwealth in opposition to the French court<sup>47</sup>. CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

Bordeaux had been appointed ambassador to the parliament: after the inauguration of Cromwell, it became necessary to appoint him ambassador to his highness the protector. But in what style was Louis to address the usurper by letter? “Mon cousin” was offered and refused: “mon frere,” which Cromwell sought, was offensive to the pride of the monarch: and, as a temperament between the two, “monsieur le protecteur” was given and accepted. Bordeaux proposed a treaty of amity, by which all letters of marque should be recalled, and the damages suffered by the merchants of the two nations be referred to foreign arbitrators. To thwart the efforts of his rival, Don Alonzo, abandoning his former project, brought forward the proposal of a new commercial treaty between England and Spain. Cromwell was in no haste to conclude with either. He was aware that the war between them was the true cause of these applications; that he held the balance in his hand, and that it was in his power at any moment to incline it in favour of either of the two crowns. His determination indeed had long been taken: but it was not his purpose to let it transpire; and, when he was asked the object

Cromwell comes to no decision.

1653.

Feb. 21.

<sup>47</sup> Journals, 14 Dec. 1652. Clar. Pap. iii. 105, 123, 132. Thurot, i. 436.

CHAP. of the two great armaments preparing in the  
 III. English ports, he refused to give any satisfactory  
 1654. explanation<sup>48</sup>.

New par-  
 liament.

1654.  
 Sep. 3.

In this state of the treaty, its further progress was for a while suspended by the meeting of the protector's first parliament. He had summoned it for the 3d of September, his fortunate day, as he perhaps believed himself, as he certainly wished it to be believed by others. But the 3d happened in that year to fall on a Sunday; and, that the sabbath might not be profaned by the agitation of worldly business, he requested the members to meet him at sermon in Westminster-abbey on the following morning. At ten the procession set out from Whitehall. It was opened by two troops of life-guards; then rode some hundreds of gentlemen and officers, bareheaded, and in splendid apparel; immediately before the carriage walked the pages and lackeys of the protector in rich liveries, and on each side a captain of the guard; behind it came Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger magnificently caparisoned, and Claypole was followed by the great officers of state and the members of the council. The personal ap-

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<sup>48</sup> Thurloe, i. 760; ii. 61, 113, 228, 559, 587. An obstacle was opposed to the progress of the treaty by the conduct of De Baas, a dependent on Mazarin, and sent to aid Bourdeaux with his advice. After some time, it was discovered that this man (whether by order of the minister, or at the solicitation of the royalists, is uncertain) was intriguing with the malcontents. Cromwell compelled him to return to France. Thurloe, ii. 309, 351, 412, 437.

pearance of the protector formed a striking contrast with the parade of the procession. He was dressed in a plain suit, after the fashion of a country gentleman, and was chiefly distinguished from his attendants by his superior simplicity, and the privilege of wearing his hat. After sermon, he placed himself in the chair of state in the painted chamber, while the members seated themselves, uncovered, on benches ranged along the walls. The protector then rose, took off his hat, and addressed them in a speech which lasted three hours. It was, after his usual style, verbose, involved, and obscure, sprinkled with quotations from scripture to refresh the piety of the saints, and seasoned with an affectation of modesty to disarm the enmity of the republicans. He described the state of the nation at the close of the last parliament. It was agitated by the principles of the levellers, tending to reduce all to an equality; by the doctrines of the fifth monarchy men, subversive of civil government; by religious theorists, the pretended champions of liberty of conscience, who condemned an established ministry as Babylonish and antichristian; and by swarms of jesuits, who had settled in England an episcopal jurisdiction to pervert the people. At the same time the naval war with Holland absorbed all the pecuniary resources, while a commercial war with France and Portugal cramped the industry, of the nation. He then bade them contrast this picture with the existing state of things. The taxes had been reduced;

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

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Sep. 4

CHAP. judges of talent and integrity had been placed  
 III. upon the bench ; the burthen of the commissioners  
 1654. of the great seal had been lightened by the re-  
 ——— removal of many descriptions of causes from the  
 court of chancery to the ordinary courts of law ;  
 and “ a stop had been put to that heady way for  
 “ every man, who pleased, to become a preacher.”  
 The war with Holland had terminated in an ad-  
 vantageous peace; treaties of commerce and amity  
 had been concluded with Denmark and Sweden<sup>49</sup>;  
 a similar treaty, which would place the British  
 trader beyond the reach of the inquisition, had  
 been signed with Portugal, and another was in  
 progress with the ambassador of the French  
 monarch. Thus had the government brought the  
 three nations by hasty strides towards the land of  
 promise ; it was for the parliament to introduce  
 them into it. The prospect was bright before  
 them ; let them not look back to the onions and  
 flesh-pots of Egypt. He spoke not as their lord,

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<sup>49</sup> That with Sweden was negotiated by Whitelock, who had been sent on that mission against his will by the influence of Cromwell. The object was to detach Sweden from the interest of France, and engage it to maintain the liberty of trade in the Baltic, against Denmark, which was under the influence of Holland. It was concluded April 11. After the peace with Holland, the Danish monarch hastened to appease the protector ; the treaty which, though said by Cromwell to be already concluded, was not signed till eleven days afterwards, stipulated that the English traders should pay no other customs or dues than the Dutch. Thus they were enabled to import naval stores on the same terms, while before, on account of the heavy duties, they bought them at second hand of the Dutch. See the Treaties in Dumont, v. par. ii. p. 80, 92.



but their fellow servant, a labourer with them in the same good work ; and would therefore detain them no longer, but desire them to repair to their own house, and choose their speaker<sup>50</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

To procure a parliament favourable to his designs, all the power of the government had been employed to influence the elections : the returns had been examined by a committee of the council, under the pretext of seeing that the provisions of the " instrument " were observed : and the consequence was that the lord Grey of Groby, major Wildman, and some other noted republicans, had been excluded by the command of the protector. Still he found himself unable to mould the house to his wishes. By the court, Lenthall was put in nomination for the office of speaker ; by the opposition, Bradshaw, the boldest and most able of the opposite party. After a short debate, Lenthall was chosen : by the one, because they knew him to be a timid and a time-serving character ; by the other, because they thought that to place him in the chair, was one step towards the revival of the long parliament, of which he had been speaker. But no one ventured to propose that he should be offered, according to ancient custom, to the acceptance of the supreme magistrate. This was thought to savour too much of royalty<sup>51</sup>.

Not favourable to his views.

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<sup>50</sup> Compare the official copy printed by G. Sawbridge, 1654, with the Abstracts by Whitelock (599, 609), and by Bordeaux. Thurloe, ii. 518. See also Journals, Sep. 3, 4.

<sup>51</sup> It appears from the Council Book (1654, Aug. 21,) that, on

CHAP. It was not long before the relative strength of  
 III. the parties was ascertained. After a sharp debate,  
 1654. in which it was repeatedly asked why the mem-  
 ———— bers of the long parliament then present should  
 Debates re- not resume the authority of which they had been  
 specting the instru- illegally deprived by force, and by what right, but  
 ment. that of the sword, one man presumed to “com-  
 Sep. 6. “mand his commanders,” the question was put,  
 that the house resolve itself into a committee, to  
 determine whether or not the government shall  
 be in a single person and successive parliaments;  
 and, to the surprise and alarm of Cromwell, it  
 was carried against the court by a majority of five  
 voices<sup>52</sup>. The leaders of the opposition were  
 Bradshaw, Haslerig, and Scot, who now contended  
 in the committee that the existing government  
 emanated from an incompetent authority, and  
 stood in opposition to the solemn determination  
 of a legitimate parliament; while the protectorists,  
 with equal warmth, maintained that, since it had  
 been approved by the people, the only real source  
 of power, it could not be subject to revision by  
 the representatives of the people. The debate  
 lasted several days, during which the common-

Sep. 8.

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that day, letters were despatched to the sheriffs, containing the names of the members who had been approved by the council, with orders to give them notice to attend. The letters to the more distant places were sent first, that they might all be received about the same time.

<sup>52</sup> Many of those who voted in the majority, did not object to the authority of the protector; but to the source from which it emanated,—a written instrument, the author of which was unknown. They wished it to be settled on him by act of parliament. Thurloc, ii. 606.

wealth party gradually increased its number. CHAP. III. 1654.  
 That the executive power might be profitably delegated to a single individual, was not disputed; but it was contended that, of right, the legislative authority belonged exclusively to the parliament. Sep. 9.  
 The officers and courtiers, finding that the sense of the house was against them, dropped the question of right, and fled to that of expediency: in the existing circumstances, the public safety required a check on the otherwise unbounded power of parliament; that check could be no other than a co-ordinate authority, possessing a negative voice; and that authority was the protector, who had been pointed out to them by Providence, acknowledged by the people in their addresses, and confirmed by the conditions expressed in the indentures of the members. It was replied, that the inconveniency of such a check had induced the nation to abolish the kingly government; that the addresses of the people expressed their joy for their deliverance from the incapacity of the little parliament, not their approbation of the new government; that Providence often permits what it disapproves; and that the indentures were an artifice of the court, which could not have force to bind the supreme power. To reconcile the disputants, a compromise between the parties had been planned; but Cromwell would not suffer the experiment to be tried<sup>53</sup>. Having ordered Harrison, whose partisans were collecting signatures to a petition, to be Sep. 12.

<sup>53</sup> See introduction to Burton's Diary, xxiv—xxxii.

CHAP. taken into custody, he despatched three regiments  
 III. to occupy the principal posts in the city, and  
 1654. commanded the attendance of the house in the  
 painted chamber. There, laying aside that tone  
 of modesty which he had hitherto assumed, he  
 frankly told the members that his calling was  
 from God, his testimony from the people; and  
 that no one but God and the people should ever  
 take his office from him. It was not of his  
 seeking: God knew that it was his utmost ambi-  
 tion to lead the life of a country gentleman; but  
 imperious circumstances had imposed it upon him.  
 The long parliament brought their dissolution  
 upon themselves by despotism; the little parlia-  
 ment by imbecility<sup>54</sup>. On each occasion he found

The pro-  
 tector's  
 speech.

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<sup>54</sup> It is remarkable that, in noticing the despotism of the long parliament, he makes mention of the very same thing, which his enemy Lilburne urged against it: "by taking the judgment, both in capital and criminal things, to themselves, who in former times were not known to exercise such a judicature." He boldly maintains that they meant to perpetuate themselves by filling up vacancies as they occurred; and had made several applications to him to obtain his consent. He adds, "poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven like flocks of sheep by 40 in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason that two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. I tell you the truth; and my soul, and many persons whose faces I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things, and knew not which way to help it, but by their mournings, and giving their negatives when the occasion served." I notice this passage, because since the discovery of the sequestrators' papers it has been thought from the regularity with which their books were kept, and the seeming equity of their proceedings, as they are entered, little injustice was done.

himself invested with absolute power over the military; and, through the military, over the three nations. But on each occasion he was anxious to part with that power; and if, at last, he had acquiesced in the instrument of government, it was because it made the parliament a check on the protector, and the protector a check on the parliament. That he did not bring himself into his present situation, he had God for a witness above; his conscience for a witness within; and a cloud of witnesses without: he had the persons who attended when he took the oath of fidelity to “the instrument;” the officers of the army in the three nations, who testified their approbation by their signatures; the city of London which feasted him; the counties, cities, and boroughs that had sent him addresses; the judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, who acted by his commission; and the very men who now stood before him, for they came there in obedience to his writ, and under the express condition that “the persons so chosen should not have power to change the government as settled in one single person and the parliament.” He would, therefore, have them to know, that four things were fundamental: 1<sup>o</sup>. that the supreme power should be vested in a single person and parliament: 2<sup>o</sup>. that the parliament should be successive and not perpetual: 3<sup>o</sup>. that neither protector nor parliament alone should possess the uncontrolled command of the military force: and 4<sup>o</sup>. that liberty of conscience

CHAP. should be fenced round with such barriers as  
 III. might exclude both profaneness and persecution.  
 1654.

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The other articles of the instrument were less essential; they might be altered with circumstances; and he should always be ready to agree to what was reasonable. But he would not permit them to sit, and yet disown the authority by which they sate. For this purpose he had prepared a recognition which he required them to sign. Those who refused would be excluded the house: the rest would find admission, and might exercise their legislative power without controul, for his negative remained in force no longer than twenty days. Let them limit his authority if they pleased. He would cheerfully submit, provided he thought it for the interest of the people<sup>55</sup>.

Subscription  
 required  
 from the  
 members.

The members, on their return, found a guard of soldiers at the door of the house, and a parchment for signatures lying on a table in the lobby. It contained the recognition of which the protector had spoken; a pledge that the subscribers would neither propose nor consent to alter the government, as it was settled in one person and a parliament. It was immediately signed by Lenthall, the speaker; his example was followed by the court party; and in the course of a few days almost three hundred names were subscribed. The staunch republicans refused; yet the sequel showed that their exclusion did not give to the

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<sup>55</sup> Printed by G. Sawbridge, 1654.

court that ascendancy in the house, which had been anticipated<sup>56</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1654.

About this time an extraordinary accident occurred. Among the presents which Cromwell had received from foreign princes, were six Friesland coach horses from the duke of Oldenburgh. One day, after he had dined with Thurloe under the shade in the park, the fancy took him to try the mettle of the horses. The secretary was compelled to enter the carriage: the protector, forgetful of his station, mounted the box. The horses at first appeared obedient to the hand of the new coachman; but the too frequent application of the lash drove them into a gallop, and the protector was suddenly precipitated from his seat. At first, he lay suspended by the pole with his leg entangled in the harness; and the explosion of a loaded pistol in one of his pockets added to the fright and the rapidity of the horses: but a fortunate jerk extricated his foot from his shoe, and he fell under the body of the carriage without meeting with injury from the wheels. He was immediately taken up by his guards, who followed at full speed, and conveyed to Whitehall: Thurloe leaped from the door of the carriage, and escaped with a sprained ancle and some severe bruises. Both were confined to their chambers for a long time;

Cromwell  
falls from  
his car-  
riage.  
Oct. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Thurloe, ii. 606. Whitelock, 605.—Journals, Sep. 5—18. Fleetwood, from Dublin, asks Thurloe, "How cam it to passe, that this last teste was not at the first sitting of the house?" ii. 620.

CHAP. but by many, their confinement was attributed as  
 III. much to policy as to indisposition. The cavaliers  
 1654. diverted themselves by prophecying that, as his  
 first fall had been from a coach, the next would be  
 from a cart: to the public, the explosion of the  
 pistol revealed the secret terrors which haunted  
 his mind: that sense of insecurity, those fears of  
 assassination, which are the usual meed of inor-  
 dinate and successful ambition<sup>57</sup>.

The par-  
 liament  
 opposes  
 his pro-  
 jects.

Oct. 13.

The force so lately put on the parliament, and the occasion of that force, had opened the eyes of the most devoted among his adherents. His protestations of disinterestedness; his solemn appeals to heaven in testimony of his wish to lead the life of a private gentleman, were contrasted with his aspiring and arbitrary conduct; and the house, though deprived of one-fourth of its number, still contained a majority jealous of his designs, and anxious to limit his authority. The accident which had placed his life in jeopardy naturally led to the consideration of the probable consequences of his death; and, to sound the disposition of the members, the question of the succession was repeatedly, though not formally, introduced. The remarks which it provoked afforded little encouragement to his hopes: yet, when the previous arrangements had been made, when all the dependants of the government had been mustered, Lambert, having in a long and studied speech, detailed the evils of

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<sup>57</sup> Heath, 363. Thurloc, ii. 652, 3, 672. Ludlow, ii. 63.



elective, the benefit of hereditary, succession, moved that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell according to the known law of inheritance. To the surprise and the mortification of the party, the motion was negatived by a division of two hundred against eighty voices; and it was resolved that, on the death of the protector, his successor should be chosen by the parliament if it were sitting, and by the council in the absence of parliament<sup>58</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1655.

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This experiment had sufficiently proved the feelings of the majority. Aware, however, of their relative weakness, they were careful to give Cromwell no tangible cause of offence. If they appointed committees to revise the ordinances which he had published, they affected to consider

Reviews  
the instru-  
ment.

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<sup>58</sup> Thurloe, i. 668, 681, 685. Whitelock, 607. Journals, Nov. 30. Though the house was daily occupied with the important question of the government, it found leisure to inquire into the theological opinions of John Biddle, who may be stiled the father of the English unitarians. He had been thrice imprisoned by the long parliament, and was at last liberated by the act of oblivion in 1562. The republication of his opinions attracted the notice of the present parliament; to the questions put to him by the speaker, he replied, that he could nowhere find in Scripture that Christ or the Holy Ghost is called God; and it was resolved that he should be committed to the Gatehouse, and that a bill to punish him should be prepared. The dissolution saved his life; and, by application to the upper bench, he recovered his liberty; but was again arrested in 1655, and sent to the isle of Scilly, to remain for life in the castle of St. Mary. Cromwell discharged him in 1658; but he was again sent to Newgate in 1662, where he died the same year. See Vita Bidelli, the short account. Journals, Dec. 12, 13, 1654. Wood, iii. 594, and Biog. Brit.

CHAP. them as merely provisional regulations, supplying  
 III. the place of laws till the meeting of parliament.  
 1655.

———— If they examined in detail the forty-two articles of the instrument, rejecting some, and amending others, they still withheld their unhallowed hands from those subjects which *he* had pronounced sacred,—the four immovable pillars on which the new constitution was built. Cromwell, on his part, betrayed no symptom of impatience; but waited quietly for the moment when he had resolved to break the designs of his adversaries. They proceeded with the revision of “the instrument;” their labours were embodied in a bill,  
 Jan. 19. and the bill was read a third time. During two days the courtiers prolonged the debate by moving  
 Jan. 22. a variety of amendments; on the third Cromwell summoned the house to meet him in the painted chamber. Displeasure and contempt were marked on his countenance.

Is addressed by Cromwell. They appeared there, he observed, with the speaker at their head, as a house of parliament. Yet, what had they done as a parliament? He never had played, he never would play the orator; and therefore he would tell them frankly, they had done nothing. For five months they had passed no bill, had made no address, had held no communication with him. As far as concerned them, he had nothing to do but to pray that God would enlighten their minds and give a blessing to their labours. But had they then done nothing? Yes: they had encouraged the cavaliers to plot

against the commonwealth, and the levellers to intrigue with the cavaliers. By their dissension they had aided the fanatics to throw the nation into confusion, and by the slowness of their proceedings had compelled the soldiers to live at free quarters on the country. They supposed that he sought to make the protectorship hereditary in his family. It was not true: had they inserted such a provision in the instrument, on that ground alone he would have rejected it. He spoke in the fear of the Lord who would not be mocked, and with the satisfaction that his conscience did not belie his assertion. The different revolutions which had happened were attributed to his cunning. How blind were men who would not see the hand of Providence in its merciful dispensations, who ridiculed as the visions of enthusiasm the observations "made by the quickening and teaching Spirit." It was supposed that he would not be able to raise money without the aid of parliament. But "he had been inured to difficulties, and never found God failing, when he trusted in him." The country would willingly pay on account of the necessity. But was not the necessity of his creation? No: it was of God; the consequence of God's providence. It was no marvel, if men who lived on their masses and service-books, their dead and carnal worship, were strangers to the works of God; but for those who had been instructed by the Spirit of God, to adopt the same language, and

CHAP.  
III.  
1655.

And dis-  
solved.

say that men were the cause of these things, when God had done them, this was more than the Lord would bear. But that he might trouble them no longer, it was his duty to tell them that their continuance was not for the benefit of the nation, and therefore he did then and there declare that he dissolved the parliament<sup>59</sup>.

This was a stroke for which his adversaries were unprepared. The instrument had provided that the parliament should sit during five months, and it still wanted twelve days of the expiration of that term. But Cromwell chose to understand the clause not of calendar but lunar months, the fifth of which had been completed on the preceding evening. Much might have been urged against such an interpretation; but a military force was ready to support the opinion of the protector, and prudence taught the most reluctant of his enemies to obey.

Conspi-  
racy of  
the re-  
publicans.

The conspiracies to which he had alluded in his speech, had been generated by the impatience of the two opposite parties, the republicans and the royalists. Of the republicans some cared little for religion, others were religious enthusiasts, but both were united in the same cause by one common interest. The first could not forgive the usurpation of Cromwell, who had reaped the fruit, and destroyed the object of their labours:

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<sup>59</sup> Printed by Henry Hills, printer to his highness, the lord-protector, 1654. Whitelock, 610—618. Journals, Jan. 19, 20, 22.

the second asked each other how they could conscientiously sit quiet, and allow so much blood to have been spilt, and treasure expended, so many tears to have been shed, and vows offered, in vain. If they “hoped to look with confidence the king “of terrors in the face, if they sought to save “themselves from the bottomless pit, it was “necessary to espouse once more the cause of him “who had called them forth in their generation “to assert the freedom of the people and the “privileges of parliament<sup>60</sup>.” Under these different impressions, pamphlets were published exposing the hypocrisy and perjuries of the protector; letters and agitators passed from regiment to regiment; and projects were suggested and entertained for the surprisal of Cromwell’s person, and the seizure of the castle of Edinburgh, of Hull, Portsmouth, and other places of strength. But it was not easy for the republicans to deceive the vigilance, or elude the grasp, of their adversary. He dismissed all officers of doubtful fidelity from their commands in the army, and secured the obedience of the men by the substitution of others more devoted to his interest: by his order, colonel Wildman was surprised in the very act of dictating to his secretary a declaration against the government of the most offensive and inflammatory tendency; and lord Grey of Groby, colonels Alured, Overton,

CHAP.  
III.  
1655.

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1655.  
Feb. 10.

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<sup>60</sup>. See Thurloe, iii. 29; and Milton’s State Papers, 132.

CHAP. and others, were arrested, of whom some remained  
 III. long in confinement, others were permitted to go  
 1655. — at large, on giving security for their peaceable  
 behaviour<sup>61</sup>.

And of the  
 royalists.

The other conspiracy, though more extensive in its ramifications, proved equally harmless in the result. Among the royalists, though many had resigned themselves to despair, there were still many whose enthusiasm discovered in each succeeding event a new motive for hope and exultation. They listened to every tale which flattered their wishes, and persuaded themselves that on the first attempt against the usurper they would be joined by all who condemned his hypocrisy and ambition. It was in vain that Charles from Cologne, where he had fixed his court, recommended caution; that he conjured his adherents not to stake his and their hopes on projects, by which, without being serviceable to him, they would compromise their own safety. They despised his warnings; they accused him of indolence and apathy; they formed associations, collected arms, and fixed the fourteenth of February for simultaneous risings in most counties of England<sup>62</sup>. The day was, indeed, postponed; but Charles, at their request, proceeded in disguise to Middleburgh in Zealand, that he might be in

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<sup>61</sup> Thurloe, iii. passim. Whitelock, 618—620. Bates, 290, 291.

<sup>62</sup> Clarendon (Hist. iii. 552) assigns the 18th of April for the day of rising; but all the documents prove this to be an error.

readiness to cross over to England: and lord Wilmot, lately created Earl of Rochester, with sir Joseph Wagstaff, arrived to take the command of the insurgents; the first in the northern, the second in the western counties. Wagstaff, with two hundred horsemen of Wiltshire, entered Salisbury at five o'clock in the morning on the very day of the assizes. The main body took possession of the market-place; and small detachments secured the houses at the different inns; liberated the prisoners confined in the gaol; and seized the judges and sheriff in their beds. Wagstaff, desirous to excite terror in his opponents and confidence in the royalists, ordered all three to be instantly hanged; but the principal of his followers interceded so earnestly in their favour, that he gave them their liberty; and, having proclaimed the king in the market-place, left Salisbury about two in the afternoon. He began already to despair of success. Scarcely a man had joined him of the crowd of gentlemen and yeomen whom the assizes had collected in the town; and the Hampshire royalists, about two hundred and fifty horse, had not arrived according to their promise. From Salisbury the insurgents marched through Dorsetshire into the county of Devon. Their hopes grew fainter every hour. The farther they proceeded, the more their number diminished; and, when they reached South Molton, disappointed of their expected aid, and exhausted with watching and fatigue, they listened

CHAP.  
III.  
1655.

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March 11.

CHAP. to the exhortations of captain Crook, who followed  
 III. them with a single troop of cavalry, and promised  
 1655. them their lives on condition that they should  
 ——— surrender without resistance. Wagstaff, with two  
 March 14. more, distrusted his word, and made their escape :  
 the others threw down their arms, and were  
 reserved for trial<sup>63</sup>.

The Hampshire royalists had commenced their march for Salisbury, when, learning that Wagstaff had left that city, they immediately dispersed. Other risings at the same time took place in the counties of Montgomery, Shropshire, Nottingham, York, and Northumberland, but everywhere with similar results. The republicans, ardently as they desired to see the protector humbled in the dust, were unwilling that his ruin should be effected by a party whose ascendancy appeared to them a still more grievous evil. The insurgents were ashamed and alarmed at the paucity of their numbers ; prudence taught them to disband before they proceeded to acts of hostility ; and they slunk away in secrecy to their homes, that they might escape the proof, if not the suspicion, of guilt. Even Rochester himself, sanguine as he was by disposition, renounced the attempt, and, with his usual good fortune, was able to thread back his way, through a thousand dangers, from

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<sup>63</sup> Whitelock, 620. Thurloe, iii. 263, 295, 306. Heath, 367. Clarendon, iii. 551, 560. Ludlow, ii. 69.



the centre of Yorkshire to the court of his exiled sovereign at Cologne<sup>64</sup>.

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III.  
1655.

Whether it was through a feeling of shame, or apprehension of the consequences, Cromwell, even under the provocations which he had received, ventured not to bring to trial any of the men who had formerly fought by his side, and now combined against him because he trampled on the liberties of the nation. With the royalists, it was otherwise. He knew that their sufferings would excite little commiseration in those whose favour he sought; and he was anxious to intimidate the more eager by the punishment of their captive associates. Though they had surrendered under articles, Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter; others suffered on the gallows in that city and in Salisbury; and the remainder were sent to be sold for slaves in Barbadoes<sup>65</sup>. To these executions succeeded certain measures of precaution. The protector forbade all ejected and sequestered clergymen of the church of England to teach as schoolmasters or tutors, or to preach or use the church service as ministers either in public or private; ordered all priests belonging to the church of Rome to quit the kingdom under pain of death; banished all cavaliers and catholics to the distance of twenty miles from the metropolis; prohibited the publication in print of any news or

Execu-  
tions.

May 16.

<sup>64</sup> Whitelock, 618, 620. Heath, 368. Clarendon, iii. 560.

<sup>65</sup> State Trials, v. 767—790.

CHAP. intelligence without permission from the secre-  
 III. tary of state; and placed in confinement most of  
 1655. — the nobility and principal gentry in England, till  
 they could produce bail for their good behaviour  
 and future appearance. In addition, an ordi-  
 nance was published that, “all who had ever  
 borne arms for the king, or declared themselves  
 to be of the royal party, should be decimated,  
 that is, pay a tenth part of all the estate which  
 they had left, to support the charge which the  
 commonwealth was put to by the unquietness  
 of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy  
 which they had administered.” It is difficult  
 to conceive a more iniquitous imposition. It was  
 subversive of the act of oblivion formerly pro-  
 cured by Cromwell himself, which pretended to  
 abolish the memory of all past offences; con-  
 trary to natural justice, because it involved the  
 innocent and guilty in the same punishment;  
 and productive of the most extensive extortions,  
 because the commissioners included among the  
 enemies of the commonwealth those who had  
 remained neutral between the parties, or had not  
 given satisfaction by the promptitude of their  
 services or the amount of their contributions. To  
 put the climax to these tyrannical proceedings,  
 he divided the country into eleven, and, at one  
 period, into fourteen military governments under  
 so many officers, with the name and rank of  
 major-generals, giving them authority to raise a  
 force within their respective jurisdictions, which

Decima-  
 tion.

Military  
 govern-  
 ment.

should serve only on particular occasions ; to levy the decimation and other public taxes ; to suppress tumults and insurrections ; to disarm all papists and cavaliers ; to inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters ; and to arrest, imprison, and bind over all dangerous and suspected persons. Thus, this long and sanguinary struggle, originally undertaken to recover the liberties of the country, terminated in the establishment of a military despotism. The institutions which had acted as restraints on the power of preceding sovereigns were superseded or abolished ; the legislative, as well as the executive authority, fell into the grasp of the same individual ; and the best rights of the people were made to depend on the mere pleasure of an adventurer, who, under the mask of dissimulation, had seized, and by the power of the sword retained, the government of three kingdoms <sup>66</sup>.

From domestic occurrences, we may now turn to those abroad. During the last year, the two

Cromwell  
breaks  
with  
Spain.

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<sup>66</sup> Sagredo, who had lately arrived as ambassador extraordinary, thus describes the power of Cromwell. “ Non fa caro del nome, gli basta possedere l'autorità e la potenza, senza comparsa di ragione majore non solo di quanti re siano stati in Inghilterra, ma di quanti monarchi stringono presentamente alcun scetro nel mondo. Smentite le legge fondamentali del regno, egli è il solo legislatore : tutti i governi escono dalle sue mane, e quelli del consiglio, per entrarvi, devono essere nominati da sua altezza, ne possono divenir grandi, se non da lui inalzati. E perchè alcuno non abbia modo di guadagnar autorità sopra l'armata, tutti gli avanzamenti, senza passar per alcun mezzo, sono da lui direttamente conosciuti.” Sangredo, MS.

CHAP. armaments which had so long engaged the atten-  
 III. tion of the European nations, had sailed from  
 1655. — the English ports. Their real, but secret, desti-  
 1654. nation was to invade the American colonies, and  
 surprise the Plate fleet of Spain, the most antient  
 and faithful ally of the commonwealth. To jus-  
 tify the measure, it was argued in the council  
 that, since America was not named in the treaties  
 of 1604 and 1630, hostilities in America would  
 be no infraction of those treaties; that the  
 Spaniards had committed depredations on the  
 English commerce in the West Indies, and were,  
 consequently liable to reprisals; that they had  
 gained possession of these countries by force  
 against the will of the natives, and might, there-  
 fore, be justly dispossessed by force; and, lastly,  
 that the conquest of these transatlantic territo-  
 ries would contribute to spread the light of the  
 gospel among the Indians, and to cramp the  
 resources of popery in Europe<sup>67</sup>. That such  
 flimsy pretences should satisfy the judgment of

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<sup>67</sup> Thurloe, i. 760, 761; ii. 54, 154, 570. Ludlow, ii. 51, 105. The article of the treaty of 1630, on which Cromwell rested his claim of a free trade to the Indies, was the first, establishing peace between *all the subjects* of the two crowns, *subditos quoscunque*: that which, the Spaniards alleged, was the seventh, in which as the king of Spain would not consent to a free trade to America, it was confined to those countries in which such free trade had been exercised before the war between Elizabeth of England and Philip of Spain—words which excluded America as effectually as if it had been named. See Dumont, iv. par. ii. p. 621.

the protector, is improbable; his mind was swayed by very different motives—the prospect of reaping, at a small cost, an abundant harvest of wealth and glory, and the opportunity of engaging in foreign service the officers of whose fidelity at home he had good reason to be jealous.

The Spanish cabinet, arguing from circumstances, began to suspect his object, and, as a last effort, sent the marquess of Leyda ambassador extraordinary to the court of London. He was graciously received, and treated with respect; but, in defiance of his most urgent solicitations, could not, during five months, obtain a positive answer to his proposals. He represented to the protector the services which Spain had rendered to the commonwealth; adverted to the conduct of De Baas, as a proof of the insidious designs of Mazarin; maintained that the late insurrection had been partially instigated by the intrigues of France; and that French troops had been collected on the coast to accompany Charles Stuart to England, if his friends had not been so quickly suppressed; and concluded by offering to besiege Calais, and, on its reduction, to cede it to Cromwell, provided he, on his part, would aid the prince of Condé in his design of forcing his way into Bourdeaux by sea. At length, wearied with delays, and esteeming a longer residence in England a disgrace to his sovereign, he demanded passports,

CHAP.  
III.  
1655.

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Jan.

June 18.

CHAP. and was dismissed with many compliments by the  
 III. protector<sup>68</sup>.  
 1655.

Secret expedition to the Mediterranean. In the mean while, Blake, who commanded one of the expeditions, had sailed to the Straits of Gibraltar, where he received many civilities from the Spanish authorities. Thence he proceeded up the Mediterranean, capturing, under pretence of reprisals, the French vessels, whether merchantmen or men of war, and seeking, but in vain, the fleet under the duke of Guise. Returning to the south, he appeared before Algiers, and extorted from that government an illusory promise of respect to the English flag. From Algiers he  
 1655. proceeded to Tunis. To his demands, the Dey  
 March 10. replied: "there are Goletta, Porto Ferino, and  
 "my fleet: let him destroy them if he can."  
 April 18. Blake departed, returned unexpectedly to Porto Ferino, silenced the fire of the castle, entered the harbour, and burnt the whole flotilla of nine men of war. This exploit induced the Dey of Tripoli to purchase the forbearance of the English by an apparent submission: his Tunisian brother deemed it prudent to follow his example: and the chastisement of the pirates threw an additional lustre on the fame of the protector. There still remained, however, the great but concealed object of the expedition, the capture of the Plate fleet laden with the treasures of the Indies; but Blake was compelled to remain so long before Cadiz that

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<sup>68</sup> Thurloe, i. 761; ii. 54, 154, 570. Dumont, v. par. ii. 106.

the Spaniards discovered his design; and Philip, though he professed to think the protector incapable of so dishonourable a project, permitted the merchants to arm in defence of their property. More than thirty ships were manned with volunteers; they sailed from Cadiz under the command of Don Pablos de Contreras, and continued for some days in sight of the English fleet; but Pablos was careful to give no offence; and Blake, on the re-perusal of his instructions, did not conceive himself authorized to begin the attack. After a long and tedious cruize, he received intelligence that the galleons, his destined prey, were detained in the harbour of Carthagená, and returned to England with a discontented mind and shattered constitution. In regard to the principal object, the expedition had failed; but this had never been avowed; and the people were taught to rejoice at the laurels won in the destruction of the Tunisian fleet, and the lesson given to the piratical tribes on the northern coast of Africa<sup>69</sup>.

The other expedition consisted of thirty sail and three thousand land forces, under the joint command of Penn, as admiral, and of Venables, as general. They spent several weeks among the English settlements in the West Indies, and by

CHAP.  
III.  
1655.

Aug 15.

Another  
to the  
West In-  
dies.  
Jan. 29.

<sup>69</sup> See in particular Blake's Letters in Thurloe, iii. 232, 390, 541, 611, 620, 718; iv. 19. He complains bitterly of the bad state of the ships, and of the privations suffered by the men, from the neglect of the commissioners of the navy. Also the protector's instructions to him. Thurloe, i. 724.

- CHAP. the promise of plunder allured to their standards  
 III.  
 1655. many of the planters and multitudes of the Eng-  
 ———— lish, Scottish, and Irish royalists, who had been  
 transported thither as prisoners of war. When  
 they reached Hispaniola, Venables numbered ten  
 thousand men under his command; and, had the  
 fleet boldly entered the harbour of St. Domingo,  
 it was believed that the town, unprepared for re-  
 sistance, must have immediately submitted. But  
 April 14. the greater part of the army was landed at a point  
 about forty miles distant: the expectations of the  
 men were disappointed by a proclamation, declar-  
 ing that the plunder was to be considered the  
 public property of the commonwealth: the length  
 of the march, the heat of the climate, and the  
 scarcity of water added to the general discontent,  
 and almost a fortnight elapsed before the invaders  
 were able to approach the defences of the place.  
 April 25. Their march lay through a thick and lofty wood;  
 and the advance suddenly found itself in front of  
 a battery which enfiladed the road to a consider-  
 able distance. On the first discharge the men  
 rushed back on a regiment of foot; that, partaking  
 in the panic, on a squadron of horse: and, while  
 the infantry and cavalry were thus wedged toge-  
 ther in inextricable confusion, the Spanish marks-  
 men kept up a most destructive fire from behind  
 the trees lining the road. After a long effort, the  
 wood was cleared by a body of seamen who served  
 among the infantry, and darkness put an end to



the action, in which not fewer than a thousand men had fallen. In the morning, the English retired to their last encampment, about ten miles from the town.

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III.  
1655.

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Here Venables called a council of officers, who, having previously sought the Lord, determined to "purge" the army. Some of the runaways were hanged: the officer who commanded the advance was broken, and sent on board the hospital ship to wait on the sick; the loose women who had followed the army were apprehended and punished; and a solemn fast was proclaimed and observed. But no fasting, praying, or purging, could restore the spirits of men humbled by defeat, enfeebled by disease, and reduced to the necessity of feeding on the horses belonging to the cavalry. The attempt was abandoned; but, on their return, the two commanders made a descent on the Island of Jamaica. The Spanish settlers, about five hundred, fled to the mountains: a capitulation followed; and the island was ceded to England. Could its flourishing condition in a subsequent period have been then foreseen, this conquest might have consoled the nation for the loss at Hispaniola, and the disgrace of the attempt. But at that time Jamaica was deemed an inconsiderable acquisition; the failure of the expedition encouraged men to condemn the grounds on which it had been undertaken; and Cromwell, mortified and ashamed, vented his displeasure on Penn and

Which  
fails.  
April 28.

May 3.

May 10.

July.

CHAP. Venables, the two commanders, whom, on their  
 III. arrival, he committed to the Tower<sup>70</sup>.  
 1655.

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To many it seemed a solecism in politics, that, when the protector determined to break with Spain, he did not attempt to sell his services to the great enemy of Spain, the king of France. For reasons which have never been explained, he took no advantage of this circumstance; instead of urging, he seemed anxious to retard, the conclusion of the treaty with that power; after each concession, he brought forward new and more provoking demands; and, as if he sought to prevail by intimidation, commissioned Blake to ruin the French commerce, and to attack the French fleet, in the Mediterranean. By Louis these insults were keenly felt; but his pride yielded to his interest; expedients were found to satisfy all the claims of the protector; and at length the time for the signature of the treaty was fixed,

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<sup>70</sup> Carte's Letters, ii. 46—52. Thurloe, iii. 504, 509, 689, 755; iv. 28. Bates, 367. Penn and Venables, having resigned their commissions, were discharged. Council Book, 1655, Oct. 26, 31. It appears from the papers in Thurloe that Cromwell paid great attention to the prosperity of the West Indian colonies, as affording facilities to future attempts on the American continent. To increase the population he had, as the reader is already aware, forcibly taken up a thousand young girls in Ireland, and sent them to Jamaica: in 1656, while Sagredo was in London, he ordered all females of disorderly lives to be arrested and shipped for Barbadoes for the like purpose. Twelve hundred were sent in three ships. Ho veduto prima del mio partire piu squadre di soldati andar per Londra cercando donne di allegra vita, imbarcandone 1,200 sopra tre vascelli per tragittarle all' isola, a fine di far propagazione. Sagredo, MS.

when an event occurred to furnish new pretexts for delay; that event, which by protestants has been called the massacre, by catholics, the rebellion, of the Vaudois.

CHAP.  
III.  
1656.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the peculiar doctrines of the "poor men of Lyons" penetrated into the valleys of Piedmont, where they were cherished in obscurity till the time of the reformation, and were then exchanged, in a great measure, for the creed publicly taught at Geneva. The duke of Savoy by successive grants confirmed to the natives the free exercise of their religion, on condition that they should confine themselves within their ancient limits<sup>71</sup>: but complaints were made that several among the men of Angrogna had abused their privileges to form settlements and establish their worship in the plains; and the court of Turin, wearied with the conflicting statements of the opposite parties, referred the decision of the dispute to the civilian, Andrea Gastaldo. After a long and patient hearing, he pronounced a definitive judgment, that Lucerna and some other places lay without the original boundaries, and that the intruders should withdraw under the penalties of forfeiture and death. At the same time, however, permission was granted them to sell for their own profit the lands which they had planted, though by law

Troubles  
in Pied-  
mont.

1655.  
June 19.

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<sup>71</sup> These were the four districts of Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, and Rorata. Siri, del Mercurio, overo Historia de' Correnti Tempi. Firenze, 1682, tom. xv. p. 827.

CHAP. these lands had become the property of the sove-  
 III. reign <sup>72</sup>.  
 1656.

Insurrec-  
 tion of the  
 Vaudois.

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The Vaudois were a race of hardy, stubborn, half-civilized mountaineers, whose passions were readily kindled, and whose resolves were as violent as they were sudden. At first, they submitted sullenly to the judgment of Gastaldo, but sent deputies to Turin to remonstrate: in a few days a solemn fast was proclaimed; the ministers excommunicated every individual who should sell his lands in the disputed territory; the natives of the valleys under the dominion of the king of France met those of the valleys belonging to the duke of Savoy; both bound themselves by oath to stand by each other in their common defence; and messengers were despatched to solicit aid and advice from the church of Geneva and the protestant cantons of Switzerland. The intelligence alarmed the marquess Pianeze, the chief minister of the duke; who, to suppress the nascent confederacy, marched from Turin with an armed force, reduced La Torre into which the insurgents had thrown a garrison of six hundred men, and, having made an offer of pardon to all who should submit, ordered his troops to fix their quarters in Bobbio, Villaro, and the lower part of Angrogna. It had previously been promised that

April 7.

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<sup>72</sup> The decree of Gastaldo is in Morland, *History of the Evangelical Churches in the valleys of Piedmont*, p. 303. The grounds of that decree are at p. 408, the objections to it at p. 423. See also Siri, xv. 827, 830.

they should be peaceably received; but the inhabitants had already retired to the mountains with their cattle and provision; and the soldiers found no other accommodation than the bare walls. Quarrels soon followed between the parties; one act of offence was retaliated with another; and the desire of vengeance provoked a war of extermination. But the military were in general successful; and the natives found themselves compelled to flee to the summits of the loftiest mountains, or to seek refuge in the valleys of Dauphiné, among a people of similar habits and religion<sup>73</sup>.

Accounts of these transactions, but accounts teeming with exaggeration and improbabilities, were transmitted to the different protestant states

CHAP.  
III.  
1656.

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Cromwell  
seeks to  
protect  
them.

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<sup>73</sup> Siri, xv. 827—833. It would be a difficult task to determine by whom, after the reduction of La Torre, the first blood was wantonly drawn, or to which party the blame of superior cruelty really belongs. The authorities on each side are interested, and therefore suspicious; the provocations alleged by the one are as warmly denied by the other; and to the ravages of the military in Angrogna and Lucerna, are opposed the massacres of the catholics in Perousa and San Martino. In favour of the Vaudois may be consulted Leger, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Evangeliques*, &c. (He was a principal instigator of these troubles) Stoupe, *Collection of the several papers sent to his highness*, &c. London, 1655. *Subaudiensis in Reformatam Religionem Persecutionis Brevis Narratio*, Londini, 1655. Morland, 326—384, and the papers in Thurloe, iii. 361, 84, 412, 16, 30, 44, 59, 538. Against them—*A Short and Faithful Account of the Late Com-motions*, &c. with some reflections on Mr. Stoupe's *Collected Papers*, 1655. Morland, 387—404. Siri, xv. 827—843, and Thurloe, iii. 413, 64, 75, 90, 502, 35, 36, 617, 26, 56.

CHAP. by the ministers at Geneva. They represented the  
 III. duke of Savoy as a bigoted and intolerant prince ;  
 1656. ————— the Vaudois as an innocent race, whose only crime  
 was their attachment to the reformed faith. They  
 implored the protestant powers to assume the de-  
 fence of their persecuted brethren, and called for  
 pecuniary contributions to save from destruction  
 by famine the remnant which had escaped the  
 May. edge of the sword<sup>74</sup>. In England the cause was  
 advocated by the press and from the pulpit : a  
 solemn fast was kept, and the passions of the  
 people were roused to enthusiasm. The ministers  
 in a body waited on Cromwell to recommend the  
 Vaudois to his protection ; the armies in Scotland  
 and Ireland presented addresses, expressive of  
 their readiness to shed their blood in so sacred a  
 cause ; and all classes of men, from the highest  
 to the lowest, hastened to contribute their money  
 towards the support of the Piedmontese pro-  
 testants. It was observed that, among those who  
 laboured to inflame the prejudices of the people,  
 none were more active than the two ambassadors  
 from Spain, and Stoupe, the minister of the

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<sup>74</sup> The infidelity of these reports is acknowledged by Morland, the protector's agent, in a confidential letter to secretary Thurloe. "The greatest difficulty I meet with is in relation to the matter of fact in the beginning of these troubles, and during the time of the war. For I find, upon diligent search, that many papers and books which have been put out in print on this subject, even by some ministers of the valleys, are lame in many particulars, and in many things not conformable to truth." Thurloe, iv. 417.

French church in London<sup>75</sup>. Both had long laboured to prevent the conclusion of the treaty with France; and they now hoped to effect their purpose, because Savoy was the ally of France, and the principal barbarities were said to have been perpetrated by troops detached from the French army<sup>76</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
1656.

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These events opened a flattering prospect to the vanity of Cromwell. By his usurpation, he had forfeited all claim to the title of the champion of civil liberty; he might still come forward, in the sight of Europe, in the more august character of the protector of the reformed faith. His first care was to make, through Stoupe, a promise to the Vaudois of his support, and an offer to transplant them to Ireland, and to settle them on the lands of the Irish catholics; of which the first was accepted with expressions of gratitude, and the other respectfully declined<sup>77</sup>. He next solicited the king of France to join with him in mediating between the duke of Savoy and his

Sends an  
envoy to  
Turin.

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<sup>75</sup> Thurloe, iii. 470, 680. Siri, xv. 468.

<sup>76</sup> Under Pianeze were some troops detached from the French army commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy. It was reported that a regiment of Irish papists formed a part of this detachment; and to them were attributed, of course, the most horrible barbarities. Leger, iii. Stoupe, preface. Thurloe, iii. 412, 459, 460. On inquiry, it was discovered that these supposed Irishmen were English. "The Irish regiment said to be there was the earl of Bristol's regiment, a small and weak one, most of them being English. I hear not such complaints of them as you set forth." Thurloe, iii. 50.

<sup>77</sup> Thurloe, iii. 459.

CHAP. subjects of the valleys; and received for answer,  
 III. that Louis had already interposed his good offices,  
 1656. and had reason to expect a favourable result.

June. Lastly, he sent Morland as ambassador to Turin, where he was honourably received, and entertained at the duke's expense. But to his memorial in favour of the Vaudois, it was replied, that the instrument on which he founded their defence was informal and without authority; and, when he offered the mediation of Cromwell, he was told that the particulars of the pacification had been wholly referred to Servien, the French ambassador<sup>78</sup>.

Refuses to  
conclude  
the treaty  
with  
France.  
May 21.

At home, Cromwell had signified his intention of postponing the signature of the treaty with France till he was acquainted with the opinion of Louis on the subject of the troubles in Piedmont. Bordeaux remonstrated against this new pretext for delay; he maintained that the question bore no relation to the matter of the treaty; that the king of France would never interfere with the internal administration of an independent state; that the duke of Savoy had as good a right to make laws for his protestant subjects as the English government for the catholics of the three kingdoms: and that the Vaudois were in reality rebels, who had justly incurred the resentment of their sovereign. But Cromwell was not to be diverted

June 18.

<sup>78</sup> Thurloe, 528, 608, 636, 656, 672. Siri, *ibid.*



from his purpose. It was in vain that the ambassador asked for a final answer; that he demanded an audience of leave preparatory to his departure. At last, he was relieved from his perplexity by an order to announce that the duke, at the request of the king of France, had granted an amnesty to the Vaudois, and confirmed their ancient privileges; that the boon had been gratefully received by the insurgents; and that the natives of the valleys, protestants and catholics, had met, embraced each other with tears, and sworn to live in perpetual amity together. The unexpected intelligence was received by Cromwell with a coldness which betrayed his disappointment<sup>79</sup>. But, if the pacification broke the new projects which he meditated<sup>80</sup>, it served to raise his fame in the estimation of Europe; for it was evident that the Vaudois owed the favourable conditions which they obtained, not so much to the good-will of Louis, as to his anxiety that no

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1656.

June 21.

Aug. 20.

The Vaudois submit.

Aug. 8.

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<sup>79</sup> Thurloe, iii. 469, 470, 475, 535, 568, 706, 724, 742, 745. Siri, xv. 843.

<sup>80</sup> The protestant cantons of Switzerland had sent colonel Mey to England, offering to raise an army in aid of the Vaudois, if Cromwell would furnish a subsidy of 10,000*l.* per month. (Siri, Mercurio, xv. 472.) In consequence, Downing was despatched as envoy to these cantons; but the pacification was already concluded; and, on his arrival at Geneva, he received orders, dated Aug. 30. to return immediately. (Thurloe, iii. 692, 4; iv. 31.) Still the design was not abandoned, but entrusted to Morland, who remained at Geneva, to distribute the money from England. What were his secret instructions may be seen, *ibid.* p. 326.

CHAP. pretext should remain for the future interference  
 III. of the protector<sup>81</sup>.  
 1656.

But though tranquillity was restored in Pied-  
 And Cromwell signs the French treaty.  
 mont, Cromwell was still unwilling to conclude  
 the treaty till he had ascertained what impression  
 had been made on the king of Spain by the late  
 attempt on Hispaniola. To Philip, already en-  
 gaged in war with France, it was painful to add  
 so powerful an adversary to the number of his  
 enemies; but the affront was so marked, so  
 unjust, so unprovoked, that to submit to it in  
 silence was to subscribe to his own degradation.  
 Sep. 1. He complained, in dignified language, of the  
 ingratitude and injustice of the English govern-  
 ment; contrasted with its conduct his own most  
 scrupulous adhesion both to the letter and the  
 spirit of the treaties between the kingdoms;  
 ordered that all ships, merchandize, and property  
 belonging to the subjects of the commonwealth  
 should be seized and secured in every part of his  
 dominions, and instructed his ambassador in Lon-  
 Oct. 21. don to remonstrate and take his leave<sup>82</sup>. The  
 day after the passport was delivered to don  
 Alonzo, Cromwell consented to the signature of

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<sup>81</sup> The conditions may be seen in Morland, 652. Dumont, vi. part ii. p. 114; and Leger, 216. The subscription for the Vaudois, of which 2000*l.* were given by the protector, amounted to 38,228*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* Of this sum 25,828*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* was sent at different times to the valleys; 463*l.* 17*s.* was charged for expences; and about 500*l.* was found to be clipt or counterfeit money. Journals, 11, July 1559.

<sup>82</sup> Thurloc, iv. 19, 20, 21, 82, 91.

the treaty with France. It provided, that the maritime hostilities, which had so long harrassed the trade of the two nations, should cease; that the relations of amity and commerce should be restored; and, by a separate, and therefore called a secret, article, that Barriere, agent for the prince of Condé, and nine other Frenchmen, equally obnoxious to the French ministry, should be perpetually excluded from the territory of the commonwealth; and that Charles Stuart, his brother the duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, and fifteen other adherents of the exiled prince, should, in the same manner, be excluded from the kingdom of France<sup>83</sup>. The protector had persuaded himself that, if the house of Stuart was to be restored, it must be through the aid of France; and, he hoped, by the addition of this secret article, to create a bitter and lasting enmity between the two families. Nor was he content

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<sup>83</sup> Dumont, vi. part ii. p. 121. In the body of the treaty, neither the king nor the protector are named: all the articles are stipulated between the commonwealth of England and the kingdom of France. In the preamble, however, the king of France is mentioned, and in the first place, but not as if this arose from any claim of precedency; for it merely relates, that the most Christian king sent his ambassador to England, and the most serene lord, the protector, appointed commissioners to meet him. When the treaty was submitted to Bordeaux, previously to his signature, he discovered an alteration in the usual title of his sovereign, *Rex Gallorum*, (the very title afterwards adopted by the national assembly,) instead of *Rex Galliarum*, and on that account refused to sign it. After a long contestation he yielded to the arguments of the Dutch ambassador. Thurloe, iv. 115.

CHAP. with this. As soon as the ratifications had been  
III.  
1656. exchanged, he proposed a more intimate alliance  
— between England and France. Bordeaux was  
instructed to confine himself in his reply to  
general expressions of friendship. He might  
receive any communications which were offered :  
he was to make no advances on the part of his  
sovereign.

## CHAP. IV.

## THE PROTECTORATE.

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POVERTY AND CHARACTER OF CHARLES STUART—WAR WITH SPAIN — PARLIAMENT — EXCLUSION OF MEMBERS — PUNISHMENT OF NAYLOR—PROPOSAL TO MAKE CROMWELL KING—HIS HESITATION AND REFUSAL—NEW CONSTITUTION—SINDERCOMB—SEXBY—ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE—PARLIAMENT OF TWO HOUSES—OPPOSITION IN THE COMMONS—DISSOLUTION—REDUCTION OF DUNKIRK—SICKNESS OF THE PROTECTOR—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

THE reader is aware that the young king of CHAP. IV. 1656. Scots, after his escape from Worcester, had returned to Paris, defeated but not disgraced. The spirit and courage which he had displayed were taken as an earnest of future and more successful efforts; and the perilous adventures which he had encountered threw a romantic interest round the character of the royal exile. But in Paris he found himself without money or credit, followed by a crowd of faithful dependants, whose indigence condemned them to suffer the most painful privations. His mother Henrietta, herself, in no very opulent circumstances, received

Poverty of Charles in his exile.

CHAP. him into her house and to her table : after the  
 IV. lapse of six months, the French king settled on  
 1656. him a monthly allowance of six thousand francs<sup>1</sup> ;  
 and to this were added the casual supplies furnished by the loyalty of his adherents in England, and his share of the prizes made by the cruizers under his flag<sup>2</sup>. Yet, with all these aids, he was scarcely able to satisfy the more importunate of his creditors, and to dole out an occasional pittance to his more immediate followers. From their private correspondence it appears that the most favoured among them were at a loss to procure food and clothing<sup>3</sup>.

His court. Yet, poor as he was, Charles had been advised to keep up the name and appearance of a court. He had his lord-keeper, his chancellor of the exchequer, his privy counsellors, and most of the

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<sup>1</sup> Clar. iii. 441. Thirteen francs were equivalent to an English pound.

<sup>2</sup> His claim was one fifteenth, that of the duke of York, as admiral, one-tenth. See a collection of letters almost exclusively on that subject between Sir Edward Hyde and Sir Richard Browne. Evelyn's Mem. v. 241, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Clarend. Pap. iii. 120, 124. "I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of bread ; which really I wonder at. I am sure the king owes for all he hath eaten since April ; and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week : but all of us owe, for God knows how many weeks, to the poor woman that feeds us." Clarend. Papers, iii. 174, June 27, 1653. "I want shoes and shirts, and the marquess of Ormond is in no better condition. What help then can we give our friends?" Ibid. 229, Ap. 3, 1654. See also Carte's Letters, ii. 461.

officers allotted to a royal establishment : and the eagerness of pursuit, the competition of intrigue with which these nominal dignities were sought by the exiles, furnish scenes which cannot fail to excite the smile or the pity of an indifferent spectator. But we should remember that they were the only objects left open to the ambition of these men ; that they offered scanty, yet desirable, salaries to their poverty ; and that they held out the promise of more substantial benefits on the restoration of the king, an event which, however distant it might seem to the apprehension of others, was always near in the belief of the more ardent royalists<sup>4</sup>.

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1656.

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Among these competitors for place were two, who soon acquired, and long retained, the royal confidence, the marquess of Ormond and Sir Edward Hyde. Ormond owed the distinction to the lustre of his family, the princely fortune which he had lost in the royal cause, his long, though unsuccessful services in Ireland, and the high estimation in which he had been held by the late monarch. In talent and application Hyde was superior to any of his colleagues. Charles I. had appointed him chancellor of the exchequer, and counsellor to the young prince ; and the son afterwards confirmed by his own choice the judgment of his father. Hyde had many enemies ;

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<sup>4</sup> Clarend. Papers, iii. 83, 99, 106, 136, 162, 179, 187, et passim. Clarendon, History, iii. 434, 5, 453.

CHAP. whether it was that by his hasty and imperious  
 IV. temper he gave cause of offence, or that unsuccessful  
 1656. suitors, aware of his influence with the king, attributed to his counsels the failure of their petitions. But he was not wanting in his own defence: the intrigues set on foot to remove him from the royal ear were defeated by his address; and the charges brought against him of disaffection and treachery were so victoriously refuted, as to overwhelm the accuser with confusion and disgrace<sup>5</sup>.

His  
 amours.

The expectations, however, which Charles had raised by his conduct in England were soon disappointed. He seemed to lose sight of his three kingdoms amidst the gaieties of Paris. His pleasures and amusements engrossed his attention: it was with difficulty that he could be drawn to the consideration of business; and, if he promised to devote a few hours on each Friday to the writing of letters and the signature of dispatches, he often discovered sufficient reasons to free himself from the burthen<sup>6</sup>. But that which chiefly distressed his advisers was the number and publicity of his amours; and, in particular, the utter worthlessness of one woman, who by her arts had won his affection, and by her impudence exercised the controul over his easy

<sup>5</sup> Clarend. 111, 138, 510, 515—520. Lansdowne's Works, ii. 236—241, quoted by Harris, iv. 153. Clarend. Papers, iii. 84, 92, 138, 188, 200, 229.

<sup>6</sup> Clarend. Pap. iii. 159, 170.



temper. This was Lucy Walters, or Barlow, the mother of a child, afterwards the celebrated duke of Monmouth, of whom Charles believed himself to be the father<sup>7</sup>. Ormond and Hyde laboured to dissolve this disgraceful connexion. They represented to the king the injury which it did to the royal cause in England, where the appearances at least of morality were so highly respected; and, after several temporary separations, they prevailed on Walters to accept an annuity of 400*l.*, and to repair with her child to her native country. But Cromwell sent her back to France, and she returned to Paris, where by her lewdness she forfeited the royal favour, and shortened her own life. Her son was taken from her by the lord Crofts, and placed under the care of the Oratorians in Paris<sup>8</sup>.

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1656.

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1656.  
Jan. 21.  
July 16.

But if Charles was incorrigible in the pursuit

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<sup>7</sup> She was previously the mistress of colonel Robert Sydney; and her son bore so great a resemblance to that officer, that the duke of York always looked upon Sydney as the father. *Life of James*, i. 491. James, in his instructions to his son, says, "All the knowing world, as well as myself, had many convincing reasons to think he was not the king's son, but Robert Sydney's." *Macpherson's Papers*, i. 77. Evelyn calls Barlow "a browne, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature." *Diary*, ii. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *James*, i. 492. *Clarendon's Own Life*, 205. *Clarendon Papers*, iii. 180. *Thurloe*, v. 169, 178; vii. 325. Charles, in the time of his exile, had also children by Catherine Peg, and Elizabeth Killigrew. See *Sandford*, 646, 647. In the account of Barlow's discharge from the Tower, by Whitelock, we are told that she called herself the wife of Charles (*Whitelock*, 649): in the *Mercurius Politicus*, she is styled "his wife or mistress." *Ellis*, new series, iii. 352.

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His reli-  
gion.

of pleasure, he proved a docile pupil on the subject of religion. On one hand, the catholics, on the other, the presbyterians, urged him by letters and messages to embrace their respective modes of worship. The former maintained that he could recover the crown only through the aid of the catholic sovereigns, and had no reason to expect such aid, while he professed himself a member of that church which had so long persecuted the English catholics. The others represented themselves as holding the destiny of the king in their hands: they were royalists at heart, but how could they declare in favour of a prince who had apostatized from the covenant which he had taken in Scotland, and whose restoration would probably re-establish the tyranny of the bishops<sup>9</sup>. The king's advisers repelled these attempts with warmth and indignation. They observed to him that, to become a catholic was to arm all his protestant subjects against him; to become a presbyterian, was to alienate all who had been faithful to his father, both protestants of the church of England and catholics. He faithfully followed their advice: to both parties he promised, indeed, every indulgence in point of

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<sup>9</sup> Both these parties were equally desirous of having the young duke of Gloucester of their religion. *Clar. Pap.* iii. 153, 155. The queen mother placed him under the care of Montague, her almoner, at Pontoise: but Charles sent Ormond, who brought him away to Cologne. *Clar. Hist.* iii. 545. *Papers*, iii. 256—260. *Evelyn*, v. 205, 208.

religion which they could reasonably desire; but avowed, at the same time, his determination to live and die a member of that church in defence of which his father had fought and suffered. It is not, however, improbable that these applications, with the arguments by which they were supported, had a baneful influence on the mind of the king. They created in him an indifference to religious truth, a persuasion that men always model their belief according to their interest<sup>10</sup>.

As soon as cardinal Mazarin began to negotiate with the protector, the friends of Charles persuaded him to quit the French territory. By the French minister the proposal was gratefully received: he promised the royal fugitive the continuation of his pension: ordered the arrears to be immediately discharged, and paid him for the next half year in advance<sup>11</sup>. Charles fixed his residence at Cologne, where he remained for almost two years, till the rupture between England and Spain called him again into activity<sup>12</sup>. After

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He offers himself ally to Spain.

1656.

March 12.

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<sup>10</sup> Clarend. Papers, iii. 163, 164, 256, 281, 298, 316. Hist. iii. 443.

<sup>11</sup> 7200 pistoles for twelve months' arrears, and 3600 for six in advance. Clar. Pap. iii. 293.

<sup>12</sup> While Charles was at Cologne, he was surrounded by spies, who supplied Cromwell with copious information, though it is probable that they knew little more than the public reports in the town. On one occasion the letters were opened at the post-office, and a dispatch was found from a person named Manning to Thurloe. Being questioned before Charles, Manning confessed that he received an ample maintenance from the protector, but defended

CHAP. some previous negociation, he repaired to the  
 IV. neighbourhood of Brussels, and offered himself as  
 1656. a valuable ally to the Spanish monarch. He had  
 it in his power to call the English and Irish  
 regiments in the French service to his own  
 standard; he possessed numerous adherents in the  
 English navy; and; with the aid of money and  
 ships, he should be able to contend once more for  
 the crown of his fathers, and to meet the usurper  
 on equal terms on English ground. By the  
 Spanish ministers the proposal was entertained,  
 but with their accustomed slowness. They had  
 to consult the cabinet at Madrid: they were  
 unwilling to commit themselves so far as to cut off  
 all hope of reconciliation with the protector; and  
 they had already accepted the offers of another  
 enemy to Cromwell, whose aid, in the opinion of  
 Don Alonzo, the late ambassador, was preferable  
 to that of the exiled king<sup>13</sup>.

Account  
 of colonel  
 Sexby.

This enemy was colonel Sexby. He had risen  
 from the ranks to the office of adjutant-general in  
 the parliamentary army; his contempt of danger  
 and enthusiasm for liberty had recommended him

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himself on the ground, that he was careful to communicate  
 nothing but what was false. That his plea was true, appeared  
 from his despatch, which was filled with a detailed account of a  
 fictitious debate in the council: but the falsehoods which he had  
 sent to England had occasioned the arrest and imprisonment of  
 several royalists, and Manning was shot as a traitor at Duynwald,  
 in the territory of the duke of Neuburg. Clar. iii. 563—9.  
 Whitelock, 633. Thurloc, iv. 293.

<sup>13</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 275, 279, 286.

to the notice of Cromwell ; and the adjutant was occasionally honoured with a place in the councils, and a share in the bed, of the lord-general. But Sexby had attached himself to the cause, not to the man ; and his admiration, as soon as Cromwell apostatized from his former principles, was converted into the most deadly hatred. On the expulsion of the long parliament, he joined Wildman and the levellers : Wildman was apprehended ; but Sexby eluded the vigilance of the pursuivants, and traversed the country in disguise, every where distributing pamphlets, and raising up enemies to the protector. In the month of May, 1655, he repaired to the court at Brussels. To the archduke and the count of Fuensaldagna, he revealed the real object of the secret expedition under Venables and Penn ; and offered the aid of the English levellers for the destruction of a man, the common enemy of the liberties of his country, and of the rights of Spain. They were a numerous and determined band of patriots ; they asked no other aid than money and the co-operation of the English and Irish troops in the Spanish service ; and they were ready, for security, to deliver a strong maritime fortress into the hands of their allies. Fuensaldagna hesitated to give a positive answer before an actual rupture had taken place ; and at his recommendation Sexby proceeded to Madrid. He was received with coldness ; but the news from Hispaniola established his credit : he was

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1655.  
June

CHAP. thanked for his information ; obtained the sum  
 IV. of 40,000 crowns for the use of his party, and an  
 1656. assurance that, as soon as they were in possession

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Jan. of the port which he had named, 6000 men should sail from Flanders to their assistance. Sexby returned to Antwerp ; transmitted several large sums to his adherents ; and, though Cromwell, at length obtained information of the intrigue, though the last remittance of 800*l.* had been seized, the intrepid leveller crossed over to Eng-  
 June. land, made his arrangements with his associates,  
 Aug. and returned in safety to the continent <sup>14</sup>.

It now became the object of the Spanish  
 July 27. ministers, who had, at last, accepted the offer of Charles, to effect an union between him and Sexby, that, by the co-operation of the levellers with the royalists, the common enemy might  
 Dec. 14. more easily be subdued. Sexby declared that he had no objection to a limited monarchy, provided it were settled by a free parliament. He believed that his friends would have none ; but he advised that, at the commencement of the attempt, the royalists should make no mention of the king, but put forth as their object the destruction of the usurper and the restoration of public liberty. Charles, on the other hand, was willing to make use of the services of Sexby ; but he did not believe that his means were equal to

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<sup>14</sup> Clarend. Pap. iii. 271, 2, 4, 7, 281, 5. Thurloc, iv. 698 ; v. 37, 100, 319, 349 ; vi. 829—33. Carte's Letters, ii. 85, 103.

his professions ; and he saw reason to infer, from the advice which he had given, that his associates were enemies to royalty<sup>15</sup>.

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The negotiation between the king and the Spanish ministers began to alarm both Cromwell and Mazarin. The cardinal anticipated the defection of the British and Irish regiments in the French service : the protector foresaw that they would probably be employed in a descent upon England. It was resolved to place the duke of York in opposition to his brother. That young prince had served with his regiment during four campaigns, under the marshal Turenne ; his pay as colonel, and his pension of 6000 pistoles, amply provided for his wants ; and his bravery in the field had gained him the esteem of the general, and rendered him the idol of his countrymen. Instead of banishing him, according to the secret article, from France, Mazarin, with the concurrence of Cromwell, offered him the appointment of captain-general in the army of Italy. By James it was accepted with gratitude and enthusiasm ; but Charles commanded him to resign the office, and to repair immediately to Bruges. He obeyed : his departure was followed by the resignation of most of the British and Irish officers in the French army ; and, in many instances, the men followed the example of their officers. Defeated in this instance, Cromwell and

Quarrel  
between  
the king  
and his  
brother.

Sep. 1.

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<sup>15</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 303, 311, 2, 5—7.

CHAP. Mazarin had recourse to another intrigue, of  
 IV. which the secret springs are concealed from our  
 1656. sight. It was insinuated by some pretended  
 friend to Don Juan, the new governor of the  
 Netherlands, that little reliance was to be placed  
 on James, who was sincerely attached to France,  
 and governed by sir John Berkeley, the secret  
 agent of the French court, and the known enemy  
 of the chancellor and his party. In consequence,  
 the real command of the royal forces was given  
 Dec. 5. to Marsin, a foreigner; an oath of fidelity to  
 Spain was, with the consent of Charles, exacted  
 from the officers and soldiers; and in a few days  
 James was first requested, and then commanded  
 Dec. 13. by his brother to dismiss Berkeley. The young  
 Dec. 16. prince did not refuse; but he immediately fol-  
 lowed Berkeley into Holland, with the intention  
 of passing through Germany into France. His  
 departure was hailed with joy by Cromwell, who  
 wrote a congratulatory letter to Mazarin on the  
 success of this intrigue: it was a subject of dis-  
 may to Charles, who by messengers entreated and  
 commanded James to return. At Breda, the  
 1657. prince appeared to hesitate. He soon after re-  
 Jan. 13. traced his steps to Bruges, on a promise that the  
 past should be forgotten; Berkeley followed;  
 and the triumph of the fugitives was completed  
 by the elevation of the obnoxious favourite to the  
 peerage<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Of the flight of James, Clarendon makes no mention in his history. He even seeks to persuade his reader that the duke was



We may now return to England, where the Spanish war had excited general discontent. By the friends of the commonwealth Spain was considered as their most ancient and faithful ally: the merchants complained that the trade with that country, one of the most lucrative branches of British commerce, was taken out of their hands and given to their rivals in Holland; and the saints believed that the failure of the expedition to Hispaniola was a sufficient proof that heaven condemned this breach of the amity between the two states. It was to little purpose that Cromwell, to vindicate his conduct, published a manifesto, in which, having enumerated many real or pretended injuries and barbarities inflicted on Englishmen by the Spaniards in the West Indies, he contended that the war was just, and honourable, and necessary. His enemies, royalists, levellers, anabaptists, and republicans,

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Capture of  
a Spanish  
fleet.

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compelled to leave France in consequence of the secret article, (iii. 610, 614. Papers, iii. Supplement, lxxix.), though it is plain from the Memoirs of James, that he left unwillingly in obedience to the absolute command of his brother. (James, i. 270.) Clarendon makes the enmity between himself and Berkeley arise from his opposition to Berkeley's claim to the mastership of the court of wards (Hist. 440, Papers, *ibid.*); James, from Clarendon's advice to lady Morton to reject Berkeley's proposal of marriage. (James, i. 273.) That the removal of Berkeley originated with Mazarin, and was required by Fuensaldagna, who employed lord Bristol and Bennet for that purpose, appears from Cromwell's letter to the cardinal, (Thurloe, v. 736.) Bristol's letter to the king, (Clar. Papers, iii. 318.) and Clarendon's account of Berkeley. *Ibid.* Supplement, lxxix. See also *ibid.* 317—324; and the Memoirs of James, i. 266—293.

- CHAP. of every description, did not suffer the clamour  
 IV. against him to subside; and, to his surprise, a  
 1656. — request was made by some of the captains of  
 March 2. another fleet collected at Portsmouth, to be in-  
 formed of the object of the expedition. If it were  
 destined against Spain, their consciences would  
 compel them to decline the service. Spain was  
 not the offending party: for the instances of  
 aggression enumerated in the manifesto were well  
 known to have been no more than acts of self-  
 defence against the depredations and encroach-  
 March 5. ments of English adventurers<sup>17</sup>. To suppress  
 this dangerous spirit, Desborough hastened to  
 Portsmouth: some of the officers resigned their  
 commissions, others were superseded, and the  
 March 15. fleet at length sailed under the joint command of  
 Blake and Montague, of whom the latter pos-  
 sessed the protector's confidence, and was proba-  
 bly employed as a spy on the conduct of his col-  
 league. Their destination in the first place was  
 Cadiz, to destroy the shipping in the harbour,  
 and to make an attempt on that city or the rock  
 April 20. of Gibraltar. On their arrival, they called a  
 council of war; but no pilot could be found  
 hardy or confident enough to guide the fleet  
 through the winding channel of the Caraccas;  
 and the defences of both Cadiz and Gibraltar pre-  
 sented too formidable an aspect to allow a hope

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<sup>17</sup> Thurloe, iv. 571. See also 582, 589, 594. Carte's Letters, ii. 87, 90, 92, 95.

of success without the co-operation of a military force<sup>18</sup>. Abandoning the attempt, the two admirals proceeded to Lisbon, and extorted from the king of Portugal the ratification of the treaty formerly concluded by his ambassador, with the payment of the stipulated sum of 50,000*l.* Thence they returned to Cadiz, passed the straits, assaulted the Spaniards in Malaga, the Moors in Sallee, and after a fruitless cruize of more than two months, anchored a second time in the Tagus<sup>19</sup>. It fortuned, that just after their arrival captain Stayner, with a squadron of frigates, fell in with a Spanish fleet of eight sail from America. Of these he destroyed four, and captured two, one of which was laden with treasure. Montague, who came home with the prize, valued it in his dispatch at 200,000*l.*: the public prints raised the amount to two millions; and the friends of Cromwell hailed the event "as a renewed testimony of God's presence, and some witness of his acceptance of the engagement against Spain"<sup>20</sup>.

The equipment of this fleet had exhausted the treasury, and the protector dared not impose

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<sup>18</sup> Thurloe, v. 67, 133.

<sup>19</sup> Thurloe, i. 726—730; v. 68, 113, 257, 286.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 399, 433, 509, 524. Carte's Letters, ii. 114. It appears from a letter of colonel White, that the silver in pigs weighed something more than forty thousand pounds, to which were to be added some chests of wrought plate. Thurloe, 542. Thurloe himself says all was plundered to about 250 or 300,000 pounds sterling in the two prizes, 557.

CHAP. additional taxes on the country at a time when  
 IV. his right to levy the ordinary revenue was dis-  
 1656. ————— puted in the courts of law. On the ground that  
 the parliamentary grants were expired, Sir Peter  
 Wentworth had refused to pay the assessment  
 in the country, and Coney, a merchant, the duties  
 on imports in London. The commissioners im-  
 posed fines, and distrained; the aggrieved brought  
 actions against the collectors. Cromwell, indeed,  
 was able to suppress these proceedings by impri-  
 soning the counsel and intimidating their clients;  
 but the example was dangerous: the want of  
 money daily increased, and, by the advice of the  
 council, he consented to call a parliament to meet  
 on the 17th of September <sup>21</sup>.

Parlia-  
 ment. Ex-  
 clusion of  
 members.

The result of the elections revealed to him the  
 alarming secret, that the antipathy to his govern-  
 ment was more deeply rooted, and more widely  
 spread, than he had previously imagined. In  
 Scotland and Ireland, indeed, the electors obse-  
 quiously chose the members recommended by the

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<sup>21</sup> Carte's Letters, ii. 96, 103, 109. Ludlow, ii. 80—82. Clar.  
 Hist. iii. 649. See also A Narrative of the Proceedings in the Case  
 of Mr. G. Cony, by S. Selwood, gent. 1655. The Jews had offered  
 Cromwell a considerable sum for permission to settle and trade  
 in England. Commissioners were appointed to confer with their  
 agent Manasseh Ben Israel, and a council of divines was con-  
 sulted respecting the lawfulness of the project. The opposition  
 of the merchants and theologians induced him to pause; but Mr.  
 Ellis has shown that he afterwards took them silently under his  
 protection. Council Book, 14th Nov. 1655. Thurloe, iv. 321,  
 88. Bates. 371. Ellis, iv. 2.

council; but these were conquered countries, bending under the yoke of military despotism. In England, the whole nation was in a ferment; pamphlets were clandestinely circulated, calling on the electors to make a last struggle in defence of their liberties; and, though Vane, Ludlow, and Rich were taken into custody<sup>22</sup>; though other republican leaders were excluded by criminal prosecutions; though the cavaliers, the catholics, all who had neglected to aid the cause of the parliament, were disqualified from voting by "the instrument;" though a military force was employed in London to overawe the proceedings, and the whole influence of the government and of the army was openly exerted in the country, yet in several counties the court candidates were wholly, and in most partially, rejected. But Cromwell was aware of the error which he had committed in the last parliament. He resolved that none of his avowed opponents should be allowed to take possession of their seats. The returns were laid before the council; the major-generals received orders to inquire into the political and religious characters of the members; the reports of these officers were carefully examined; and a list was made of nearly one hundred persons to be excluded under the pretext of immorality or delinquency<sup>23</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1656.

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<sup>22</sup> The proceedings on these occasions may be seen in Ludlow, ii. 115—123; and State Trials, v. 791.

<sup>23</sup> Thurloe, v. 269, 317, 328, 9, 337, 341, 3, 9, 424.

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1656.

Speech of  
the pro-  
tector.  
Sept. 17.

On the appointed day, the protector, after divine service, addressed the new “representatives” in the painted chamber. His real object was to procure money; and with this view he sought to excite their alarm, and to interest their religious antipathies. He enumerated the enemies of the nation. The first was the Spaniard, the natural adversary of England, because he was the slave of the pope, a child of darkness, and consequently hostile to the light, blinded by superstition, and anxious to put down the things of God; one with whom it was impossible to be at peace, and to whom, in relation to this country, might be applied the words of scripture, “I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed.” There was also Charles Stuart, who, with the aid of the Spaniard and the duke of Newburg, had raised a formidable army for the invasion of the island. There were the papists and cavaliers, who had already risen, and were again ready to rise in favour of Charles Stuart. There were the levellers, who had sent an agent to the court of Madrid, and the fifth-monarchy men, who sought an union with the levellers against him, “a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death.” The remedies—though in this part of his speech he digressed so frequently as to appear loth to come to the remedies, were to prosecute the war abroad, and strengthen the hands of the government at home; to lose no time in questions of inferior moment, or less

urgent necessity, but to inquire into the state of the revenue, and to raise ample supplies. In conclusion, he explained the eighty-fifth psalm, exclaiming, "If pope and Spaniard, and devil, and all set themselves against us, though they should compass us about like bees, yet in the name of the Lord we shall destroy them. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge<sup>24</sup>."

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1656.

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From the painted chamber the members proceeded to the house. A military guard was stationed at the door, and a certificate from the council was required from each individual previously to his admission<sup>25</sup>. The excluded members complained by letter of this breach of parliamentary privilege; a strong feeling of disapprobation was manifested in several parts of the house; the clerk of the commonwealth in chancery received orders to lay all the returns on the table; and the council was requested to state the grounds of this novel and partial proceeding. Fiennes, one of the commissioners of the great

Debate on  
exclusion.

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<sup>24</sup> Introduction to Burton's Diary, cxlviii—clxxix. Journals, Sep. 17. Thurloe, v. 427. That the king's army, which Cromwell exaggerated to the amount of eight thousand men, did not reach to more than one thousand, is twice asserted by Thurloe himself, 605, 672.

<sup>25</sup> The certificates which had been distributed to the favoured members, were in this form: "Sep. 17, 1656. County of ——. These are to certify that A. B. is returned by indenture one of the knights to serve in this parliament for the said county, and is approved by his highness's council. Nath. Taylor, clerk of the commonwealth in chancery."

CHAP. seal, replied, that the duty of inquiry into the  
 IV. qualifications of the members was, by the “in-  
 1656. strument,” vested in the lords of the council, who  
 had discharged that trust according to the best of  
 their judgment. An animated debate followed :  
 that such was the provision in “the instrument”  
 could not be denied<sup>26</sup> ; but that the council should  
 decide on secret information, and without the  
 knowledge of the individuals who were interested,  
 seemed contrary to the first principles of justice.  
 The court, however, could now command the votes  
 of the majority, and a motion that the house  
 should pass to the business of the nation was  
 carried by dint of numbers. Several members, to  
 show their disapprobation, voluntarily seceded,  
 and those who had been excluded by force, pub-  
 lished in bold and indignant language an appeal  
 to the justice of the people<sup>27</sup>.

Sep. 22.

Having weeded out his enemies, Cromwell had  
 no reason to fear opposition to his pleasure. The

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<sup>26</sup> In the draught of the “instrument,” as it was amended in the last parliament, the jurisdiction of the council in this matter was confined to the charge of delinquency, and its decision was not final, but subject to the approbation of the house. *Journals*, 1654, Nov. 29. But that draught had not received the protector’s assent.

<sup>27</sup> The nature of the charges against the members may be seen in *Thurloe*, v. 371, 383. In the *Journals*, seventy-nine names only are mentioned (*Journals*, 1656, Sep. 19), but ninety-eight are affixed to the appeal in *Whitelock*, 651—3. In both lists occur the names of Anthony Ashley Cooper, who afterwards became Cromwell’s intimate adviser, and of several others who solicited and obtained certificates.



house passed a resolution declaratory of the justice and policy of the war against Spain, and two acts, by one of which were annulled all claims of Charles Stuart and his family to the crown; by the other were provided additional safeguards for the person of the chief governor. With the same unanimity a supply of 400,000*l.* was voted; but when the means of raising the money came under consideration, a great diversity of opinion prevailed. Some proposed to inquire into the conduct of the treasury; some to adopt improvements in the collection of the revenue; others recommended an augmentation of the excise; and others a more economical system of expenditure. In the discussion of these questions and of private bills, week after week, and month after month, were tediously and fruitlessly consumed; though the time limited by the instrument was passed, still the money bill had made no progress; and, to add to the impatience of Cromwell, a new subject was accidentally introduced, which, as it strongly interested the passions, absorbed for some time the attention of the house<sup>28</sup>.

At the age of nineteen, George Fox, the son of a weaver at Drayton, with a mind open to religious impressions, had accompanied some of his friends to a neighbouring fair. The noise, the revelry, and the dissipation which he wit-

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1656.

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<sup>28</sup> Journals. *passim*. Thurloe, v. 472, 94, 524, 84, 672, 94. See note (c).

CHAP. nessed, led him to thoughts of seriousness and  
IV. self-reproach, and the enthusiast heard, or per-  
1656. suaded himself that he heard, an inward voice,  
calling on him to forsake his parents' house, and  
to make himself a stranger in his own country. Docile to the celestial admonition, he began to lead a solitary life, wandering from place to place, and clothed from head to foot in garments of leather. He read the scriptures attentively; studied the mysterious visions in the Apocalypse; and was instructed in the real meaning by Christ and the Spirit. At first, doubts and fears haunted his mind; but when the time of trial was past, he found himself inebriated with spiritual delights, and received an assurance that his name was written in the Lamb's Book of Life. At the same time, he was forbidden by the Lord to employ the plural pronoun *you* in addressing a single person; to bid his neighbour good even or morrow; or to uncover the head, or scrape with the leg to any mortal being. At length, the Spirit moved him to impart to others the heavenly doctrines which he had learned. In 1647, he preached for the first time at Duckenfield, near Manchester; but the most fruitful scene of his labours was at Swarthmoor, near Ulverston. His disciples followed his example; the word of the Spirit was given to women as well as men; and the preachers of both sexes, as well as many of their followers, attracted the notice and the censures of the civil magistrate. Their refusal

to uncover before the bench was usually punished with a fine, on the ground of contempt; their religious objection to take an oath, or to pay tithes, exposed them to protracted periods of imprisonment, and they were often and severely whipped as vagrants, because, for the purpose of preaching, they were accustomed to wander through the country. To these sufferings, as is always the case with persecuted sects, calumny was added; and they were falsely charged with denying the Trinity, with disowning the authority of government, and with attempting to debauch the fidelity of the soldiers. Still, in defiance of punishment and calumny, the quakers, so they were called, persevered in their profession: it was their duty, they maintained, to obey the impulse of the Holy Spirit; and they submitted with the most edifying resignation to the consequences, however painful they might be to flesh and blood<sup>29</sup>.

Of the severities so wantonly exercised against these religionists it is difficult to speak with temper; yet it must be confessed that their doctrine of spiritual impulses was likely to lead its disciples of either sex, whose minds were weak and imaginations active, to extravagances at the same time ludicrous and revolting<sup>30</sup>. Of

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IV.  
1656.

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Offence  
and pu-  
nishment  
of Naylor.

<sup>29</sup> Fox, Journal, i. 29, et seq. Sewel, i. 24, 31, 34, passim.

<sup>30</sup> "William Simpson was moved of the Lord to go at several times, for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests'

CHAP. this, James Naylor furnished a striking instance.  
 IV.  
 1656. He had served in the army, and been quarter-  
 master in Lambert's troop, from which office he  
 was discharged on account of sickness<sup>31</sup>. He  
 afterwards became a disciple of George Fox, and  
 a leading preacher in the capital: but he "des-  
 "pised the power of God" in his master, by  
 whom he was reprimanded, and listened to the  
 delusive flattery of some among his female hearers,  
 who were so captivated with his manner and ap-  
 pearance, as to persuade themselves that Christ  
 was incorporated in the new apostle. It was not  
 for him to gainsay what the Spirit had revealed  
 to them. He believed himself to be set as a sign  
 of the coming of Christ; and he accepted the wor-  
 ship which was paid to him, not as offered to  
 James Naylor, but to Christ dwelling in James  
 Oct. Naylor. Under this impression, during part of  
 his progress to Bristol, and at his entrance into  
 that city, he rode on horseback with a man walk-

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"houses, and to great men's houses; so shall they all be stripped  
 "naked as he was stripped naked. And sometimes he was moved  
 "to put on hair sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell  
 "them, so would the Lord besmear all their religion, as he was  
 "besmeared. Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, sore  
 "whipping with horsewhips and coachwhips on his bare body,  
 "grievous stonings and imprisonments in three years time before  
 "the king came in, that they might have taken warning, but  
 "they would not." Fox, *Journal*, i. 572.

<sup>31</sup> Lambert spoke of him with kindness during the debate:  
 "He was two years my quarter-master, and a very useful per-  
 "son. We parted with him with very great regret. He was a  
 "man of very unblameable life and conversation." Burton's  
*Diary*, i. 33.

ing bareheaded before him, two females holding his bridle on each side, and others attending him, one of whom, Dorcas Erbury, maintained that he had raised her to life after she had been dead the space of two days. These occasionally threw scarves and handkerchiefs before him, and sang, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts: Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Israel." They were apprehended by the mayor, and sent to London to be examined by a committee of the parliament. The house, having heard the report of the committee, voted that Naylor was guilty of blasphemy: the next consideration was his punishment: the more zealous moved that he should be put to death; but after a debate which continued during eleven days, the motion was lost by a division of ninety-six to eighty-two. Yet the punishment to which he was doomed was cruel enough to satisfy the most bigoted of his adversaries. He stood with his neck in the pillory for two hours, and was whipped from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, receiving three hundred and ten lashes in the way. Some days later he was again placed in the pillory; the letter B for blasphemer was burnt on his forehead, and his tongue was bored with a red-hot iron<sup>32</sup>. From London the house ordered

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Dec. 6.

Dec. 16.

Dec. 18.

Dec. 27.

1657.

Jan. 13.

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<sup>32</sup> " This day I and B. went to see Naylor's tongue bored through, and him marked on the forehead. He put out his tongue very willingly, but shrunk a little when the iron came upon his forehead. He was pale when he came out of the pillory, but high-coloured after tongue-boring. He behaved him-

- CHAP. him to be conducted to Bristol, the place of his  
 IV. offence He entered at Lamford's-gate, riding on  
 1656. the bare back of a horse with his face to the tail ;  
 Jan. 17. dismounted at Rockley-gate, and was successively  
 whipped in five parts of the city. His admirers,  
 however, were not ashamed of the martyr. On  
 every occasion they attended him bareheaded ;  
 they kissed and sucked his wounds ; and they  
 chanted with him passages from the Scriptures.
- Feb. 22. On his return to London, he was committed to  
 solitary confinement, without pen, ink, or paper,  
 or fire, or candle, and with no other sustenance  
 than what he might earn by his own industry.  
 Here the delusion under which he laboured,  
 gradually wore away : he acknowledged that his  
 mind had been in darkness, the consequence and  
 punishment of spiritual pride ; and declared that,  
 in as much as he had given advantage to the evil  
 spirit, he took shame to himself. By " the rump  
 " parliament," he was afterwards discharged ; and  
 the society of friends, by whom he had been dis-  
 owned, admitted him again on proof of his re-  
 pentance. But his sufferings had injured his  
 health. In 1660 he was found in a dying state  
 in a field in Huntingdonshire, and shortly after-  
 wards expired<sup>33</sup>.

While the parliament thus spent its time in

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" self very handsomely and patiently." P. 266 in Burton's Diary, where the report of these debates on Naylor occupies almost 140 pages.

<sup>33</sup> Journals, Dec. 5—17. 1659, Sep. 8. Sewel, 263—273, 653. State Trials, v. 801—812. Merc. Polit. No. 31.

the prosecution of an offence which concerned it not, Cromwell anxiously resolved in his own mind a secret project of the first importance to himself and the country. To his ambition, it was not sufficient that he actually possessed the supreme authority, and exercised it with more despotic sway than any of his legitimate predecessors: he still sought to mount a step higher: to encircle his brows with a diadem, and to be addressed with the title of majesty. It could not be, that vanity alone induced him to hazard the attachment of his friends for the sake of mere parade and empty sound. He rendered the more modest title of protector as great and as formidable as that of king; and, though uncrowned, had treated on a footing of equality with the proudest of the crowned heads in Europe. It is more probable that he was led by considerations of interest. He knew that the nation was weary of change; he saw with what partiality men continued to cling to the old institutions; and he, perhaps, trusted that the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, with a house of peers, though under a new dynasty, and with various modifications, might secure the possession of the crown, not only to himself, but also to his posterity. However that may be, he now made the acquisition of the kingly dignity the object of his policy: for this purpose he consulted first with Thurloe, and afterwards with St. John and Pierpoint<sup>34</sup>; and

CHAP.  
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 1656.

—————  
 Cromwell  
 aspires to  
 the title of  
 king.

Dec. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Thurloe, v. 694. vi. 20, 37.

CHAP. the manner in which he laboured to gratify his  
 IV. ambition strikingly displays that deep dissimula-  
 1656. tion and habitual hypocrisy, which form the dis-  
 tinguishing traits of his character.

He com-  
 plains of  
 the judg-  
 ment  
 against  
 Naylor.

The first opportunity of preparing the public mind for this important alteration was furnished by the recent proceedings against Naylor, which had provoked considerable discontent, not on account of the severity of the punishment (for rigid notions of religion had subdued the common feelings of humanity), but on account of the judicial authority exercised by the house—an authority which appeared subversive of the national liberties. For of what use was the right of trial, if the parliament could set aside the ordinary courts of law at its pleasure, and inflict arbitrary punishment for any supposed offence, without the usual forms of inquiry? As long as the question was before the house, Cromwell remained silent; but when the first part of the judgment had been executed on the unfortunate sufferer, he came forward in quality of guardian of the public rights, and concluded a letter to the

Dec. 25. speaker with these words: “We, being intrusted  
 “ in the present government on behalf of the  
 “ people of these nations, and not knowing how  
 “ far such proceedings (wholly without us) may  
 “ extend in the consequences of it, do desire that  
 “ the house will let us know the ground and rea-  
 Dec. 26. “ son whereupon they have proceeded.” This  
 message struck the members with amazement.



Few among them were willing to acknowledge that they had exceeded their real authority: all dreaded to enter into a contest with the protector.

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1657.

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The discussion lasted three days; every expedient that had been suggested was ultimately rejected; and the debate was adjourned to a future day, when, with the secret connivance of Cromwell, no motion was made to resume it<sup>35</sup>. He had already obtained his object. The thoughts of men had been directed to the defects of the existing constitution, and to the necessity of establishing checks on the authority of the house, similar to those which existed under the ancient government.

1657.  
Jan. 2.

In a few days a bill was introduced which, under the pretence of providing money for the support of the militia, sought to confirm the past proceedings of the major-generals, and to invest them with legal authority for the future. The protector was aware that the country longed to be emancipated from the control of these military governors; for the attainment of his great object it was his interest to stand well with all classes of people; and, therefore, though he was the author of this unpopular institution; though in his speech at the opening of the parliament he had been eloquent in its praise; though he had declared that, after his experience of its utility, "if the thing were undone, he would do it again"; he now not only abandoned the major-

Abandons  
the cause  
of the ma-  
jor-gene-  
rals.

Jan. 7.

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<sup>35</sup> Burten's Diary, i. 246—258, 260—1, 270—282, 296.

CHAP. IV. 1657. generals to their fate, he even instructed his dependents in the house to lead the opposition against them. As soon as the bill was read a first time, his son-in-law, Cleypole, who seldom spoke, rose to express his dissent, and was followed by the lord Broghill, known as the confidential counsellor of the protector. The decimation tax was denounced as unjust, because it was a violation of the act of oblivion, and the conduct of the major-generals was compared to the tyranny of the Turkish bashaws. These officers defended themselves with spirit, their adversaries had recourse to personal crimination <sup>36</sup>, and the debate, by successive adjournments, occupied the attention of the house during eleven days. In conclusion, the bill was rejected by a numerous majority; and the major-generals, by the desertion of Cromwell, found themselves exposed to actions at law for the exercise of those powers which they had accepted in obedience to his command <sup>37</sup>.

Feb. 9.

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<sup>36</sup> Among others, Harry Cromwell, the protector's nephew, said he was ready to name some among the major-generals who had acted oppressively. It was supposed that these words would bring him into disgrace at court. "But Harry," says a private letter, "goes last night to his highness, and stands to what he had said manfully and wisely; and, to make it appear he spake not without book, had his black book and papers ready to make good what he said. His highness answered him in raillery, and took a rich scarlet cloak from his back, and gloves from his hands, and gave them to Harry, who strutted with his new cloak and gloves into the house this day." Thurloe, vi. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Journals, Jan. 7, 8, 12, 19, 20, 21; Feb. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9. Burton's Diary, 310—20.

While this question was still pending, it chanced that a plot against the protector's life, of which the particulars will subsequently be noticed, was discovered and defeated. The circumstance furnished an opportunity favourable to his views; and the re-establishment of "king-ship" was mentioned in the house, not as a project originating from him, but as the accidental and spontaneous suggestion of others. Goffe having expressed a hope that parliament would provide for the preservation of the protector's person, Ashe, the member for Somersetshire, exclaimed: "*I* would add something more —that he would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. That would put an end to these plots, and fix our liberties and his safety on an old and sure foundation." The house was taken by surprise: many reprehended the temerity of the speaker; by many his suggestion was applauded and approved. He had thrown it out to try the temper of his colleagues: and the conversation which it provoked, served to point out to Cromwell the individuals from whom he might expect to meet with opposition <sup>38</sup>.

The detection of the conspiracy was followed by an address of congratulation to the protector, who on his part gave to the members a princely entertainment at Whitehall. At their next meet-

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

First mention of the intended change.

Jan. 19.

It is openly brought forward.

Feb. 20.

<sup>38</sup> Burton's Diary, 362—6.

CHAP. ing the question was regularly brought before  
 IV. them by alderman Pack, who boldly undertook a  
 1657. task which the timidity of Whitelock had de-  
 Feb. 23. clined. Rising in his place, he offered to the  
 house a paper, of which he gave no other expla-  
 nation than that it had been placed in his hands,  
 and "tended to the settlement of the country."  
 Its purport, however, was already known, or con-  
 jectured: several officers instantly started from  
 their seats, and Pack was violently borne down  
 to the bar. But, on the restoration of order, he  
 found himself supported by Broghill, Whitelock,  
 and Glym, and, with them, by the whole body  
 of the lawyers and the dependents of the court.  
 The paper was read: it was entitled, "An humble  
 "Address and Remonstrance," protesting against  
 the existing form of government, which depended  
 for security on the odious institution of major-  
 generals, and providing that the protector should  
 assume a higher title, and govern, as had been  
 done in times past, with the advice of two houses  
 of parliament. The opposition (it consisted of  
 the chief officers, the leading members in the  
 council, and a few representatives of counties),  
 threw every obstacle in the way of its supporters;  
 but they were overpowered by numbers; the house  
 debated each article in succession, and the whole  
 project was finally adopted, but with the omission  
 of the remonstrance, and under the amended title  
 of the "Humble Petition and Advice"<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Journals, Jan. 19; Feb. 21, 3, 4, 5. Thurloc, vi. 74, 78.  
 Whitelock, 655, 6. Ludlow, ii. 128. Burton's Diary, iii. 160.

As long as the question was before parliament, Cromwell bore himself in public as if he were unconcerned in the result; but his mind was secretly harrassed by the reproaches of his friends and by the misgivings of his conscience. He saw for the first time marshalled against him the men who had stood by him in his different fortunes, and whom he had bound to his interest by marriages and preferment. At their head was Lambert, the commander of the army in England, the idol of the military, and second only to himself in authority. Then came Desborough, his brother-in-law, and major-general in five counties, and Fleetwood, the husband of his daughter Bridget, and lord-deputy of Ireland<sup>40</sup>. Lambert, at a private meeting of officers, proposed to bring up five regiments of cavalry, and compel the house to confirm both the "instrument," and the establishment of major-generals. This bold counsel was approved; but the next morning his colleagues, having sought the Lord in prayer, resolved to postpone its execution till they had ascertained the real intention of the protector; and Lambert, warned by their indecision, took no longer any part in their meetings, but watched in silence the course of events<sup>41</sup>. The other two, on

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

Opposition of the officers.

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<sup>40</sup> Desborough and Fleetwood passed from the inns of court to the army. The first married Anne, the protector's sister; the second, Bridget, his daughter, and the widow of Ireton. Suspicious of his principles, Cromwell kept him in England, while Henry Cromwell, with the rank of major-general, held the government of Ireland. Noble, i. 103; ii. 243, 336, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 333.

CHAP. the contrary, persevered in the most active  
 IV. opposition; nor did they suffer themselves to be  
 1657. — cajoled by the artifices of the protector, who  
 talked in their hearing with contempt of the  
 crown as a mere bauble, and of Pack and his  
 supporters as children, whom it might be prudent  
 to indulge with a “rattle”<sup>42</sup>.

Crom-  
 well's an-  
 swer to  
 them.

The marked opposition of these men gave  
 energy to the proceedings of the inferior officers,  
 who formed themselves into a permanent council  
 under the very eyes of Cromwell, passed votes in  
 disapprobation of the proposed alteration, and to  
 the number of one hundred waited on him to  
 acquaint him with their sentiments<sup>43</sup>. He replied,  
 that there was a time when they felt no objection  
 to the title of king; for the army had offered it  
 to him with the original instrument of govern-  
 ment. He had rejected it then, and had no  
 greater love for it now. He had always been  
 the “drudge” of the officers, had done the work  
 which they imposed on him, and had sacrificed  
 his opinion to theirs. If the present parliament  
 had been called, it was in opposition to his  
 individual judgment; if the bill, which proved  
 so injurious to the major-generals, had been  
 brought into the house, it was contrary to his  
 advice. But the officers had overrated their own  
 strength: the country called for an end to all  
 arbitrary proceedings; the punishment of Naylor

<sup>42</sup> Ludlow, ii. 131.

<sup>43</sup> Thurloe, vi. 93, 4, 101, 219.

proved the necessity of a check on the judicial proceedings of the parliament, and that check could only be procured by investing the protector with additional authority. This answer made several proselytes; but the majority adhered pertinaciously to their former opinion<sup>44</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

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Nor was this spirit confined to the army: in all companies men were heard to maintain that, to set up monarchy again was to pronounce condemnation on themselves, to acknowledge themselves guilty of all the blood which had been shed to put it down. But nowhere did the proposal excite more cordial abhorrence than in the conventicles of the fifth-monarchy men. In their creed the protectorate was an impiety, kingship a sacrilegious assumption of the authority belonging to the only King, the Lord Jesus. They were his witnesses foretold in the Apocalypse; they had now slept their sleep of three years and a half; the time was come when it was their duty to rise and avenge the cause of the Lord. In the conventicles of the capital the lion of Judah was chosen for their military device; arms were prepared, and the day of rising was fixed. They amounted, indeed, to no more than eighty men; but they were the champions of Him who "though they might be as a worm, would "enable them to thrash mountains." The projects

Rising of  
the Ana-  
baptists.

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<sup>44</sup> For this extraordinary speech we are indebted to the industry of Mr. Rutt. *Burtan's Diary*, i. 382.

CHAP. of these fanatics did not escape the penetrating  
 IV. eye of Thurloe, who, for more than a year, had  
 1657. ————— watched all their motions, and was in possession  
 of all their secrets. Their proceedings were  
 regulated by five persons, each of whom presided  
 in a separate conventicle, and kept his followers  
 in ignorance of the names of the brethren  
 associated under the four remaining leaders. A  
 fruitless attempt was made to unite them with  
 the levellers. But the levellers trusted too much  
 to worldly wisdom ; the fanatics wished to begin  
 the strife, and to leave the issue to their Heavenly  
 April 9. King. The appointed day came : as they pro-  
 ceeded to the place of rendezvous, the soldiers of  
 the Lord were met by the soldiers of the protector:  
 twenty were made prisoners ; the rest escaped,  
 with the loss of their horses and arms, which  
 were seized in the depot<sup>45</sup>.

Cromwell  
 hesitates  
 to accept  
 the title.

In the meanwhile the new form of government  
 had received the sanction of the house. Crom-  
 well, when it was laid before him, had recourse to  
 his usual arts, openly refusing that for which he  
 ardently longed, and secretly encouraging his  
 friends to persist, that his subsequent acquiescence  
 might appear to proceed from a sense of duty, and  
 March 31. not from the lust of power. At first, in reply to  
 a long and tedious harangue from the speaker,  
 he told them of “ the consternation of his mind ”  
 at the very thought of the burthen ; requested

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<sup>45</sup> Whitelock, 655. Thurloe, vi. 163, 184—8.



time "to ask counsel of God and his own heart;" and, after a pause of three days, replied that, inasmuch as the new constitution provided the best securities for the civil and religious liberties of the people, it had his unqualified approbation; but as far as regarded himself, "he did not find it in his duty to God and the country to undertake the charge under the new title which was given him"<sup>46</sup>. His friends refused to be satisfied with this answer: the former vote was renewed, and the house, waiting on him in a body, begged to remind him, that it was his duty to listen to the advice of the great council of the three nations. He meekly replied, that he still had his doubts on one point; and that, till such doubts were removed, his conscience forbade him to assent; but that he was willing to explain his reasons, and to hear theirs, and to hope that in a friendly conference the means might be discovered of reconciling their opposite opinions, and of determining on that which might be the most beneficial to the country<sup>47</sup>.

In obedience to this intimation, a committee of the house was appointed to receive and solve the scruples of the protector. To their surprise, they found him in no haste to enter on the discussion. Sometimes he was indisposed, and could not

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

April 3.

April 8.

Confers on  
it with the  
commit-  
tee.

<sup>46</sup> Merc. Pol. No. 355. Mr. Rutt has discovered and inserted both speeches at length in *Burton's Diary*, i. 397—416.

<sup>47</sup> *Thurloe*, i. 751, 756. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 1493—5. *Burton's Diary*, i. 417.

CHAP. admit them; often he was occupied with important  
 IV. business: on three occasions they obtained an  
 1657. interview. He wished to argue the question on  
 ——— the ground of expedience. If the power were  
 the same under a protector, where, he asked,  
 could be the use of a king? The title would  
 offend men, who, by their former services, had  
 earned the right to have even their prejudices  
 respected. Neither was he sure that the re-  
 establishment of royalty might not be a falling off  
 from that cause in which they had engaged, and  
 from that Providence by which they had been so  
 marvellously supported. It was true, that the  
 Scripture sanctioned the dignity of king; but to  
 the testimony of Scripture might be opposed  
 “the visible hand of God,” who, in the late  
 contest, “had eradicated kingship.” It was  
 gravely replied, that Protector was a new, King  
 an ancient, title: the first had no definite meaning,  
 the latter was interwoven with all our laws and  
 institutions: the powers of the one were unknown  
 and liable to alteration, those of the other ascer-  
 tained and limited by the law of custom and the  
 statute law. The abolition of royalty did not  
 originally enter into the contemplation of parlia-  
 ment—the objection was to the person, not to the  
 office—it was afterwards effected by a portion  
 only of the representative body; whereas, its  
 restoration was now sought by a greater autho-  
 rity—the whole parliament of the three kingdoms.  
 That restoration was, indeed, necessary, both for

his security and theirs; as by law all the acts of a king in possession, but only of a king, are good and valid. Some there were who pretended that king and chief magistrate were synonymous; but no one had yet ventured to substitute one word for the other in the Scriptures, where so many covenants, promises, and precepts are annexed to the title of king. Neither could the "visible hand of God" be alleged in the present case; for the visible hand of God had eradicated the government by a single person as clearly as that by a king. Cromwell promised to give due attention to these arguments: to his confidential friends he owned that his objections were removed; and, at the same time, to enlighten the ignorance of the public, he ordered a report of the conferences to be published<sup>48</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

April 20.

The protector's, however, was not one of those minds that resolve quickly and execute promptly. He seldom went straight forwards to his object, but preferred a winding circuitous route. He was accustomed to view and review the question in all its bearings and possible consequences, and to invent fresh causes of delay, till he occasionally incurred the suspicion of irresolution and timidity<sup>49</sup>. Instead of returning a plain and decisive

Seeks  
more time.

April 22.

<sup>48</sup> See Monarchy asserted to be the most Ancient and Legal Form of Government, &c. 1660. Walker, Researches, Historical and Antiquarian, i. 1—27. Burton's Diary, App. ii. 493. Thurloe, vi. 219. Whitelock, 656. Journals, Ap. 9—21.

<sup>49</sup> "Every wise man out of doors wonders at the delay." Thurloe, vi. 213. Also Claren. Papers, iii. 339.

CHAP. answer, he sought to protract the time by  
 IV. requesting the sense of the house on different  
 1657.

— passages in the petition, on the intended amount of the annual income, and on the ratification of the ordinances issued by himself, and of the acts passed by the little parliament. By this contrivance the respite of a fortnight was obtained, during which he frequently consulted with Broghill, Pierpoint, Whitelock, Wolseley, and Thurloe<sup>50</sup>. At length it was whispered at court that the protector had resolved to accept the title; and immediately Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough made to him, in their own names and those of several others, the unpleasant declaration, that they must resign their commissions, and sever themselves from his counsels and service for ever. His irresolution returned: he had promised the house to give a final answer the next morning; in the morning he postponed it to five in the evening, and at that hour to the following day. The officers observed, and resolved to profit by, the impression which they had made; and early in the morning colonel Mason, with six-and-twenty companions, offered to the parliament a

May 6.  
 Resolves  
 to accept  
 the title.

May 7.

Is deter-  
 red by the  
 officers.  
 May 8.

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<sup>50</sup> “In these meetings,” says Whitelock, “laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar with us, and, by way of diversion, would make verses with us, and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business.” 656.

petition, in which they stated that the object of those with whom the measure originated, was the ruin of the lord-general and of the best friends of the people, and conjured the house to support the good old cause in defence of which the petitioners were ready to sacrifice their lives. This bold step subdued the reluctance of the protector. He abandoned the lofty hopes to which he had so long, so pertinaciously clung; despatched Fleetwood to the house to prevent a debate; and shortly afterwards summoned the members to meet him at Whitehall. Addressing them with more than his usual embarrassment, he said, that neither his own reflections nor the reasoning of the committee had convinced him that he ought to accept the title of king. If he were, he should accept it doubtingly; if he did it doubtingly, it would not be of faith; and if it were not of faith, it would be a sin. "Wherefore," he concluded, "I cannot undertake this government with that title of king, and this is mine answer to this great and weighty business"<sup>51</sup>.

Thus ended the mighty farce which for more than two months held in suspense the hopes and fears of three nations. But the friends of Cromwell resumed the subject in parliament. It was

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

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Refuses.

His second inauguration.  
May 12.

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<sup>51</sup> Thurloe, vi. 261, 67, 81, 91. Journals, Ap. 21—May 12. Parl. Hist. iii. 1498—1502. Ludlow, ii. 131. Clar. Papers, iii. 342.

CHAP. observed that he had not refused to administer  
 IV. the government under any other title ; the name  
 1657. of king was expunged for that of protector ; and  
 ——— with this and a few more amendments, the  
 May 25. “humble petition and advice” received the  
 June 26. sanction of the chief magistrate. The inaugu-  
 ration followed. On a platform, raised at the  
 upper end of Westminster-hall, and in front of  
 a magnificent chair of state, stood the protector ;  
 while the speaker, with his assistants, invested  
 him with a purple mantle lined with ermine ;  
 presented him with a bible superbly gilt and  
 embossed ; girt a sword by his side, and placed a  
 sceptre of massive gold in his hand. As soon as  
 the oath had been administered, Manton, his  
 chaplain, pronounced a long and fervent prayer  
 for a blessing on the protector, the parliament,  
 and the people. Rising from prayer, Cromwell  
 seated himself in a chair : on the right, at some  
 distance, sate the French, on the left, the Dutch  
 ambassador : on one side stood the earl of Warwick  
 with the sword of the commonwealth, on the  
 other, the lord mayor, with that of the city ; and  
 behind arranged themselves the members of the  
 protector’s family, the lords of the council, and Lisle,  
 Whitelock, and Montague, each of the three bearing  
 a drawn sword. At a signal given, the trumpets  
 sounded ; the heralds proclaimed the stile of the  
 new sovereign ; and the spectators shouted, “ Long  
 “ live his highness ; God save the lord-protector.”  
 He rose immediately, bowed to the ambassadors,

and walked in state through the hall to his carriage<sup>52</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

That which distinguished the present from the late form of government was the advance which it made towards the more ancient institutions of the country. That advance, indeed, had wrung from Cromwell certain concessions repugnant to his feelings and ambition; but to which he probably was reconciled by the consideration that in the course of a few years they might be modified or repealed. The supreme authority was vested in the protector; but, instead of rendering it hereditary in his family, the most which he could obtain was the power of nominating his immediate successor. The two houses of parliament were restored; but, as if it were meant to allude to his past conduct, he was bound to leave to the house of commons the right of examining the qualifications and determining the claims of the several representatives. To him was given the power of nominating the members of the "other house" (he dared not yet term it the house of lords): but, in the first instance, the persons so nominated were to be approved by the house of representatives, and afterwards by the other

—————  
The new  
form of  
government.

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<sup>52</sup> Whitelock, 662. Merc. Polit. No. 369. Parl. Hist. iii. 1514, and Prestwick's Relation, App. to Burton's Diary, ii. 511. Most of the officers took the oath of fidelity to the protector. Lambert refused, and resigned his commissions, which brought him about 6000*l.* per annum. Cromwell, however, assigned him a yearly pension of 2000*l.* Ludlow, ii. 136.

CHAP. house itself. The privilege of voting by proxy  
 IV. was abolished, and the right of judicature  
 1657. restrained within reasonable limits. In the  
 ————— appointment of counsellors, the great officers of  
 state, and the commanders of the forces, many of  
 the restrictions sought to be introduced by the  
 long parliament were enforced. In point of  
 religion, it was enacted that a confession of faith  
 should be agreed upon between the protector and  
 the two houses ; but that dissenters from it should  
 enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise  
 of their worship, unless they should reject the  
 mystery of the Trinity, or the inspiration of the  
 Scriptures, or profess prelatiç, or popish, or  
 blasphemous doctrines. The yearly revenue was  
 fixed at 1,300,000*l.*, of which no part was to be  
 raised by a land tax ; and of this sum, one  
 million was devoted to the support of the army  
 and navy ; and 300,000*l.* to the expenses of the  
 civil list ; but, on the remonstrance of the pro-  
 tector, that with so small a revenue it would be  
 impossible to continue the war, an additional  
 grant of 600,000*l.* was voted for the three  
 following years. After the inauguration, the  
 commons adjourned during six months, that time  
 might be allowed for the formation of the “ other  
 “ house<sup>53</sup>.”

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<sup>53</sup> Whitelock, 657, 63. Parl. Hist. iii. 1502—11. In a cata-  
 logue printed at the time, the names were given of 182 members  
 of this parliament, who, it was pretended, “ were sons, kinsmen,  
 “ servants, and otherwise engaged unto, and had places of profit,



Having brought this important session of parliament to its conclusion, we may now revert to the miscellaneous occurrences of the year. 1<sup>o</sup>. Had much credit been given to the tales of spies and informers, neither Cromwell nor his adversary, Charles Stuart, would have passed a day without the dread of assassination. But they knew that such persons are wont to invent and exaggerate, in order to enhance the value of their services; and each had, therefore, contented himself with taking no other than ordinary precautions for his security<sup>54</sup>. Cromwell, however, was aware of the fierce, unrelenting disposition of the levellers: the moment he learned that they were negotiating with the exiled king and the Spaniards, he concluded that they had sworn his destruction; and to oppose their attempts on his life, he selected one hundred and sixty brave and trusty men from the different regiments of cavalry, whom he divided into eight troops, directing that two of these troops in rotation should be always on duty near his person<sup>55</sup>. Before the end of the year, he

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

Plot to assassinate him.

Feb. 28.

Dec. 9.

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“ offices, salaries, and advantages, under the protector,” sharing annually among them out of the public money the incredible sum of 1,016,317*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

<sup>54</sup> Thurloe’s voluminous papers abound with offers and warnings connected with this subject.

<sup>55</sup> Thurloe, iv. 567. Carte, Letters, ii. 81. Their pay was four and sixpence per day. *Ibid.* In addition, if we may believe Clarendon, he had always several beds prepared in different chambers, so that no one knew in what particular room he would pass the night. *Hist.* iii. 646.

CHAP. learned that a plot had actually been organized ;  
 IV. that assassins had been engaged ; and that his  
 1657. death was to be the signal for a simultaneous  
 rising of the levellers and royalists, and the sailing  
 of a hostile expedition from the coast of Flanders.  
 The author of this plan was Sexby ; nor will it  
 be too much to assert that it was not only known  
 but approved by the advisers of Charles at Bruges.  
 They appointed an agent to accompany the chief  
 of the conspirators ; they prepared to take every  
 advantage of the murder : they expressed an  
 unfeigned sorrow for the failure of the attempt.  
 Indeed, Clarendon, the chief minister (he had  
 lately been made lord-chancellor), was known to  
 hold that the assassination of a successful rebel  
 or usurper was an act of justifiable and meritorious  
 loyalty <sup>56</sup>.

It is dis-  
 covered.

Sexby had found a fit instrument for his pur-  
 pose in Syndercombe, a man of the most despe-

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<sup>56</sup> That both Charles and Clarendon knew of the design, and interested themselves in its execution, is plain from several letters. (Clar. Pap. iii. 311, 2, 5, 24, 27, 31, 35.) Nor can there be a doubt that Clarendon approved of such murders. It is, indeed, true that, speaking of the murder of Ascham, when he was at Madrid, he says that he and his colleague, lord Cottington, abhorred it. (Clar. Hist. iii. 351.) Yet, from his private correspondence, it appears that he wrote papers in defence of the murderers, (Clar. Pap. iii. 21, 23.) recommended them as " brave fellows, and honest gentlemen," (ibid. 235, 6,) and observed to secretary Nicholas, that it was a sad and grievous thing that the princess royal had not supplied Middleton with money, " but a worse and baser thing that any man should appear in any part beyond sea under the character of an agent from the rebels, and not have his throat cut." Ibid. 114, 1652, Feb. 20.

rate courage, formerly a quarter-master in the army in Scotland, and dismissed on account of his political principles. Having admitted a man of the name of Cecil as his associate, he procured seven guns which would carry a number of balls; hired lodgings in places near which the protector was likely to pass; bribed Took, one of the life-guards-men, to give information of his motions, and bought the fleetest horses for the purpose of escape. Yet all his designs were frustrated, either by the multitude of the spectators, or the vigilance of the guards, or by some unforeseen and unlucky accident. At the persuasion of Wildman he changed his plan, and on the 9th January, about six in the evening, entering Whitehall with his two accomplices, he unlocked the door of the chapel, deposited in a pew a basket filled with inflammable materials, and lighted a match which, it was calculated, would burn six hours. His intention was that the fire should break out about midnight: but Took had already revealed the secret to Cromwell, and all three were apprehended as they closed the door of the chapel. Took saved his life by the discovery, Cecil by the confession of all that he knew. But Syndercombe had wisely concealed from them the names of his associates and the particulars of their plan. They knew not that certain persons within the palace had undertaken to murder the protector during the confusion likely to be caused by the conflagration, and that such measures had been taken

CHAP. as to render his escape almost impossible. Syn-  
 IV. dercombe was tried; the judges held that the  
 1657. title of protector was in law synonymous with  
 Feb. 9. that of king; and he was condemned to suffer  
 the penalties of high treason. His obstinate  
 silence defeated the anxiety of the protector to  
 procure further information respecting the plot;  
 Feb. 13. and Syndercombe, whether he laid violent hands  
 on himself, or was despatched by the order of  
 government, was found dead in his bed, a few  
 hours before the time appointed for his execu-  
 tion <sup>57</sup>.

Arrest and death of Sexby. 2<sup>o</sup>. The failure of this conspiracy would not  
 have prevented the intended invasion by the  
 royalist army from Flanders, had not Charles  
 been disappointed in his expectations from an-  
 other quarter. No reasoning, no entreaty, could  
 quicken the characteristic slowness of the Spanish

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<sup>57</sup> See Thurloe, v. 774—7; vi. 7, 53. Merc. Polit. No. 345. Bates, Elen. 388. Clarendon Pap. iii. 324, 5, 327. Claren. Hist. iii. 646; and the several authorities copied in the State Trials, v. 842—871. The body was opened, and the surgeons declared that there existed no trace of poison in the stomach, but that the brain was inflamed and distended with blood in a greater degree than is usual in apoplexy, or any known disease. The jury, by the direction of the lord chief justice, returned a verdict that “he, the said “Miles Syndercombe, a certain poisoned powder through “the nose of him, the said Miles, into the head of him, the said “Miles, feloniously, wilfully, and of malice aforethought, did snuff “and draw; by reason of which snuffing and drawing so as afore- “said into the head of him, the said Miles, he the said Miles, “himself did mortally poison,” &c. Ibid. 859. The levellers and royalists maintained that he was strangled by order of Cromwell. Clar. iii. 647.

ministers. Neither fleet nor money was ready ; the expedition was postponed from month to month ; the season passed away, and the design was deferred till the return of the long and dark-some nights of winter. But Sexby's impatience refused to submit to these delays : his fierce and implacable spirit could not be satisfied without the life of the protector. A tract had been recently printed in Holland, entitled " Killing no Murder," that, from the powerful manner in which it was written, made a deeper impression on the public mind than any other literary production of the age. After an address to Cromwell, and another to the army, both conceived in a strain of the most poignant and sarcastic irony, it proceeds to discuss the three questions : Whether the lord-protector be a tyrant ? Whether it be lawful to do justice on him by killing him ? and, Whether this, if it be lawful, will prove of benefit to the commonwealth ? Having determined each question in the affirmative, it concludes with an eulogium on the bold and patriotic spirit of Syndercombe, the rival of Brutus and Cato, and a warning that " longus illum sequitur ordo idem petentium decus ;" that the protector's own muster-roll contains the names of those who aspire to the honour of delivering their country ; that his highness is not secure at his table or in his bed ; that death is at his heels wherever he moves, and that, though his head reaches the clouds, he shall perish like his own dung, and they that

CHAP. have seen him shall exclaim, Where is he? Of  
 IV. this tract thousands of copies were sent by Sexby  
 1657. ————— into England: and, though many were seized by  
 the officers, yet many found their way into cir-  
 culation<sup>58</sup>. Having obtained a sum of one thou-  
 sand four hundred crowns, he followed the books  
 to organize new plots against the life of the pro-  
 tector. But by this time he was too well known.  
 All his steps in Holland were watched; his de-  
 parture for England was announced; emissaries  
 were dispatched in every direction, and within a  
 few weeks he was apprehended and incarcerated  
 1657. in the Tower. There he discovered, probably  
 July 25. feigned, symptoms of insanity. To questions  
 respecting himself he answered with apparent  
 Oct. 12. frankness and truth, that he had intrigued with the  
 Spanish court, that he had supplied Syndercombe  
 with money, that he had written the tract, “Kill-  
 ing no Murder:” nor was there, he said, any  
 thing unlawful in these things, for the protecto-  
 rate had not then been established by any autho-  
 rity of parliament; but, whenever he was inter-  
 rogated respecting the names and plans of his  
 associates, his answers became wild and incohe-  
 rent, more calculated to mislead than to inform,  
 to create suspicion of the friends, than to detect  
 the machinations of the enemies, of the govern-  
 ment. He was never brought to trial, but died,

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<sup>58</sup> Thurloe, vi. 315.

probably by violence, in the sixth month of his imprisonment <sup>59</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

3°. During the winter Blake continued to blockade Cadiz ; in spring he learned that the Plate fleet from Peru had sought an asylum in the harbour of Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe. There the merchantmen, ten in number, were moored close to the shore in the form of a crescent ; while the six galleons in their front formed a parallel line at anchor in deeper water. The entrance of the bay was commanded by the guns of the castle ; seven batteries erected at intervals along the beach protected the rest of the harbour ; and these were connected with each other by covered ways, lined with musketry. So confident was the governor when he surveyed these preparations, that, in the pride of his heart, he desired a Dutch captain to inform the English admiral that he was welcome to come whenever he durst. Blake came, examined the de-

—————  
Victory of  
Blake at  
Santa  
Cruz.

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<sup>59</sup> Clar. Papers, iii. 322, 338, 357. Merc. Pol. 39. Thurloe, vi. 33, 182, 315, 425, 560, 829. Clarendon assures us that Sexby was an illiterate person, which is a sufficient proof that he was not the real author of the tract, though he acknowledged it for his own in the Tower, probably to deceive the protector. The writer, whoever he was, kept his secret, at least at first : for Clarendon writes to secretary Nicholas, that he cannot imagine who could write it. Clar. Papers, 111, 343. By most historians it has been attributed to captain Titus ; nor shall we think this improbable, if we recollect that Titus was, in Holland, constantly in the company of Sexby till the departure of the latter for England. Ibid. 331, 335. Evelyn asserts it in his Diary, ii. 210. 8vo.

CHAP. fences, and, according to custom, proclaimed a  
 IV. solemn fast. At eight the next morning Stayner  
 1657. took the lead in a frigate; the admiral followed  
 April 20. with the larger ships; and the whole fleet, availing  
 itself of a favourable wind, entered the harbour under a tremendous shower of balls and shells. Each vessel immediately fell into its allotted station; and, while some engaged the shipping, the rest directed their fire against the batteries. The Spaniards, though fewer in number of ships, were superior in that of men; their hopes were supported by the aid which they received from the land; and during four hours they fought with the most determined bravery. Driven from the galleons, the crews retreated to the second line of merchantmen, and renewed the contest till they were finally compelled to save themselves on the shore. At two in the afternoon every Spanish ship was in possession of the English; but the victory was still in suspense, owing to the difficulty of working the fleet out of the harbour in the teeth of the gale. Blake ordered the prizes to be burnt; soon afterwards, by miracle as he persuaded himself, the wind veered to the southwest, and the conquerors proceeded triumphantly out to sea. This gallant action, though it failed of securing the treasure which the protector chiefly sought, raised the reputation of Blake in every part of Europe. Unfortunately the hero himself lived not to receive the congratulations of his country. He had



been during a great part of three years at sea ; CHAP.  
 the scurvy and dropsy wasted his constitution ; IV.  
 and he expired as his ship, the St. George, en- 1657.  
 tered the harbour of Plymouth <sup>60</sup>.

His death  
 Aug. 17.

Blake had served with distinction in the army during the civil war ; and the knowledge of his talents and integrity induced the parliamentary leaders to entrust him with the command of the fleet. For maritime tactics he relied on the experience of others ; his plans and his daring were exclusively his own. He may claim the peculiar praise of having dispelled an illusion which had hitherto cramped the operations of the British navy—a persuasion that it was little short of madness to expose a ship at sea to the fire from a battery on shore. The victories of Blake at Tunis and Santa Cruz served to establish the contrary doctrine ; and the seamen learned from his example to despise the danger which had hitherto been deemed so formidable. Though Cromwell prized his services, he doubted his attachment ; and a suspicion existed that the protector did not regret the death of one who professed to fight for his country, not for the government. But he rendered that justice to the dead, which he might perhaps have refused to the living, hero. He publicly acknowledged his transcendant merit, honouring his bones with a funeral at the national expence, and ordering them to

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<sup>60</sup> Heath, 391. Echard, 725.

CHAP. be interred at Westminster in Henry the Eighth's  
 IV. chapel. In the next reign the coffin was taken  
 1657. from the vault, and deposited in the church-yard.

Alliance with France. 4°. The reader is aware of Cromwell's anxiety to form a more intimate alliance with Louis XIV. For this purpose Lockhart, one of the Scotch judges, who had married his niece, and received 1657. knighthood at his hand, proceeded to France. March 13. After some discussion, a treaty, to last twelve May 15. months, was concluded<sup>61</sup>; and Sir John Reynolds landed at Calais with an auxiliary force of six thousand men, one half in the pay of the king, the other half in that of the protector. But as an associate in the war, Cromwell demanded a share in the spoil, and that share was nothing less than the possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, as soon as they could be reduced by the allies. To this proposal the strongest opposition had been made in the French cabinet. Louis was reminded of the injuries which the English, the natural enemies of France, had inflicted on the country in the reigns of his predecessors. Dunkirk would prove

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<sup>61</sup> Thurloe, vi. 63, 86, 115, 124. To avoid disputes, the treaty was written in the Latin language, and the precedence was given to Louis in one copy, to Cromwell in the other. In the diplomatic collection of Dumont, vi. part ii. 178, is published a second treaty, said to have been signed on May 9, N. S. If it were genuine, it would disclose gigantic projects of aggrandizement on the part of the two powers. But it is clearly a forgery. We have despatches from Lockhart dated on the day of the pretended signature, and other despatches for a year afterward; yet none of them make the remotest allusion to this treaty, several contain particulars inconsistent with it.

a second Calais ; it would open to a foreign foe the way into the heart of his dominions. But he yielded to the superior wisdom or ascendancy of Mazarin, who replied that, if France refused the offer, it would be accepted with a similar sacrifice by Spain ; that, supposing the English to be established on that coast at all, it was better that they should be there as friends than as enemies ; and that their present co-operation would enable him either to drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands, or to dictate to them the terms of peace<sup>62</sup>. The combined force was placed under the command of the celebrated Turenne, who was opposed by the Spaniards under Don Juan, with the British exiles, commanded by the duke of York, and the French exiles, by the prince of Condé. The English auxiliaries, composed of veteran regiments, supported the reputation of their country by their martial appearance and exemplary discipline ; but they had few opportunities of displaying their valour ; and the summer was spent in a tedious succession of marches and countermarches, accompanied with no brilliant action or important result. Cromwell viewed the operations of the army with distrust and impatience. The French ministry seemed in no haste to redeem their pledge with respect to the reduction of Dunkirk, and to his multiplied remonstrances uniformly opposed this unanswerable

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

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<sup>62</sup> Œuvres de Louis XIV. i. 171.

CHAP. objection, that, in the opinion of Turenne, the  
 IV. best judge, the attempt in the existing circum-  
 1657. stances must prove ruinous to the allies. At

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Sep. 23. last he would brook no longer delay ; the army  
 marched into the neighbourhood of the town, and  
 the fort of Mardyke capitulated after a siege of  
 three days. But the Spaniards lay strongly en-

Sep. 27. trenchcd behind the canal of Bergues, between  
 Mardyke and Dunkirk ; and by common consent  
 the design was abandoned, and the siege of  
 Gravelines substituted in its place. Scarcely,  
 however, had the combined army taken a posi-  
 tion before it, when the sluices were opened, the  
 country was inundated, and Turenne dismissed  
 his forces into winter quarters. Mardyke re-  
 ceived a garrison, partly of English and partly of  
 French, under the command of Sir John Rey-  
 nolds ; but that officer in a short time incurred  
 the suspicion of the protector. The duke of York,  
 from his former service in the French army, was  
 well known to some of the French officers. They  
 occasionally met and exchanged compliments in  
 their rides, he from Dunkirk, they from Mardyke.  
 By one of them Reynolds solicited permission to  
 pay his respects to the young prince. He was  
 accompanied by Crew, another officer ; and,  
 though he pretended that it was an accidental  
 civility, found the opportunity of whispering an  
 implied offer of his services in the ear of the  
 duke. Within a few days he received an order to  
 wait on the protector in London in company with

colonel White, who had secretly accused him: both obeyed, and were lost on the Godwin Sands, through the ignorance or the stupidity of the captain<sup>63</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1657.

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Dec. 5.

At home, the public attention was absorbed by a new and most interesting spectacle, the meeting of a parliament divided according to the ancient form into two houses. Sixty-two individuals had been summoned to the upper house, and the writs, as they were copies of those formerly issued by the sovereign, were held to confer in like manner the privileges of an hereditary peerage, subject to certain exceptions specified in the "petition and advice"<sup>64</sup>. The commons, at the call of the usher of the black rod, proceeded to the house of lords, where they found his highness seated under a canopy of state. His speech began with the ancient address: "My lords and gentlemen of the house of commons." It was short, but its brevity was compensated by its piety, and after an exposition of the eighty-fifth psalm, he referred his two houses for other particulars to Fiennes, the lord-keeper, who, in a long and tedious harangue, praised and defended the new institutions. After the departure of the commons, the lords spent their time in inquiries into the privileges of their house. Cromwell had summoned his two sons, Richard and Henry, eight peers of

New parliament  
of two  
houses.

1658.  
Jan. 20.

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<sup>63</sup> Thurloe, vi. 231, 287, 426, 512, 538, 542, 580. 637, 665, 676, 731. Memoirs of James, i. 317—328.

<sup>64</sup> Thurloe, vi. 752.

CHAP. royal creation, several members of his council,  
 IV. some gentlemen of fortune and family, with a due  
 1658. proportion of lawyers and officers, and a scanty  
 sprinkling of persons known to be disaffected to  
 his government. Of the ancient peers, two only  
 attended, the lords Eure and Falconberg, of  
 whom the latter had recently married Mary, the  
 protector's daughter; and of the other members,  
 nine were absent through business or disinclina-  
 tion. As their journals have not been preserved,  
 we have little knowledge of their proceedings<sup>65</sup>.

The com-  
 mons in-  
 quire into  
 the rights  
 of the  
 other  
 house.

In the lower house, the interest of the govern-  
 ment had declined by the impolitic removal of  
 leading members to the house of lords, and by  
 the introduction of those who, having formerly  
 been excluded by order of Cromwell, now took  
 their seats in virtue of the article which reserved  
 to the house the right of inquiry into the quali-  
 fications of its members. The opposition was led  
 by two men of considerable influence and un-  
 daunted resolution, Hazlerig and Scot. Both had  
 been excluded at the first meeting of this parlia-  
 ment, and both remembered the affront. To re-  
 move Hazlerig from a place where his experience

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<sup>65</sup> Journals, Jan. 7, 20; *Ib.* 668. Whitelock, 666. See the names and characters of those who attended, in "A Second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called), &c., printed in the fifth year of England's Slavery under its new Monarchy, 1658." "They spent their time in little matters, such as choosing of committees; and among other things, to consider of the privileges and jurisdiction of their house, (good wise souls,) before they knew what their house was or should be called." *Ibid.* 7.

and eloquence rendered him a formidable adversary, Cromwell had called him to the upper house; but he refused to obey the writ, and took his seat among the commons<sup>66</sup>. That a new house was to be called according to the articles of the "petition and advice," no one denied; but who, it was asked, made its members lords? who gave them the privileges of the ancient peerage? who empowered them to negative the acts of that house to which they owed their existence? Was it to be borne that the children should assume the superiority over their parents; that the nominees of the protector should control the representatives of the people, the depositaries of the supreme power of the nation? It was answered, that the protector had called them lords; that it was the object of the "petition and advice" to re-establish the "second estate;" and that, if any doubt remained, it were best to amend the "instrument," by giving to the members of the other house the title of lords, and to the protector that of king. Cromwell sought to soothe these angry spirits. He read to them lectures on the benefit, the necessity, of unanimity. Let them look abroad. The papists threatened to swallow up all the protestants of Europe. Eng-

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

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<sup>66</sup> Hazlerig made no objection to the oath which bound him to be faithful to the protector. But the sense which he attached to it is singular: "I will be faithful," said he, "to the lord-protector's person. I will murder no man." Burton's Diary, ii. 347.

CHAP. land was the only stay, the last hope of religion.  
 IV. Let them look at home: the cavaliers and the  
 1658. levellers were combined to overthrow the constitu-  
 tion; Charles Stuart was preparing an invasion; and the Dutch had ungratefully sold him certain vessels for that purpose. Dissension would inevitably draw down ruin on themselves, their liberties, and their religion. For himself, he called God, angels, and men, to witness that he sought not the office which he held. It was forced upon him: but he had sworn to execute its duties, and he would perform what he had sworn, by preserving to every class of men their just rights, whether civil or religious<sup>67</sup>. But his advice, and entreaties, and menaces, were useless. The judges repeatedly brought messages from “the lords to the commons,” and as often were told, that “that house would return an answer by “messengers of their own.” Instead, however, of returning answers, they spent their whole time

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<sup>67</sup> Mr. Rutt has added this speech to Burton's Diary, ii. 351—371. I may remark that, 1°. the protector now addressed the members by the ambiguous style of “my lords and gentlemen of the two houses of parliament.” 2°. That he failed in proving the danger which, as he pretended, menaced protestantism. If, in the north, the two protestant states of Sweden and Denmark were at war with each other, more to the south the catholic states of France and Spain were in the same situation. 3°. That the vessels sold by the Dutch were six flutes which the English cruisers afterwards destroyed. 4°. That from this moment he was constantly asserting with oaths that he sought not his present office. How could he justify such oaths in his own mind? Was it on the fallacious ground that what he in reality sought was the office of king, not of protector?



in debating what title and what rights ought to belong to the other house<sup>68</sup>.

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IV.  
1658.

Never, perhaps, during his extraordinary career, was Cromwell involved in difficulties equal to those which surrounded him at this moment. He could raise no money without the consent of parliament, and the pay of the army in England was five, and of that in Ireland seven months, in arrear: the exiled king threatened a descent from the coast of Flanders, and the royalists throughout the kingdom were preparing to join his standard: the leaders of opposition in parliament had combined with several officers in the army to re-establish the commonwealth, "without a single person or house of lords;" and a preparatory petition for the purpose of collecting signatures was circulated through the city. Cromwell consulted his most trusty advisers, of whom some suggested a dissolution, others objected the want of money, and the danger of irritating the people. Perhaps he had already taken his resolution, though he kept it a secret within his own breast: perhaps it might be the result of some sudden and momentary impulse<sup>69</sup>; but one morning he unexpectedly threw himself into a carriage with two horses standing at the gates of Whitehall:

Cromwell  
dissolves  
the par-  
liament.

<sup>68</sup> Journals, Jan. 25, 9; Feb. 1, 3. Burton's Diary, ii. 371—464. Thurloe, i. 766; vi. 767.

<sup>69</sup> "Something happening that morning that put the protector into a rage and passion near unto madness as those at Whitehall can witness." Second Narrative. p. 8.

CHAP. and, beckoning to six of his guards to follow,  
 IV. ordered the coachman to drive to the parliament  
 1658. ————— house. There he revealed his purpose to Fleet-  
 wood, and, when that officer ventured to remon-  
 strate, declared by the living God that he would  
 dissolve the parliament. Sending for the com-  
 mons, he addressed them in an angry and expos-  
 tulating tone. "They," he said, "had placed him  
 " in the high situation in which he stood: he  
 " sought it not: there was neither man nor  
 " woman treading on English ground who could  
 " say he did. God knew that he would rather  
 " have lived under a wood side, and have tended  
 " a flock of sheep, than have undertaken the go-  
 " vernment. But, having undertaken it at their  
 " request, he had a right to look to them for aid  
 " and support. Yet some among them, God was  
 " his witness, in violation of their oaths, were at-  
 " tempting to establish a commonwealth interest  
 " in the army; some had received commissions  
 " to enlist men for Charles Stuart, and both had  
 " their emissaries at that moment seeking to raise  
 " a tumult, or rather a rebellion in the city. But  
 " he was bound before God to prevent such dis-  
 " asters; and, therefore," he concluded, "I think  
 " it high time that an end be put to your sitting;  
 " and I do dissolve this parliament; and let God  
 " judge between me and you." "Amen, amen,"  
 responded several voices from the ranks of the  
 opposition <sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> Journ. Feb. 4. Thurloe, vi. 778, 779, 781, 788. Parl. Hist.

This was the fourth parliament that Cromwell had broken. The republicans indulged their resentment in murmurs, and complaints, and menaces; but the protector, secure of the fidelity of the army, despised the feeble efforts of their vengeance, and encouraged by his vigour the timidity of his counsellors. Strong patrols of infantry and cavalry paraded the streets, dispersing every assemblage of people in the open air, in private houses, and even in conventicles and churches for the purpose, or under the pretext, of devotion. The colonel-major and several captains of his own regiment were cashiered<sup>71</sup>; many of the levellers and royalists were arrested and imprisoned, or discharged upon bail; and the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, received from Cromwell himself an account of the danger which threatened them from the invasion meditated by Charles Stuart, and a charge to watch the haunts of the discontented, and to preserve the tranquillity of the city. At the same time his agents were busy in procuring loyal and affectionate addresses from the army, the counties,

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

Receives  
addresses  
in conse-  
quence.

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iii. 1525. By the oath, which Cromwell reproaches them with violating, they had sworn "to be true and faithful to the lord-protector as chief magistrate, and not to contrive, design, or attempt any thing against his person or lawful authority."

<sup>71</sup> "I," says Hacker, "that had served him fourteen years, and had commanded a regiment seven years, without any trial or appeal, with the breath of his nostrils I was outed, and lost not only my place but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command were outed with me, because they could not say that was a house of lords." Burton's Diary, iii. 166.

CHAP. and the principal towns ; and these, published in  
 IV. the newspapers, served to overawe his enemies,  
 1658. — and to display the stability of his power <sup>72</sup>.

Arrival of  
 Ormond.

The apprehension of invasion, to which Cromwell so frequently alluded, was not entirely groundless. On the return of the winter the royalists had reminded Charles of his promise in the preceding spring; the king of Spain furnished an aid of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns; the harbour of Ostend was selected for the place of embarkation, and arms, ammunition, and transports were purchased in Holland. The prince himself, mastering for a while his habits of indolence and dissipation, appeared eager to redeem his pledge <sup>73</sup>; but the more prudent of his advisers conjured him not to risk his life on general assurances of support; and the marquess of Ormond, with the most chivalrous loyalty, offered to ascertain on the spot the real objects and resources of his adherents. Pretending to proceed on a mission to the court of the duke of Neuburg, that nobleman crossed the sea, landed in disguise at Westmarch on the coast of Essex, and hastened to London. There, continually

1658.  
 End of  
 Jan.

<sup>72</sup> Thurloe, vi. 778, 781, 788; vii. 4, 21, 32, 49, 71. Parl. Hist. iii. 1528.

<sup>73</sup> Still Ormond says to Hyde, "I fear his immoderate light in empty, effeminate, and vulgar conversations is become an irresistible part of his nature, and will never suffer him to animate his own designs, and other's actions, with that spirit which is requisite for his quality, and much more to his fortune." 27, Jan. 7, 1658. Clar. iii. 387.

changing his dress and lodgings, he contrived to elude the suspicion of the spies of government, and had opportunities of conversing with men of different parties ; with the royalists, who sought the restoration of the ancient monarchy ; with the levellers, who were willing that the claims of the king and the subject should be adjusted in a free parliament ; with the moderate presbyterians, who, guided by the earls of Manchester and Denbigh, with Rossiter and Sir William Waller, offered to rely on the royal promises ; and the more rigid among the same religionists, who, with the lords Say and Roberts at their head, demanded the confirmation of the articles to which the late king had assented in the Isle of Wight. But from none could he procure any satisfactory assurances of support. They were unable to perform what they had promised by their agents. They had not the means, or the courage, or the abilities, necessary for the undertaking. The majority refused to declare themselves, till Charles should have actually landed with a respectable force ; and the most sanguine required a pledge that he would be ready to sail the moment he heard of their rising, because there was no probability of their being able, without foreign aid, to make head against the protector beyond the short space of a fortnight<sup>74</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

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<sup>74</sup> Carte's Letters, ii. 118, 124, 130. Clar. iii. 388, 392, 395. Thurloe, i. 718.

CHAP. In these conferences Ormond frequently came  
 IV. in contact with sir Richard Willis, one of the  
 1658. select knot, and standing high in the confidence  
 Treachery of Willis. of Charles <sup>75</sup>. Willis uniformly disapproved of  
 the attempt. The king's enemies, he observed,  
 were now ready to unsheathe their swords against  
 each other ; but let the royal banner be once un-  
 furled, and they would suspend their present  
 quarrel, to combine their efforts against the com-  
 mon enemy. Yet the author of this prudent ad-  
 vice was, if we may believe Clarendon, a traitor,  
 though a traitor of a very singular description.  
 He is said to have contracted with Cromwell, in  
 consideration of an annual stipend, to reveal to  
 him the projects of the king and the royalists,  
 but on condition that he should have no personal  
 communication with the protector, that he should  
 never be compelled to mention any individual  
 whose name he wished to keep secret, and that  
 he should not be called upon to give evidence, or to  
 furnish documents, for the conviction of any pri-  
 soner <sup>76</sup>. It is believed that for several years he

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<sup>75</sup> The knot consisted of Willis, colonel Russel, sir William Compton, Edward Villiers, and Mr. Broderick, according to several letters in Clarendon ; according to the duke of York, of the four first, lord Bellasis, and lord Loughborough. James, i. 370.

<sup>76</sup> This is Clarendon's account. In Thurloe, i. 757, is a paper signed John Foster, supposed to be the original offer made to Thurloe by Willis. He there demands that no one but the protector should be acquainted with his employment ; that he should never be brought forward as a witness ; that the pardon of one dear friend should be granted to him ; and that he should re-

faithfully complied with this engagement; and when he thought that Ormond had been long enough in London, he informed Cromwell of the presence of the marquess in the capital, but at the same moment conveyed advice to the marquess that orders had been issued for his apprehension. This admonition had its desired effect. Ormond stole away to Shoreham, in Sussex, crossed over to Dieppe, and, travelling in disguise through France, that he might escape the notice of Lockhart and Mazarin, proceeded along the Rhine to join his master in Flanders<sup>77</sup>.

There was little in the report of Ormond to give encouragement to Charles; his last hopes were soon afterwards extinguished by the vigilance of Cromwell. The moment the thaw opened the ports of Holland, a squadron of English frigates swept the coast, captured three, and drove on shore two flutes destined for the expedition, and closely blockaded the harbour of Ostend<sup>78</sup>. The design was again postponed till

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

Feb. 15.

Royal fleet  
destroyed.

March 1

April 14.

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ceive 50*l.* with the answer, 500*l.* on his first interview with Thurloe, and 500*l.* when he put into their hands any of the conspirators against Cromwell's person.

<sup>77</sup> Clar. Hist. iii. 614—618, 667. Clarendon's narrative is so frequently inaccurate, that it is unsafe to give credit to any charge on his authority alone; but in the present instance he relates the discovery of the treachery of Willis with such circumstantial minuteness, that it will require a considerable share of incredulity to doubt of it being substantially true, and his narrative is confirmed by James ii. (Mem. i. 370,) and other documents to be noticed hereafter.

<sup>78</sup> Carte's Letters, ii. 126, 135. Clar. Papers, iii. 396.

CHAP. the winter; and the king resolved to solicit in  
 IV. person a supply of money at the court of the  
 1658. Spanish monarch. But from this journey he  
 ——— was dissuaded by the cardinal de Retz, who  
 pointed out to him the superior advantage of his  
 residence in Flanders, where he was in readiness  
 to seize the first propitious moment which fortune  
 should offer. In the mean time the cardinal,  
 through his agent in Rome, solicited from the  
 pope pecuniary aid for the king, on condition  
 that in the event of his ascending the throne of  
 his fathers, he should release the catholics of his  
 three kingdoms from the intolerable pressure of  
 the penal laws <sup>79</sup>.

Trials of  
 the royal-  
 ists.

The transactions of this winter, the attempt of  
 Syndercomb, the triumph of his opponents in  
 parliament, and the preparations of the royalists  
 to receive the exiled king, added to habitual in-  
 disposition, had soured and irritated the temper  
 of Cromwell. He saw that to bring to trial the  
 men who had been his associates in the cause  
 might prove a dangerous experiment; but there  
 was nothing to deter him from wreaking his  
 vengeance on the royalists, and convincing them  
 of the danger of trespassing any more on his  
 patience by their annual projects of insurrection.  
 In every county all who had been denounced, all  
 who were even suspected, were put under arrest;  
 a new high court of justice was established ac-

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<sup>79</sup> Carte's Letters, ii. 136—142, 145. Clar. Pap. iii. 401.



ording to the act of 1656 ; and sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewet, and Mr. Mordaunt were selected for the three first victims. Slingsby, a catholic gentleman and a prisoner at Hull, had endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of the officers in the garrison ; who by direction of the governor, amused the credulity of the old man, till he had the imprudence to deliver to them a commission from Charles Stuart<sup>80</sup>. Dr. Hewet was an episcopalian divine, permitted to preach at St. Gregory's, and had long been one of the most active and useful of the royal agents in the vicinity of the capital. Mordaunt, a younger brother of the earl of Peterborough, had also displayed his zeal for the king, by maintaining a constant correspondence with the marquess of Ormond, and distributing royal commissions to those who offered to raise men in favour of Charles. Of the truth of the charges brought against them, there could be no doubt ; and, aware of their danger, they strongly protested against the legality of the court, demanded a trial by jury, and appealed to Magna Charta, and several acts of parliament. Slingsby at last pleaded, and was condemned ; Hewet, under the pretence that to plead was to betray the liberties of Englishmen, stood mute ; and his silence, according to a recent act, was taken for a confession of guilt. Mordaunt was more fortunate.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

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1658.  
April 2.

June 1.

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<sup>80</sup> Thurloe, vi. 777, 780, 786, 870 ; vii. 46, 47, 98.

CHAP. Stapeley, who, to save his own life, swore against  
 IV. him, proved an unwilling witness; and Mallory,  
 1658. ——— who was to have supported the evidence of Stape-  
 ley, had four days before been bribed to abscond.  
 This deficiency was gladly laid hold of by the  
 majority of the judges, who gave their opinion  
 that his guilt was not proved; and, for similar  
 June 9. reasons, some days later acquitted two other con-  
 spirators, sir Humphrey Bennet and captain  
 Woodcock. The fact is, they were weary of an  
 office which exposed them to the censure of the  
 public; for the court was viewed with hatred by  
 the people. It abolished the trial by jury; it  
 admitted no inquest or presentment by the oaths  
 of good and faithful men; it deprived the ac-  
 cused of the benefit of challenge; and its pro-  
 ceedings were contrary to the law of treason, the  
 petition of right, and the very oath of govern-  
 ment taken by the protector. Cromwell, dissatis-  
 fied with these acquittals, yielded to the advice  
 of the council, and sent the rest of the prisoners  
 before the usual courts of law, where several were  
 found guilty, and condemned to suffer the penal-  
 ties of treason <sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> Whitelock, 673, 4. Thurloe, vii. 159, 164. State Trials, v. 871, 883, 907. These trials are more interesting in Clarendon, but much of his narrative is certainly, and more of it probably, fictitious. It is not true that Slingsby's offence was committed two years before, nor that Hewet was accused of visiting the king in Flanders, nor that Mallory escaped out of the hall on the morning of the trial. (See Claren. Hist. iii. 619—624.) Mallory's own account of his escape is in Thurloe, vii. 194, 220.

Great exertions were made to save the lives of Slingsby and Hewet. In favour of the first, it was urged that he had never been suffered to compound, had never submitted to the commonwealth, and had been for years deprived both of his property and liberty, so that his conduct should be rather considered as the attempt of a prisoner of war to regain his freedom, than of a subject to overturn the government. This reasoning was urged by his nephew, lord Falconberg, who, by his recent marriage with Mary Cromwell, was believed to possess considerable influence with her father. The interest of Dr. Hewet was espoused by a more powerful advocate, by Elizabeth, the best-beloved of Cromwell's daughters, who at the same time was in a delicate and precarious state of health. But it was in vain that she interceded for the man, whose spiritual ministry she employed: Cromwell was inexorable. He resolved that blood should be shed, and that the royalists should learn to fear his resentment, since they had not been won by his forbearance. Both suffered death by decapitation<sup>81</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

Execution  
of Slings-  
by and  
Hewet.

<sup>81</sup> Ludlow, ii. 149. I think there is some reason to question those sentiments of loyalty to the house of Stuart, and that affliction and displeasure on account of the execution of Hewet, which writers attribute to Elizabeth Claypole. In a letter written by her to her sister-in-law, the wife of H. Cromwell, and dated only four days after the death of Hewet, she calls on her to return thanks to God for their deliverance from Hewet's conspiracy: "for sertyngly not ondy his (Cromwell's) famely would have bin ruined, but in all probabillyti the hol nation would have bin invold in blod." June 12. Thurloe, vii. 171.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

June 8.  
Battle of  
the Danes.

During the winter, the gains and losses of the hostile armies in Flanders had been nearly balanced. If, on the one hand, the duke of York was repulsed with loss in his attempt to storm by night the works at Mardyke; on the other, the marshal D'Aumont was made prisoner with fifteen hundred men by the Spanish governor of Ostend, who, under the pretence of delivering up the place, had decoyed him within the fortifications. In February, the offensive treaty between France and England was renewed for another year; three thousand men, drafted from different regiments, were sent by the protector to supply the deficiency in the number of his forces; and the combined army opened the campaign with the siege of Dunkirk. By the Spaniards the intelligence was received with surprise and apprehension. Deceived by false information, they had employed all their efforts to provide for the safety of Cambray. The repeated warnings given by Charles had been neglected: the extensive works at Dunkirk remained in an unfinished state; and the defence of the place had been left to its ordinary garrison of no more than one thousand men, and these but scantily supplied with stores and provisions. To repair his error, Don Juan, with the consent of his Mentor, the marquess Caracena, resolved to hazard a battle, and, collecting a force of six thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, encamped between the village of Zudcote and the lines of the besiegers. But Turenne, aware of

the defective organization of the Spanish armies, resolved to prevent the threatened attack; and the very next morning, before the Spanish cannon and ammunition had reached the camp, the allied force was seen advancing in battle array. Don Juan hastily placed his men along a ridge of sand hills which extended from the sea coast to the canal, giving the command of the right wing to the duke of York, of the left to the prince of Condé, and reserving the centre to himself. The battle was begun by the English, who found themselves opposed to their countryman, the duke of York. They were led by major-general Morgan: for Lockhart, who acted both as ambassador and commander-in-chief, was confined by indisposition to his carriage. Their ardour to distinguish themselves in the presence of the two rival nations carried them considerably in advance of their allies; but, having halted to gain breath at the foot of the opposite sand hill, they mounted with impetuosity, received the fire of the enemy, and, at the point of the pike, drove them from their position. The duke immediately charged at the head of the Spanish cavalry: but one half of his men were mowed down by a well-directed fire of musketry; and James himself owed the preservation of his life to the temper of his armour. The advantage, however, was dearly purchased: in Lockhart's regiment scarcely an officer remained to take the command.

By this time the action had commenced on the

CHAP. left, where the prince of Condé, after some sharp  
 IV. fighting, was compelled to retreat by the bank of  
 1658. ————— the canal. The centre was never engaged; for  
 the regiment, on its extreme left, seeing itself  
 flanked by the French in pursuit of Condé, pre-  
 cipitately abandoned its position, and the example  
 was successively imitated by the whole line. But,  
 in the mean while, the duke of York had rallied  
 his broken infantry, and, while they faced the  
 English, he charged the latter in flank at the  
 head of his company of horse-guards. Though  
 thrown into disorder, they continued to fight, em-  
 ploying the butt-ends of their muskets against the  
 swords of their adversaries, and in a few minutes  
 several squadrons of French cavalry arrived to  
 their aid. James was surrounded; and, in de-  
 spair of saving himself by flight, he boldly as-  
 sumed the character of a French officer; rode at  
 the head of twenty troopers toward the right of  
 their army; and, carefully threading the different  
 corps, arrived without exciting suspicion at the  
 bank of the canal, by which he speedily effected  
 his escape to Furnes<sup>82</sup>. The victory on the part  
 of the allies was complete. The Spanish cavalry  
 made no effort to protect the retreat of their  
 infantry; every regiment of which was succes-  
 sively surrounded by the pursuers, and compelled  
 to surrender. By Turenne and his officers the  
 chief merit of this brilliant success was cheerfully

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<sup>82</sup> See the account of this battle by James himself, in his *Memoirs*, i. 338—358. Also *Thurloc*, vii. 155, 6, 9.

allotted to the courage and steadiness of the English regiments: at Whitehall it was attributed to the prayers of the lord-protector, who, on that very day, observed with his council a solemn fast to implore the blessing of heaven on the operations of the allied army <sup>83</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

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Unable to oppose their enemies in the field, the Spanish generals proposed to retard their progress by the most obstinate defence of the different fortresses. The prince de Ligne undertook that of Ipres: the care of Newport, Bruges, and Ostend was committed to the duke of York; and Don Juan returned to Brussels to hasten new levies from the different provinces. Within a fortnight Dunkirk capitulated, and the king of France having taken possession, delivered the keys with his own hand to the English ambassador. Gravelines was soon afterwards reduced; the prince de Ligne suffered himself to be surprised by the superior activity of Turenne; Ipres opened its gates, and all the towns on the banks of the Lys successively submitted to the con-

Capitulation of Dunkirk.

June 17.

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<sup>83</sup> "Truly," says Thurloe, "I never was present at any such exercise, where I saw a greater spirit of faith and prayer poured forth." Ibid. 158. "The Lord," says Fleetwood, "did draw forth his highness's heart to set apart that day to seek the Lord; and indeed there was a very good spirit appearing. Whilst we were praying, they were fighting: and the Lord hath given a signal answer. And the Lord hath not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in our way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all our straits and difficulties." Ibid. 159.

CHAP. querors. Seldom, perhaps, had there occurred a  
 IV. campaign more disastrous to the Spanish arms<sup>84</sup>.  
 1658.

— In the eyes of the superficial observer, Cromwell  
 Crom- might now appear to have reached the zenith of  
 well's power and greatness. At home he had discovered,  
 greatness. defeated, and punished, all the conspiracies against  
 him: abroad, his army had gained laurels in the  
 field; his fleets swept the seas; his friendship was  
 sought by every power; and his mediation was  
 employed in settling the differences between both  
 Portugal and Holland, and the king of Sweden  
 and the elector of Brandenburg. He had re-  
 cently sent lord Falconberg to compliment Louis  
 XIV. on his arrival at Calais; and, in a few days,  
 was visited by the duke of Crequi, who brought  
 him a magnificent sword as a present from that  
 prince, and by Mancini, with another present of  
 tapestry from his uncle, the cardinal Mazarin.  
 But, above all, he was now in possession of Dun-  
 kirk, the great object of his foreign policy for the  
 last two years, the opening through which he was  
 to accomplish the designs of Providence on the  
 continent. The real fact, however, was, that his  
 authority in England never rested on a more  
 precarious footing than at the present moment;  
 while, on the other hand, the cares and anxieties  
 of government, joined to his apprehensions of  
 personal violence, and the pressure of domestic  
 affliction, were rapidly undermining his constitu-

<sup>84</sup> James, *Memoirs*, i. 359. Thurloe, vii. 169, 176, 215.



tion, and hurrying him from the gay and glittering visions of ambition to the darkness and silence of the tomb.

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IV.  
1658.

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1<sup>o</sup>. Cromwell was now reduced to that situation which, to the late unfortunate monarch, had proved the source of so many calamities. His expenditure far outran his income. Though the last parliament had made provision, ample provision, as it was then thought, for the splendour of his establishment, and for all the charges of the war, he had already contracted enormous debts; his exchequer was frequently drained to the last shilling; and his ministers were compelled to go a-begging, such is the expression of the secretary of state, for the temporary loan of a few thousand pounds, with the cheerless anticipation of a refusal<sup>85</sup>. He looked on the army, the greater part of which he had quartered in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, as his chief—his only support against his enemies; and while the soldiers were comfortably clothed and fed, he might with confidence rely on their attachment; but now that their pay was in arrear, he had reason to apprehend that discontent might induce them to listen to the suggestions of those officers who sought to subvert his power. On former occasions, indeed, he had relieved himself from similar embarrassments by the imposition of taxes by his own authority; but this practice was so

His poverty.

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<sup>85</sup> Thurloe, vii. 99, 100, 144, 295.

CHAP. strongly reprobated in the petition and advice ;  
 IV.  
 1658. and he had recently abjured it with so much

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solemnity, that he dared not repeat the experiment. He attempted to raise a loan among the merchants and capitalists in the city ; but his credit and popularity were gone : he had, by plunging into war with Spain, cut off one of the most plentiful sources of profit, the Spanish trade ; and the number of prizes made by the enemy, amounting to more than a thousand<sup>86</sup>, had ruined many opulent fortunes. The application was eluded by a demand of security on the landed property belonging to country gentlemen. There remained a third expedient, an application to parliament. But Cromwell, like the first Charles, had learned to dread the very name of a parliament. Three of these assemblies he had moulded according to his pleasure, and yet not one of them could he render obsequious to his will. Urged, however, by the ceaseless importunities of Thurloe, he appointed nine counsellors to inquire into the means of defeating the intrigues of the republicans in a future parliament ; the manner of raising a permanent revenue from the estates of the royalists ; and the best method of determining the succession to the protectorate. But among the nine were two, who, aware of his increasing infirmities, began to cherish projects of their own aggrandizement, and who, therefore, made it their

June 18.

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<sup>86</sup> Thurloe, vii. 662.

care to perplex and to prolong the deliberations. The committee sat three weeks. On the two first questions they came to no conclusion: with respect to the third, they voted, on a division, that the choice between an elective and an hereditary succession was a matter of indifference. Suspicious of their motives, Cromwell dissolved the committee<sup>87</sup>. But he substituted no council in its place; things were allowed to take their course; the embarrassment of the treasury increased; and the irresolution of the protector, joined to the dangers which threatened the government, shook the confidence of Thurloe himself. It was only when he looked up to heaven that he discovered a gleam of hope, in the persuasion that the God who had befriended Cromwell through life, would not desert him at the close of his career<sup>88</sup>.

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July 8.

July 27.

2<sup>o</sup>. To the cares of government must be added his constant dread of assassination. It is certainly extraordinary that, while so many conspiracies are said to have been formed, no attempt was actually made against his person; but the

His fear of  
assassina-  
tion.

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<sup>87</sup> Thurloe, vii. 146, 176, 192, 269. The committee consisted, in Thurloe's words, of lord Fiennes, lord Fleetwood, lord Desborow, lord Chamberlayne, lord Whalley, Mr. Comptroller, lord Goffe, lord Cooper, and himself, p. 192. On this selection Henry Cromwell observes: "The wise men were but seven; it seems you have made them nine. And having heard their names, I think myself better able to guess what they'll do than a much wiser man; for no very wise man can ever imagine it." p. 217.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 153, 282, 295.

CHAP. fact that such designs had existed, and the know-  
 IV. ledge that his death was of the first importance  
 1658. ————— to his enemies, convinced him that he could never  
 be secure from danger. He multiplied his pre-  
 cautions. He wore defensive armour under his  
 clothes; he carried loaded pistols in his pockets;  
 he sought to remain in privacy; and, when he  
 found it necessary to give audience, he sternly  
 watched the eyes and gestures of those who ad-  
 dressed him. He was careful that his own mo-  
 tions should not be known beforehand. His  
 carriage was filled with attendants; a numerous  
 escort accompanied him; and he proceeded at full  
 speed, frequently diverging from the road to the  
 right or left, and generally returning by a different  
 route. In his palace he often inspected the nightly  
 watch, changed his bed-chamber, and was careful  
 that, besides the principal door, there should be  
 some other egress, for the facility of escape. He  
 had often faced death without flinching in the  
 field; but his spirit broke under the continual  
 fear of unknown and invisible foes. He passed  
 the nights in a state of feverish anxiety; sleep  
 fled from his pillow; and for more than a year  
 before his death we always find the absence of rest  
 assigned as either the cause which produced, or a  
 circumstance which aggravated his numerous  
 ailments<sup>89</sup>.

3<sup>o</sup>. The selfishness of ambition does not ex-

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<sup>89</sup> Clar. Hist. iii. 646. Bates, Elench. 342. Welwood, 94.

clude the more kindly feelings of domestic affection. Cromwell was sincerely attached to his children ; but, among them, he gave the preference to his daughter Elizabeth Claypole. The meek disposition of the young woman possessed singular charms for the overbearing spirit of her father ; and her timid piety readily received lessons on mystical theology from the superior experience of the lord-general <sup>90</sup>. But she was now dying of a most painful and internal complaint, imperfectly understood by her physicians ; and her grief for the loss of her infant child added to the poignancy of her sufferings. Cromwell abandoned the business of state that he might hasten to Hampton-court, to console his favourite daughter. He frequently visited her, remained long in her apartment, and, whenever he quitted it, seemed to be absorbed in the deepest melancholy. It is not probable that the subject of their private conversation was exposed to the profane ears of

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

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His grief  
for his  
daughter's  
death.

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<sup>90</sup> The following passage from one of Cromwell's letters to his daughter Ireton, will perhaps surprise the reader. " Your sister Claypole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts, shee sees her owne vanitye and carnal minde, bewailinge itt, shee seeks after (as I hope alsoe) that w<sup>ch</sup> will satisfie, and thus to bee a seeker, is to be of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee at the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sense of self-vanitye and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse than pressinge after full enjoyment. Deere hart presse on: lett not husband, lett not anythinge coole thy affections after Christ," &c. &c. Harris, iii. App. 515, edit. 1814.

CHAP. IV. 1658. strangers. We are, however, told that she expressed to him her doubts of the justice of the good old cause, that she exhorted him to restore the sovereign authority to the rightful owner, and that, occasionally, when her mind was wandering, she alarmed him by uttering cries of "blood," and predictions of vengeance<sup>91</sup>.

4<sup>o</sup>. Elizabeth died. The protector was already confined to his bed with the gout, and, though he anticipated the event, some days elapsed before he recovered from the shock. A slow fever still remained, which was pronounced a bastard tertian. One of his physicians whispered to another, that his pulse was intermittent: the words caught the ears of the sick man; he turned pale, a cold perspiration covered his face; and, requesting to be placed in bed, he executed his private will. The next morning he had recovered his usual composure; and when he received the visit of his physician, ordering all to quit the room but his wife, whom he held by the hand, he said: "Do not think that I shall die; I am sure of the contrary." Then, observing the surprise which these words excited, he continued: "Say not that I have lost my reason: I tell you the truth. I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers; not to mine alone, but to those of others who have a

<sup>91</sup> Clar. Hist. iii. 647. Bulstrode, 205. Heath, 408.

“ more intimate interest in him than I have ”<sup>92</sup>. CHAP.  
 The same communication was made to Thurloe, IV.  
 and to the different members of the protector’s 1658.  
 family ; nor did it fail to obtain credit among  
 men who believed that “ in other instances he  
 “ had been favoured with similar assurances, and  
 “ that they had never deceived him ”<sup>93</sup>. Hence  
 his chaplain Goodwin exclaimed, “ O Lord, we  
 “ pray not for his recovery ; that thou hast  
 “ granted already ; what we now beg is his  
 “ *speedy* recovery ”<sup>94</sup>.

In a few days, however, their confidence was His dan-  
 shaken. For change of air he had removed to <sup>ger.</sup>  
 Whitehall, till the palace of St. James’s should  
 be ready for his reception. There his fever be- Aug. 28.  
 came a double tertian, and his strength rapidly  
 wasted away. Who, it was asked, was to suc-  
 ceed him ? On the day of his inauguration he  
 had written the name of his successor within a  
 cover sealed with the protectorial arms ; but that  
 paper had been lost, or purloined, or destroyed.  
 Thurloe undertook to suggest to him a second  
 nomination, but the condition of the protector,  
 who was always insensible or delirious, afforded  
 him no opportunity. A suspicion, however,  
 existed, that he had private reasons for declining  
 to interfere in so delicate a business<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Thurloe, vii. 321, 340, 354, 355. Bates, Eleuch. 413.

<sup>93</sup> Thurloe, vii. 355, 367, 376.

<sup>94</sup> Ludlow, ii. 151.

<sup>95</sup> Thurloe, 355, 365, 366.

CHAP. On the night of the second of September  
 IV. Cromwell had a lucid interval of considerable  
 1658., duration. It might have been expected that a  
 His dis- man of his religious disposition would have felt  
 course. some compunctious visitings, when from the bed  
 Sep. 2. of death he looked back on the strange eventful  
 career of his past life. But he had adopted a  
 doctrine admirably calculated to lull and tran-  
 quillize the misgivings of conscience. "Tell me,"  
 said he to Sterry, one of his chaplains, "is it pos-  
 sible to fall from grace?" "It is not possible,"  
 replied the minister. "Then," exclaimed the  
 dying man, "I am safe: for I know that I was  
 once in grace." Under this impression he  
 prayed, not for himself, but for God's people.  
 "Lord," he said, "though a miserable and  
 wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee  
 through thy grace, and may and will come to  
 thee for thy people. Thou hast made me a  
 mean instrument to do them some good, and  
 thee service. Many of them set too high a  
 value upon me, though others would be glad of  
 my death. Lord, however thou disposest of  
 me, continue, and go on to do good for them.  
 Teach those who look too much upon thy in-  
 struments, to depend more upon thyself, and  
 pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust  
 of a poor worm, for they are thy people too"<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Collection of Passages concerning his Late Highness in Time of his Sickness, p. 12. The author was Underwood, groom of the bed-chamber. See also a letter of H. Cromwell, Thurloe, vii. 454. Ludlow, ii. 153.



It was a stormy night. The violence of the wind increased till it blew a hurricane. Trees were torn from their roots in the park, and houses unroofed in the city. So strange a coincidence could not fail of exciting remarks in a superstitious age; and, though the storm reached to the coasts of the Mediterranean, in England it was universally referred to the death-bed of the protector. His friends asserted that God would not remove so great a man from this world without previously warning the nation of its approaching loss: the cavaliers more maliciously maintained that the devils, "the princes of the air," were congregating over Whitehall, that they might pounce on the protector's soul<sup>97</sup>.

Early in the morning, he relapsed into a state of insensibility. It was his fortunate day, the 3d of September, a circumstance from which his sorrowing relatives derived a new source of consolation. It was, they observed, on the 3d of September that he overcame the Scots at Dunbar; on that day, he also overcame the royalists at Worcester; and on the same day he was destined to overcome his spiritual enemies, and to receive the crown of victory in heaven. About four in the afternoon he breathed his last, amidst the tears and lamentations of his attendants. "Cease to weep," exclaimed the fanatical Sterry, "you have more reason to rejoice. He was your pro-

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IV.  
1658.

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His death,  
Sep. 3.

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<sup>97</sup> Clar. 646. Bulstrode, 207. Heath, 408, Noble, i. 147, note.

CHAP. “ tector here ; he will prove a still more powerful  
 IV. “ protector, now that he is with Christ at the  
 1658. “ right hand of the Father.” With a similar confidence in Cromwell’s sanctity, though in a somewhat lower tone of enthusiasm, the grave and cautious Thurloe announced the event by letter to the deputy of Ireland. “ He is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints ”<sup>98</sup>.

And character.

Till the commencement of the present century, when that wonderful man arose, who, by the splendour of his victories and the extent of his empire, cast all preceding adventurers into the shade, the name of Cromwell stood without a parallel in the history of civilized Europe. Men looked with a feeling of awe on the fortunate individual who, without the aid of birth, or wealth, or connexions, was able to seize the government of three powerful kingdoms, and to impose the yoke of servitude on the necks of the very men, who had fought in his company to emancipate themselves from the less arbitrary sway of their hereditary sovereign. That he who accomplished this was no ordinary personage, all must admit ; and yet, on close investigation, we shall discover little that was sublime or dazzling in his character. Cromwell was not the meteor which surprises and astounds by the brilliancy

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<sup>98</sup> Ludlow, ii. 153. Thurloe, vii. 373.

and rapidity of its course. Cool, cautious, calculating, he stole on with slow and measured pace; and while with secret pleasure he toiled up the ascent to greatness, laboured to persuade the spectators that he was reluctantly borne forward by an exterior and resistless force, by the march of events, the necessities of the state, the will of the army, and even the decree of the Almighty. He looked upon dissimulation as the perfection of human wisdom, and made it the key-stone of the arch on which he built his fortunes<sup>99</sup>. The aspirations of his ambition were concealed under the pretence of attachment to “the good old cause;” and his secret workings to acquire the sovereignty for himself and his family were represented as endeavours to secure for his former brethren in arms the blessings of civil and religious freedom, the two great objects which originally called them into the field. Thus his whole conduct was made up of artifice and deceit. He laid his plans long beforehand; he studied the views and dispositions of all from whose influence he had any thing to hope or fear; and he employed every expedient to win their affections, and to make them the blind unconscious tools of his policy. For this purpose he asked questions, or threw out insinuations in their hearing; now kept them aloof with an air of reserve and dignity; now put them off their guard by condescension,

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<sup>99</sup> See proofs of his dissimulation in Harris, iii. 93—103. Hutchinson, 313.

CHAP. perhaps, by buffoonery<sup>100</sup>; at one time, ad-  
 IV. dressed himself to their vanity or avarice; at  
 1658. another, exposed to them with tears (for tears he  
 had at will) the calamities of the nation; and  
 then, when he found them moulded to his pur-  
 pose, instead of assenting to the advice which he  
 had himself suggested, feigned reluctance, urged  
 objections, and pleaded scruples of conscience. At  
 length he yielded: but it was not till he had ac-  
 quired by his resistance the praise of moderation,  
 and the right of attributing his acquiescence to  
 their importunity, rather than his own ambi-  
 tion<sup>101</sup>.

Exposed as he was to the continual machina-  
 tions of the royalists and levellers, both equally  
 eager to precipitate him from the height to which  
 he had attained, Cromwell made it his great ob-  
 ject to secure to himself the attachment of the  
 army. To it he owed the acquisition, through it  
 alone could he ensure the permanence, of his  
 power. Now, fortunately for this purpose, that  
 army, composed as never was army before or  
 since, revered in the lord-protector what it valued  
 mostly in itself, the cant and practice of religious  
 enthusiasm. The superior officers, the subalterns,  
 the privates, all held themselves forth as profes-  
 sors of godliness. Among them every public  
 breach of morality was severely punished; the

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<sup>100</sup> See instances in Bates' *Elenc.* 344. Cowley, 95. Ludlow,  
 i. 207. Whitelock, 656. S. Trials, v. 1131, 1199.

<sup>101</sup> See Ludlow, i. 272; ii. 13, 14, 17.

exercises of religious worship were of as frequent recurrence as those of military duty<sup>102</sup>; in council, the officers always opened the proceedings with extemporary prayer; and to implore with due solemnity the protection of the Lord of Hosts, was held an indispensable part of the preparation for battle. Their cause they considered the cause of God: if they fought, it was for his glory: if they conquered, it was by the might of his arm. Among these enthusiasts, Cromwell, as he held the first place in rank, was also pre-eminent in spiritual gifts<sup>103</sup>. The fervour with which he prayed, the unction with which he preached, excited their admiration and tears. They looked on him as the favourite of God, under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, and honoured with communications from heaven; and he, on his part, was careful, by the piety of his language, by the strict decorum of his court, and by his zeal for the diffusion of godli-

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IV.  
1658.

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<sup>102</sup> “The discipline of the army was such that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices.” Cromwell’s speech to parliament in 1654. It surprised strangers. *Certa singulis diebus tum fundendis Deo precibus, tum audiendis Dei præconiis erant assignata tempora. Parallelum Olivæ apud Harris, iii. 12. E certo ad ogni modo, che le Truppe vivono con tanta esatezza, come se fossero fraterie de’ religiosi. Sagredo, MS.*

<sup>103</sup> Religioso al estremo nell’ esteriore, predica con eloquenza ai soldati, li persuade a vivere secondo le legge d’Iddio, e per render più efficace la persuasione, si serve ben spesso delle lagrime, piangendo più li peccati altrui, che li proprii. *Ibid. Ludlow, iii. 111.*

CHAP. lines, to preserve and strengthen such impres-  
 IV. sions. In minds thus disposed, it was not difficult  
 1658.

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to create a persuasion that the final triumph of  
 “ their cause ” depended on the authority of the  
 general under whom they had conquered ; while  
 the full enjoyment of that religious freedom  
 which they so highly prized, rendered them less  
 jealous of the arbitrary power which he occasion-  
 ally assumed. In his public speeches, he perpet-  
 ually reminded them that, if religion was not  
 the original cause of the late civil war, yet “ God  
 “ soon brought it to that issue ” ; that amidst the  
 strife of battle, and the difficulties and dangers of  
 war, the reward to which they looked was free-  
 dom of conscience ; that this freedom to its full  
 extent they enjoyed under his government, though  
 they could never obtain it till they placed the  
 supreme authority in his hands <sup>104</sup>. The merit  
 which he thus arrogated to himself was admitted  
 to be his due by the great body of the saints : it  
 became the spell by which he rendered them  
 blind to his ambition and obedient to his will ;  
 the engine with which he raised, and afterwards  
 secured, the fabric of his greatness.

On the subject of civil freedom, the protector  
 could not assume so bold a tone. He acknow-  
 ledged, indeed, its importance ; it was second  
 only to religious freedom ; but if second, then, in

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<sup>104</sup> See in particular his speech to his second parliament, printed  
 by Henry Hills, 1654.

the event of competition, it ought to yield to the first. He contended that, under his government, every provision had been made for the preservation of the rights of individuals, so far as was consistent with the safety of the whole nation. He had reformed the chancery, he had laboured to abolish the abuses of the law, he had placed learned and upright judges on the bench, and he had been careful in all ordinary cases that impartial justice should be administered between the parties. This indeed was true; but it was also true that by his orders men were arrested and committed without lawful cause; that juries were packed; that prisoners, acquitted at their trial, were sent into confinement beyond the jurisdiction of the courts; that taxes had been raised without the authority of parliament; that a most unconstitutional tribunal, the high court of justice, had been established; and that the major-generals had been invested with powers the most arbitrary and oppressive<sup>104</sup>. These acts of despotism put him on his defence; and in apology he pleaded, as every despot will plead, reasons of state, the necessity of sacrificing a part to preserve the whole, and his conviction,

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<sup>104</sup> “ Judge Rolles,” says Challoner, “ was shuffled out of his place. Three worthy lawyers were sent to the Tower. It cost them 50*l.* a-piece for pleading a client’s cause. One Portman was imprisoned two or three years without cause. Several persons were taken out of their beds, and carried none knows whither.” Burton’s Diary, iv. 47.

CHAP. that a "people blessed by God, the regenerated  
 IV. "ones of several judgments forming the flock  
 1658. "and lambs of Christ, would prefer their safety  
 "to their passions, and their real security to  
 "forms." Nor was this reasoning addressed in  
 vain to men, who had surrendered their judg-  
 ments into his keeping, and who felt little for the  
 wrongs of others, as long as such wrongs were  
 represented necessary for their own welfare.

Some writers have maintained that Cromwell dissembled in religion as well as in politics; and that, when he condescended to act the part of the saint, he assumed for interested purposes a character which he otherwise despised. But this supposition is contradicted by the uniform tenor of his life. Long before he turned his attention to the disputes between the king and the parliament, religious enthusiasm had made a deep impression on his mind<sup>105</sup>; it continually manifested itself during his long career, both in the senate and the field, and it was strikingly displayed in his speeches and prayers on the last evening of his life. It should, however, be observed, that he made religion harmonize with his ambition. If he believed that the cause in which he had embarked was the cause of God, he also believed that God had chosen him to be the successful champion of that cause. Thus the honour of God was identified with his own advancement,

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<sup>105</sup> Warwick, 249.



and the arts, which his policy suggested, were sanctified in his eyes by the ulterior object at which he aimed—the diffusion of godliness, and the establishment of the reign of Christ among mankind.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1658.

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## CHAP. V.

## THE PROTECTORATE.

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RICHARD CROMWELL PROTECTOR—PARLIAMENT CALLED—DIS-  
 SOLVED—MILITARY GOVERNMENT—LONG PARLIAMENT RE-  
 STORED—EXPELLED AGAIN—RE-INSTATED—MONK IN LONDON  
 —RE-ADMISSION OF SECLUDED MEMBERS—LONG PARLIAMENT  
 DISSOLVED—THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT—RESTORATION  
 OF CHARLES II.

CHAP. **BY** his wife, Elizabeth Bouchier, Cromwell left  
 V. two sons, Richard and Henry. There was a  
 1658. remarkable contrast in the opening career of these  
 ——— young men. During the civil war, Richard lived  
 The two sons of Cromwell. in the Temple, frequented the company of the  
 cavaliers, and spent his time in gaiety and de-  
 bauchery. Henry repaired to his father's quar-  
 ters; and so rapid was his promotion, that at the  
 age of twenty he held the commission of captain  
 in the regiment of guards belonging to Fairfax,  
 the lord-general. After the establishment of the  
 commonwealth, Richard married, and, retiring to  
 the house of his father-in-law, at Hursley, in  
 Hampshire, devoted himself to the usual pursuits  
 of a country gentleman. Henry accompanied his

father in the reduction of Ireland, which country he afterwards governed, first with the rank major-general, afterwards with that of lord-deputy. It was not till the second year of the protectorate that Cromwell seemed to recollect that he had an elder son. He made him a lord of trade, then chancellor of the university of Oxford, and lastly a member of the new house of peers. As these honours were far inferior to those which he lavished on other persons connected with his family, it was inferred that he entertained a mean opinion of Richard's abilities. A more probable conclusion is, that he feared to alarm the jealousy of his officers, and carefully abstained from doing that which might confirm the general suspicion, that he designed to make the protectorship hereditary in his family.

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The moment he expired, the council assembled, and the result of their deliberation was an order to proclaim Richard Cromwell protector, on the ground that he had been declared by his late highness his successor in that dignity<sup>1</sup>. Not a

Richard  
succeeds  
his father.

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<sup>1</sup> There appears good reason to doubt this assertion. Thurloe indeed (vii. 372) informs Henry Cromwell that his father named Richard to succeed on the preceding Monday. But this letter was written after the proclamation of Richard, and its contents are irreconcilable with the letters written before it. We have one from lord Falconberg, dated on Monday, saying that no nomination had been made, and that Thurloe had promised to suggest it, but probably would not perform his promise (ibid. 365), and another from Thurloe himself to Henry Cromwell, stating the same thing as to the nomination (ibid. 364). It may perhaps be said that Richard was named on the Monday after the letters

CHAP. V. 1658. murmur of opposition was heard ; the ceremony was performed in all places after the usual manner of announcing the accession of a new sovereign ; and addresses of condolence and congratulation poured in from the army and navy, from one hundred congregational churches, and from the boroughs, cities, and counties. It seemed as if free-born Britons had been converted into a nation of slaves. These compositions were drawn up in the highest strain of adulation, adorned with forced allusions from Scripture, and with all the extravagance of Oriental hyperbole. “ Their sun was set, but no night had followed. They had lost the nursing father, by whose hand the yoke of bondage had been broken from the necks and consciences of the godly. Providence by one sad stroke had taken away the breath from their nostrils, and smitten the head from their shoulders ; but had given them in return the noblest branch of that renowned stock, a prince distinguished by the lovely composition of his person, but still more by the eminent qualities of his mind. The late protector had

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were written ; but there is a second letter from Thurloe, dated on the Tuesday, stating that the protector was still incapable of public business, and that matters would, he feared, remain till the death of his highness in the same state as he described them in his letter of Monday (*ibid.* 366). It was afterwards said that the nomination took place on the night before the protector's death, in the presence of four of the council. (Falconberg in Thurloe, 375, and Barwick, *ibid.* 415) ; but the latter adds that many doubt whether it ever took place at all.

“ been a Moses to lead God’s people out of the  
 “ land of Egypt : his son would be a Joshua to  
 “ conduct them into a more full possession of truth  
 “ and righteousness. Elijah had been taken into  
 “ heaven : Elisha remained on earth, the inheritor  
 “ of his mantle and his spirit !”<sup>2</sup>

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The royalists, who had persuaded themselves that the whole fabric of the protectorial power would fall in pieces on the death of Cromwell, beheld with amazement the general acquiescence in the succession of Richard ; and the foreign princes, who had deemed it prudent to solicit the friendship of the father, now hastened to offer their congratulations to his son. Yet, fair and tranquil as the prospect appeared, an experienced eye might easily detect the elements of an approaching storm. Meetings were clandestinely held by the officers ; doubts were whispered of the nomination of Richard by his father ; and an opinion was encouraged among the military that, as the commonwealth was the work of the army, so the chief office in the commonwealth belonged to the commander of the army. On this account the protectorship had been bestowed on Cromwell ; but his son was a civilian, who had never

Discon-  
 tent of the  
 army.

Sep. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The Scottish ministers in Edinburgh, instead of joining in these addresses, prayed on the following Sunday, “ that the Lord “ would be merciful to the exiled, and those that were in capti- “ vity, and cause them to return with sheaves of joy : that he “ would deliver all his people from the yoke of Pharaoh, and the “ task-masters of Egypt, and that he would cut off their op- “ pressors, and hasten the time of their deliverance.” Thurloe, vii. 416.

CHAP. drawn his sword in the cause ; and to suffer the  
V. supreme power to devolve on him, was to dis-  
1658. ——— grace, to disinherit the men who had suffered so  
severely, and bled so profusely, in the contest.

These complaints had probably been suggested, they were certainly fomented, by Fleetwood and his friends, the colonels Cooper, Berry, and Sydenham. Fleetwood was brave in the field, but irresolute in council ; eager for the acquisition of power, but continually checked by scruples of conscience ; attached by principle to republicanism, but ready to acquiesce in every change, under the pretence of submission to the decrees of Providence. Cromwell, who knew the man, had raised him to the second command in the army, and fed his ambition with distant and delusive hopes of succeeding to the supreme magistracy. The protector died, and Fleetwood, instead of acting, hesitated, prayed, and consulted : the propitious moment was suffered to pass by : he assented to the opinion of the council in favour of Richard ; and then, repenting of his weakness, sought to indemnify himself for the loss by confining the authority of the protector to the civil administration, and procuring for himself the sole uncontrolled command of the army. Under the late government the meetings of military officers had been discountenanced and forbidden ; now they were encouraged to meet and consult ; and, in a body of more than two hundred individuals, they presented to Richard a petition, by

which they demanded that no officer should be deprived but by sentence of a court-martial, and that the chief command of the forces, and the disposal of commissions, should be conferred on some person whose past services had proved his attachment to the cause. There were not wanting those who advised the protector to extinguish the hopes of the factious at once by arresting and imprisoning the chiefs ; but more moderate counsels prevailed, and in a firm but conciliatory speech, the composition of secretary Thurloe, he replied that, to gratify their wishes, he had appointed his relative, Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of all the forces ; but that to divest himself of the chief command, and of the right of giving or resuming commissions, would be to act in defiance of the “ petition and advice ”, the instrument by which he held the supreme authority. For a short time they appeared satisfied ; but the chief officers continued to hold meetings in the chapel at St. James’s, ostensibly for the purpose of prayer, but in reality for the convenience of deliberation. Fresh jealousies were excited ; it was said that another commander (Henry Cromwell was meant), would be placed above Fleetwood ; Thurloe, Pierrepoint, and St. John, were denounced as evil counsellors ; and it became evident to all attentive observers that the two parties must soon come into collision. The protector could depend on the armies in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, his brother Henry governed

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Oct. 14.

CHAP. without an opponent ; in Scotland, Monk, by his  
 V. judicious separation of the troops, and his vigi-  
 1658. lance in the enforcement of discipline, had de-  
 ———— prived the discontented of the means of holding  
 meetings, and of corresponding with each other.  
 In England he was assured of the services of  
 eight colonels, and, therefore, as it was erroneously  
 supposed, of their respective regiments, forming  
 one half of the regular force. But his opponents  
 were masters of the other half, constituted the  
 majority in the council, and daily augmented their  
 numbers by the accession of men who secretly  
 leaned to republican principles, or sought to make  
 an interest in that party which they considered  
 the more likely to prevail in the approaching  
 struggle <sup>3</sup>.

Funeral of Oliver. From the notice of these intrigues, the public  
 attention was withdrawn by the obsequies of the  
 late protector. It was resolved that they should  
 exceed in magnificence those of any former sove-  
 reign, and with that view they were conducted  
 according to the ceremonial observed at the inter-  
 ment of Philip II. of Spain. Somerset-house was  
 Sep. 26. selected for the first part of the exhibition. The

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<sup>3</sup> For these particulars, see the letters in Thurloe, vii. 386, 406, 413, 5, 434, 6, 7, 8, 447, 450, 2, 3, 4, 462, 490, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 500, 510, 511. So great was the jealousy between the parties, that Richard and his brother Henry dared not correspond by letter. "I doubt not all the letters will be opened, which come either to "or from your highness, which can be suspected to contain busi- "ness," 454. For the principles now professed by the levellers, see note (D.)



spectators, having passed through three rooms hung with black cloth, were admitted into the funeral chamber; where, surrounded with wax lights, was seen an effigy of Cromwell clothed in royal robes, and lying on a bed of state, which covered, or was supposed to cover, the coffin. On each side lay different parts of his armour: in one hand was placed the sceptre, in the other the globe; and behind the head an imperial crown rested on a cushion in a chair of state. But, in defiance of every precaution, it became necessary to inter the body before the appointed day; and the coffin was secretly deposited at night in a vault at the west end of the middle aisle of Westminster Abbey, under the gorgeous cenotaph which had recently been erected. The effigy was now removed to a more spacious chamber: it rose from a recumbent to an erect posture; and stood before the spectators not only with the emblems of royalty in its hands, but with the crown upon its head. For eight weeks this pageant was exhibited to the public. As the day appointed for the funeral obsequies approached, rumours of an intended explosion during the ceremony were circulated; but guards from the most trusty regiments lined the streets; the procession, consisting of the principal persons in the city and army, the officers of state, the foreign ambassadors, and the members of the protector's family, passed along without interruption; and the effigy, which in lieu of the corpse was borne on a car,

CHAP. was placed, with due solemnity, in the cenotaph  
 V. already mentioned. Thus did fortune sport with  
 1658. the ambitious prospects of Cromwell. The honours  
 of royalty which she refused to him during his  
 life, she lavished on his remains after death ; and  
 then, in the course of a few months, resuming her  
 gifts, exchanged the crown for a halter, and the  
 royal monument in the abbey for an ignominious  
 grave at Tyburn<sup>4</sup>.

Foreign  
 transac-  
 tions.

Before the reader proceeds to the more im-  
 portant transactions at home, he may take a rapid  
 view of the relations existing between England and  
 foreign states. The war which had so long raged  
 between the rival crowns of France and Spain  
 was hastening to its termination ; to Louis the aid  
 of England appeared no longer a matter of con-  
 sequence ; and the auxiliary treaty between the  
 two countries which had been renewed from year  
 to year, was suffered to expire at the appointed  
 time. But in the north of Europe there was  
 much to claim the attention of the new protector:  
 the king of Sweden, after a short peace, had again  
 unsheathed the sword against his enemy, the king  
 of Denmark. The commercial interests of the  
 maritime states were deeply involved in the issue  
 of the contest ; both England and Holland pre-  
 pared to aid their respective allies ; and a Dutch

Aug.

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<sup>4</sup> Thurloe, vii. 528, 9. Carrington apud Noble, i. 360—9. The charge for black cloth alone on this occasion was 6929*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* Biblioth. Stow. ii. 448. I do not notice the silly stories about the stealth of the protector's body.

squadron joined the Danish, while an English division, under the command of Ayscue, sailed to the assistance of the Swedish monarch. The severity of the winter forced Ayscue to return; but as soon as the navigation of the Sound was open, two powerful fleets were despatched to the Baltic; one by the protector, the other by the States; and to Montague, the English admiral, was entrusted the delicate and difficult commission, not only of watching the proceedings of the Dutch, but also of compelling them to observe peace towards the Swedes, without giving them occasion to commence hostilities against himself. In this he was successful: but no offer of mediation could reconcile the contending monarchs; and we shall find Montague still cruizing in the Baltic at the time when Richard, from whom he derived his commission, will be forced to abdicate the protectorial dignity<sup>5</sup>.

In a few days after the funeral of his father, to the surprise of the public, the protector summoned a parliament. How, it was asked, could Richard hope to control such an assembly, when the genius and authority of Oliver had proved unequal to the attempt? The difficulty was acknowledged; but the arrears of the army, the exhaustion of the treasury, and the necessity of seeking support against the designs of the officers,

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New par-  
liament.

Nov. 30.

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<sup>5</sup> Burton's Diary, iii. 576. Thurloe, vol. vii. passim. Carte's Letters, ii. 157—182. Londorp, viii. 635, 708. Dumont, vi. 244, 252, 260.

CHAP. V. 1658. compelled him to hazard the experiment; and he flattered himself with the hope of success, by avoiding the rock on which, in the opinion of his advisers, the policy of his father had split. Oliver had adopted the plan of representation prepared by the long parliament before its dissolution, a plan which, by disfranchising the lesser boroughs, and multiplying the members of the counties, had rendered the elections more independent of the government: Richard, under the pretence of a boon to the nation, reverted to the ancient system; and, if we may credit the calculation of his opponents, no fewer than one hundred and sixty members were returned from the boroughs by the interest of the court and its supporters. But to adopt the same plan in the conquered countries of Scotland and Ireland would have been dangerous: thirty representatives were therefore summoned from each; and, as the elections were conducted under the eyes of the commanders of the forces, the members, with one solitary exception, proved themselves the obsequious servants of government<sup>6</sup>.

Parties in  
parlia-  
ment.  
1659.  
June 27.

It was, however, taken as no favourable omen, that when the protector, at the opening of parliament, commanded the attendance of the commons in the house of lords, nearly one half of the members refused to obey. They were unwilling

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<sup>6</sup> Thurloe, vii. 541, 550. Ludlow, ii. 170. Bethel, Brief Narrative, 340. England's Confusion, p. 4, London, 1659.

to sanction by their presence the existence of an authority, the legality of which they intended to dispute, or to admit the superior rank of the new peers, the representatives of the protector, over themselves, the representatives of the people. As soon as the lower house was constituted, it divided itself into three distinct parties. 1<sup>o</sup>. The protectorists, about one half of the members, who had received instructions to adhere inviolably to the provisions of the "humble petition and advice," and to consider the government by a single person, with the aid of two houses, as the unalterable basis of the constitution. 2<sup>o</sup>. The republicans, who did not amount to fifty, compensated for the deficiency of number by their energy and eloquence. Vane, Hazlerig, Lambert, Ludlow, Nevil, Bradshaw, and Scot, were ready debaters, skilled in the forms of the house, and always on the watch to take advantage of the want of knowledge or of experience on the part of their adversaries. With them voted Fairfax, who, after a long retirement, appeared once more on the stage. He constantly sat by the side and echoed the opinions of Hazlerig ; and, so artfully did he act his part, so firmly did he attach their confidence, that, though a royalist at heart, he was designed by them for the office of lord-general, in the event of the expulsion or the abdication of Richard. 3<sup>o</sup>. The "moderates or neuters" held in number the medium between the protectorists and republicans. Of these, some wavered between the two

CHAP. parties ; but many were concealed cavaliers, who,  
 V. in obedience to the command of Charles, had  
 1659. ————— obtained seats in the house, or young men who,  
 without any fixed political principles, suffered  
 themselves to be guided by the suggestions of the  
 cavaliers. To the latter, Hyde had sent instruc-  
 tions that they should embarrass the plans of the  
 protector, by denouncing to the house the illegal  
 acts committed under the late administration ; by  
 impeaching Thurloe and the principal officers of  
 state ; by fomenting the dissension between the  
 courtiers and the republicans ; and by throwing  
 their weight into the scale, sometimes in favour  
 of one, sometimes of the other party, as might  
 appear most conducive to the interests of the  
 royal exile<sup>7</sup>.

Recogni-  
 tion of  
 Richard.

The lords, aware of the insecure footing on  
 which they stood, were careful not to provoke the  
 hostility of the commons. They sent no mes-  
 sages ; they passed no bills ; but, exchanging  
 matters of state for questions of religion, con-  
 trived to spend their time in discussing the merits  
 of a national catechism ; the sinfulness of the-  
 atrical entertainments ; and the papal corruptions  
 supposed to exist in the Book of Common  
 Prayer<sup>8</sup>. In the lower house, the first subject

<sup>7</sup> Thurloe, i. 766 ; vii. 562, 604, 5, 9, 615, 6. Clarend. Pap. iii. 423, 4, 5, 8, 432, 4, 6. There were forty-seven republicans ; from one hundred to one hundred and forty counterfeit republicans and neutrals, seventy-two lawyers, and above one hundred placemen. Ibid. 440.

<sup>8</sup> Thurloe, 559, 609, 615.

which called forth the strength of the different parties was a bill which, under the pretence of recognizing Richard Cromwell for the rightful successor to his father, would have pledged the parliament to an acquiescence in the existing form of government. The men of republican principles instantly took the alarm. To Richard personally they felt no objection; they respected his private character, and wished well to the prosperity of his family: but where, they asked, was the proof that the provisions of the “humble petition and advice” had been observed? where the deed of nomination by his father? where the witnesses to the signature?—Then what was the “humble petition and advice” itself? An instrument of no force in a matter of such high concernment, and passed by a very small majority in a house, out of which one hundred members lawfully chosen had been unlawfully excluded. Lastly, what right had the commons to admit a negative voice, either in another house or in a single person? Such a voice was destructive of the sovereignty of the people exercised by their representatives. The people had sent them to parliament with power to make laws for the national welfare, but not to annihilate the first and most valuable right of their constituents. Each day the debate grew more animated and personal: charges were made, and recrimination followed; the republicans enumerated the acts of misrule and oppression under the government of

CHAP. the late protector; the courtiers balanced the  
 V. account with similar instances from the proceed-  
 1659. ings of their adversaries during the sway of the  
 ——— long parliament; the orators, amidst the multi-  
 tude of subjects incidentally introduced, lost sight  
 of the original question; and the speaker, after a  
 debate of eight days, declared that he was be-  
 wildered in a labyrinth of confusion, out of which  
 Feb. 11. he could discover no issue. Weariness at last  
 induced the combatants to listen to a compromise,  
 that the recognition of Richard as protector should  
 form part of a future bill; but that, at the same  
 time, his prerogative should be so limited as to  
 secure the liberties of the people. Each party  
 expressed its satisfaction. The republicans had  
 still the field open for the advocacy of their  
 favourite doctrines: the protectorists had ad-  
 vanced a step, and trusted that it would lead  
 them to the acquisition of greater advantages<sup>9</sup>.

And of  
 the other  
 house.

From the office of protector, the members pro-  
 ceeded to inquire into the constitution and powers  
 of the other house; and this question, as it was  
 intimately connected with the former, was de-  
 bated with equal warmth and pertinacity. The  
 opposition appealed to the "engagement", which  
 many of the members had subscribed; contended  
 that the right of calling a second house had been  
 personal to the late protector, and did not descend

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<sup>9</sup> Journals, Feb. 1, 14. Thurloe, 603, 9, 10, 5, 7. Clar.  
 Pap. iii. 421, 6, 9. In Burton's Diary the debate occupies  
 almost two hundred pages, iii. 87—287.



to his successors; urged the folly of yielding a negative voice on their proceedings to a body of counsellors of their own creation; and pretended to foretel that a protector with a yearly income of 1,300,000*l.*, and a house of lords selected by himself, must inevitably become in the course of a few years master of the liberties of the people. When, at the end of nine days, the speaker was going to put the question, sir Richard Temple, a concealed royalist, demanded that the sixty members from Scotland and Ireland, all in the interest of the court, should withdraw. It was, he said, doubtful from the illegality of their election whether they had any right to sit at all; it was certain that, as the representatives of other nations, they could not claim to vote on a question of such high importance to the people of England. Thus another bone of contention was thrown between the parties; eleven days were consumed before the Scottish and Irish members could obtain permission to vote, and then five more expired before the question respecting the other house was determined. The new lords had little reason to be gratified with the result. They were acknowledged, indeed, as a house of parliament for the present; but there was no admission of their claim of the peerage, or of a negative voice, or of a right to sit in subsequent parliaments. The commons consented "to transact business with them" (a new phrase of undefined meaning), pending the parliament, but with a saving

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1659.

March 10.

March 23.

March 28.

CHAP. of the rights of the ancient peers, who had been  
 V. faithful to the cause; and, in addition, a few  
 1659. days later, they resolved that, in the transaction  
 April 8. of business, no superiority should be admitted in  
 the other house, nor message received from it,  
 unless brought by the members themselves <sup>10</sup>.

Charges  
 against  
 the late  
 govern-  
 ment.

In these instances, the recognition of the pro-  
 tector and of the two houses, the royalists, with  
 some exceptions, had voted in favour of the  
 court, under the impression that such a form of  
 government was one step towards the restoration  
 of the king. But on all other questions, when-  
 ever there was a prospect of throwing impediments  
 in the way of the ministry, or of inflaming the  
 discontent of the people, they zealously lent their  
 aid to the republican party. It was proved that,  
 while the revenue had been doubled, the expen-  
 diture had grown in a greater proportion: com-  
 plaints were made of oppression, waste, embez-  
 zlement, and tyranny in the collection of the  
 excise; the inhumanity of selling obnoxious in-  
 dividuals for slaves to the West India planters  
 was severely reprobated <sup>11</sup>; instances of extor-

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<sup>10</sup> Journals, Feb. 18; Mar. 28; April 5, 6, 8. Thurloe, 615, 26, 30, 36, 40, 47. Clar. Pap. iii. 429, 432. Burton's Diary, iii. 317-69, 403-21, 510-94; iv. 7-41, 46-147, 163-243, 293, 351, 375.

<sup>11</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 429, 32. Thurloe, 647. Burton's Diary, iii. 448; iv. 255, 263, 301, 403, 429. One petition stated that seventy persons, who had been apprehended on account of the Salisbury rising, after a year's imprisonment, had been sold at Barbadoes for, "1,550 pounds' weight of sugar a-piece, more

tion were daily denounced to the house by the committee of grievances; an impeachment was ordered against Boteler accused of oppression in his office of major-general; and another threatened against Thurloe for illegal conduct in his capacity of secretary of state. But while these proceedings awakened the hopes and gratified the resentments of the people, they at the same time spread alarm through the army; every man conscious of having abused the power of the sword, began to tremble for his own safety; and an unusual ferment, the sure presage of military violence, was observable at the head quarters of the several regiments.

Hitherto the general officers had been divided between Whitehall and Wallingford-house, the residences of Richard and of Fleetwood. At Whitehall, the lord Falconberg, brother-in-law to the protector, Charles Howard, whom Oliver had created a viscount<sup>12</sup>, Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and a few others, formed a military council for the purpose of maintaining the ascendancy of

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1659.

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The officers petition.

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“ or less, according to their working faculties”. Among them were divines, officers, and gentlemen, who were represented as “ grinding at the mills, attending at the furnaces, and digging in that scorching island, being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses or beasts for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping posts as rogues at their masters’ pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England”. Ibid. 256. See also Thurloe, i. 745.

<sup>12</sup> Viscount Howard of Morpeth, July 20, 1657, afterwards created baron Dacre, viscount Howard of Morpeth, and earl of Carlisle, by Charles II. 30.Ap. 1661.

HAP. Richard in the army. At Wallingford-house,  
V.  
1659. Fleetwood and his friends consulted how they  
might deprive him of the command and reduce  
him to the situation of a civil magistrate: but  
now a third and more numerous council appeared  
at St. James's, consisting of most of the inferior  
officers, and guided by the secret intrigues of  
Lambert, who, holding no commission himself,  
abstained from sitting among them, and by the  
open influence of Desborough, a bold and reckless  
man, who began to despise the weak and waver-  
ing conduct of Fleetwood. Here originated the  
plan of a general council of officers, which was  
followed by the adoption of "the humble repre-  
sentation and petition", an instrument com-  
posed in language too moderate to give reason-  
able cause of offence, but intended to suggest  
much more than it was thought prudent to express.  
It made no allusion to the disputed claim of the  
protector, or the subjects of strife between the  
two houses; but it complained bitterly of the  
contempt into which the good old cause had sunk,  
of the threats held out, and the prosecutions  
instituted against the patriots who had distin-  
guished themselves in its support, and of the  
privations to which the military were reduced by  
a system that kept their pay so many months in  
arrear. In conclusion, it prayed for the redress  
of these grievances, and stated the attachment  
of the subscribers to the cause for which they  
had bled, and their readiness to stand by the

protector and parliament in its defence<sup>13</sup>. This paper, with six hundred signatures, was presented to Richard, who received it with an air of cheerfulness, and forwarded it to the lower house. There it was read, laid on the table, and scornfully neglected. But the military leaders treated the house with equal scorn: having obtained the consent of the protector, they established a permanent council of general officers; and there, instead of fulfilling the expectations with which they had lulled his jealousy, successively voted, that the common cause was in danger, that the command of the army ought to be vested in a person possessing its confidence, and that every officer should be called upon to testify his approbation of the death of Charles I. and of the subsequent proceedings of the military; a measure levelled against the meeting at Whitehall, of which the members were charged with a secret leaning to the cause of royalty<sup>14</sup>. This was sufficiently alarming; but, in addition, the officers of the trained bands signified their adhesion to the "representation" of the army; and more than six hundred privates of the regiment formerly commanded by colonel Pride, published their determination to stand by their officers in the maintenance of "the old cause"<sup>15</sup>. The

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<sup>13</sup> "The Humble Representation and Petition, printed by H. Hills, 1659". Thurloe, 659.

<sup>14</sup> Thurloe, 662. Ludlow, ii. 174.

<sup>15</sup> The Humble Representation and Petition of the Field

CHAP. friends of the protector saw that it was time to  
 V.  
 1659. act with energy; and, by their influence in the

lower house, carried the following votes: that no  
 April 18. military meetings should be held without the  
 joint consent of the protector and the parliament,  
 and that every officer should forfeit his commis-  
 sion who would not promise under his signature  
 never to disturb the sitting or infringe the free-  
 dom of parliament. These votes met, indeed,  
 with a violent opposition in the "other house",  
 in which many of the members had been chosen  
 from the military; but the courtiers, anxious to  
 secure the victory, proposed another and decla-  
 ratory vote in the commons, that the command  
 April 21. of the army was vested in the three estates, to be  
 exercised by the protector. By the officers this  
 motion was considered as an open declaration of  
 war: they instantly met; and Desborough, in  
 their name, informed Richard that the crisis was  
 at last come; the parliament must be dissolved,  
 either by the civil authority, or by the power of  
 the sword. He might make his election. If he  
 chose the first, the army would provide for his  
 dignity and support; if he did not, he would be  
 abandoned to his fate, and fall friendless and un-  
 pitied <sup>16</sup>.

The par-  
 liament  
 dissolved.

The protector called a council of his confiden-

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Officers, &c. of the Trained Bands. London, 1659. Burton's  
 Diary, iv. 388, note.

<sup>16</sup> Thurloe, 655, 7, 8, 662. Burton's Diary, iv. 448—463,  
 472—480. Ludlow, ii. 176, 8.

tial advisers. Whitelock opposed the dissolution, on the ground that a grant of money might yet appease the discontent of the military. Thurloe, Broghill, Fiennes, and Wolseley, maintained, on the contrary, that the dissension between the parliament and the army was irreconcilable : and that on the first shock between them the cavaliers would rise simultaneously in the cause of Charles Stuart. A commission was accordingly signed by Richard, and the usher of the black rod repeatedly summoned the commons to attend in the other house. But true to their former vote of receiving no message brought by inferior officers, they refused to obey : some members proposed to declare it treason to put force on the representatives of the nation, others to pronounce all proceedings void whenever a portion of the members should be excluded by violence ; at last they adjourned for three days, and accompanied the speaker to his carriage in the face of the soldiery assembled at the door. These proceedings, however, did not prevent Fiennes, the head commissioner, from dissolving the parliament ; and the important intelligence was communicated to the three nations by proclamation in the same afternoon <sup>17</sup>.

Whether the consequences of this measure, so fatal to the interests of Richard, were foreseen

The officers recal the long parliament.

<sup>17</sup> Whitelock, 677. England's Confusion, 9. Clarendon Pap. 451, 6. Ludlow, ii. 174. Merc. Pol. 564.

CHAP. by his advisers, may be doubted. It appears that  
 V.  
 1659. Thurloe had for several days been negotiating

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both with the republican and the military leaders. He had tempted some of the former, with the offer of place and emolument, to strengthen the party of the protector: to the latter he had proposed that Richard, in imitation of his father on one occasion, should raise money for the payment of the army by the power of the sword, and without the aid of parliament<sup>18</sup>. But these intrigues were now at an end: by the dissolution, Richard had signed his own deposition; though he continued to reside at Whitehall, the government fell into abeyance; even the officers, who had hitherto frequented his court, abandoned him: some to appease, by their attendance at Wallingford-house, the resentment of their adversaries; the others to provide, by their absence, for their own safety. If the supreme authority resided anywhere, it was with Fleetwood, who now held the nominal command of the army; but he and his associates were controlled both by the meeting of officers at St. James's and by the consultations of the republican party in the city, and therefore contented themselves with depriving the friends of Richard of their commissions, and with giving their regiments to the men who had been cashiered by his father<sup>19</sup>. Unable to agree

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<sup>18</sup> Thurloe, 659, 661.

<sup>19</sup> See the Humble Remonstrance from four hundred non-commissioned Officers and Privates of Major-general Goffe's Regiment (so called) of Foot. London, 1659.



on any form of government among themselves, they sought to come to an understanding with the republican leaders. These demanded the restoration of the long parliament, on the ground that, as its interruption by Cromwell had been illegal, it was still the supreme authority in the nation; and the officers, unwilling to forfeit the privileges of their new peerage, insisted on the reproduction of the other house, as a co-ordinate authority, under the less objectionable name of a senate. But the country was now in a state of anarchy; the intentions of the armies in Scotland and Ireland remained uncertain; and the royalists, both presbyterians and cavaliers, were exerting themselves to improve the general confusion to the advantage of the exiled king. As a last resource, the officers invited the members of the long parliament to resume their duties. With some difficulty, two-and-forty were privately collected in the painted chamber; and Lenthall, the former speaker, putting himself at their head, passed into the house through two lines of officers, some of them the very individuals by whom, six years before, they had been ignominiously expelled <sup>20</sup>.

The reader will recollect that, on a former occasion, in the year 1648, the presbyterian members of the long parliament had also been

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May 6.

May 7.

Rejection  
of the  
members  
formerly  
excluded.

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<sup>20</sup> Ludlow, 179—186. Whitelock, 677. England's Confusion, 9.

CHAP. excluded by the army. Of these, one hundred  
 V. and ninety-four were still alive, eighty of whom  
 1659. — actually resided in the capital. That they had as  
 good a right to resume their seats as the members  
 who had been expelled by Cromwell, could hardly  
 be doubted; but they were royalists, still ad-  
 hering to the principles which they professed  
 during the treaty in the Isle of Wight; and from  
 their number, had they been admitted, would  
 have instantly outvoted the advocates of republi-  
 canism. They assembled in Westminster-hall;  
 May 7. and a deputation of fourteen, with sir George  
 Booth, Prynne, and Ammesley at their head, pro-  
 ceeded to the house. The doors were closed in  
 their faces; a company of soldiers, the keepers,  
 as they were sarcastically called, of the liberties  
 May 9. of England, filled the lobby; and a resolution  
 was passed that no former member, who had  
 not subscribed the engagement, should sit till  
 further order of parliament. The attempt, how-  
 ever, though it failed of success, produced its  
 effect. It served to countenance a belief that the  
 sitting members were mere tools of the military,  
 and supplied the royalists with the means of mask-  
 ing their real designs under the popular pretence  
 of vindicating the freedom of parliament <sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Journ. May 9. Loyalty Banished, 3. England's Confusion, 12. On the 9th, Prynne found his way into the house, and maintained his right against his opponents till dinner time. After dinner he returned, but was excluded by the military. He was careful, however, to inform the public of the particulars, and

By gradual additions, the house at last amounted to seventy members, who, while they were ridiculed by their adversaries with the appellation of the “Rump”, constituted themselves the supreme authority in the three kingdoms. They appointed, first a committee of safety, and then a council of state; notified to the foreign ministers their restoration to power; and, to satisfy the people, promised by a printed declaration to establish a form of government, which should secure civil and religious liberty without a single person, or kingship, or house of lords. The farce of addresses was renewed; the “children of Zion”, the asserters of the good old cause, clamorously displayed their joy; and Heaven was fatigued with prayers for the prosperity and permanence of the new government <sup>22</sup>.

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That government at first depended for its existence on the good will of the military in the neighbourhood of London; gradually it obtained

Acquiescence of the different armies.

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moreover undertook to prove that the long parliament expired at the death of the king: 1°. on the authority of the doctrine laid down in the law-books; 2°. because all writs of summons abate by the king's death in parliament; 3°. because the parliament is called by a king regnant, and is *his*, the king regnant's, parliament, and deliberates on *his* business; 4°. because the parliament is a corporation, consisting of king, lords, and commons, and if one of the three be extinct, the body corporate no longer exists. See *Loyalty Banished, and a True and Perfect Narrative of what was done and spoken by and between Mr. Prynne, &c.* 1659.

<sup>22</sup> See the Declarations of the Army and the Parliament in the Journals, May 7.

CHAP. promises of support from the forces at a distance.

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1°. Monk, with his officers, wrote to the speaker, congratulating him and his colleagues on their restoration to power, and hypocritically thanking them for their condescension in taking up so heavy a burthen; but, at the same time, reminding them of the services of Oliver Cromwell, and of the debt of gratitude which the nation owed to his family<sup>23</sup>. 2°. Lockhart hastened to tender the services of the regiments in Flanders; and received in return a renewal of his credentials as ambassador, with a commission to attend the conferences between the ministers of France and Spain at Fuentarabia. 3°. Montague followed with a letter from the fleet; but his professions of attachment were received with distrust. To balance his influence with the seamen, Lawson received the command of a squadron destined to cruize in the channel; and, to watch his conduct in the Baltic, three commissioners, with Algernon Sydney at their head, were joined with him in his mission to the two northern courts<sup>24</sup>. 4°. There still remained the army in Ireland. From Henry Cromwell, a soldier possessing the affection of the military, and believed to inherit the abilities of his father, an obstinate, and perhaps successful, resistance was anticipated. But he wanted decision. Three parties had pre-

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<sup>23</sup> Whitelock, 678.

<sup>24</sup> Thurloe, 669, 670. Ludlow, ii, 199. Journals, May 7, 9, 18, 26, 31.

sented themselves to his choice ; to earn, by the promptitude of his acquiescence, the gratitude of the new government, or to maintain by arms the right of his deposed brother, or to declare, as he was strongly solicited to declare, in favour of Charles Stuart. Much time was lost in consultation : at length the thirst of resentment, with the lure of reward, determined him to unfurl the royal standard <sup>25</sup> ; then the arrival of letters from England threw him back into his former state of irresolution ; and while he thus wavered from project to project, some of his officers ventured to profess their attachment to the commonwealth, the privates betrayed a disinclination to separate their cause from that of their comrades in England ; and sir Hardress Waller, in the interest of the parliament, surprised the castle of Dublin. The last stroke reduced Henry at once to the condition of a suppliant : he signified his submission by a letter to the speaker, obeyed the commands of the house to appear before the council, and, having explained to them the state of Ireland, was graciously permitted to retire into the obscurity of private life. The civil administration of the island devolved on five commissioners, and the command of the army was given to Ludlow, with the rank of lieutenant-general of the horse <sup>26</sup>.

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June 15.

July 4.

<sup>25</sup> Carte's Letters, ii. 242. Clar. Pap. 500, 501, 516.

<sup>26</sup> Thurloe, vii. 683, 4. Journals, June 14, 27 ; July 4, 17. Henry Cromwell resided on his estate of Swinney-abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, till his death in 1674. Noble, i. 227.

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1659.Dissen-  
sion be-  
tween  
parlia-  
ment and  
the offi-  
cers.

May 15.

But the republican leaders soon discovered that they had not been called to repose on a bed of roses. The officers at Wallingford-house began to dictate to the men whom they had made their nominal masters, and forwarded to them fifteen demands, under the modest title of "the things which they had on their minds", when they restored the long parliament<sup>27</sup>. The house took them successively into consideration. A committee was appointed to report the form of government the best calculated to secure the liberties of the people; the duration of the existing parliament was limited to twelve months; freedom of worship was extended to all believers in the Scriptures and the doctrine of the Trinity, with the usual exception of prelatists and papists; and an act of oblivion, after many debates, was passed, but so encumbered with provisoes and exceptions, that it served rather to irritate than appease<sup>28</sup>.

July 12.

The officers had requested that lands of inheritance, to the annual value of 10,000*l.*, should be settled on Richard Cromwell, and a yearly pension of 8,000*l.* on her "highness dowager", his mother. But it was observed in the house that, though Richard exercised no authority, he continued to occupy the state apartments at

<sup>27</sup> See the Humble Petition and Address of the Officers: printed by Henry Hills, 1659.

<sup>28</sup> Declaration of General Council of Officers, 27th of October, p. 5. For the different forms of government suggested by different projectors, see Ludlow, ii. 206.

Whitehall ; and a suspicion existed that he was kept there as an object of terror, to intimate to the members that the same power could again set him up, which had so recently brought him down. By repeated messages, he was ordered to retire ; and, on his promise to obey, the parliament granted him the privilege of freedom from arrest during six months ; transferred his private debts, amounting to 29,000*l.*, to the account of the nation ; gave him 2,000*l.* as a relief to his present necessities ; and voted that a yearly income of 10,000*l.* should be settled on him and his heirs, a grant easily made on paper, but never carried into execution <sup>29</sup>.

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1659.

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But the principal source of disquietude still remained. Among the fifteen articles presented to the house, the twelfth appeared not in the shape of a request, but of a declaration, that the officers unanimously owned Fleetwood as “ commander-in-chief of the land forces in England ”. It was the point for which they had contended under Richard ; and Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, earnestly implored their colleagues to connive at what it was evidently dangerous to oppose. But the lessons of prudence were thrown away on the

The latter obliged to accept new commissions.

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<sup>29</sup> Journals, May 16, 25 ; July 4, 12, 16. Ludlow (ii. 198.) makes the present 20,000*l.* ; but the sum of 2,000*l.* is written at length in the Journals ; May 25. While he was at Whitehall, he entertained proposals from the royalists ; consented to accept a title and 20,000*l.* a year, and designed to escape to the fleet under Montague, but was too strictly watched to effect his purpose. Clar. Pap. iii. 475, 477, 8.

CHAP. rigid republicanism of Hazlerig, Sydney, Nevil,  
 V. and their associates, who contended that, to be  
 1659. silent was to acknowledge in the council of officers  
 an authority independent of the parliament. They  
 undertook to remodel the constitution of the army.  
 The office of lord-general was abolished; no in-  
 termediate rank between the lieutenant-general  
 and the colonels was admitted; Fleetwood was  
 June 9. named lieutenant-general, with the chief command  
 in England and Scotland, but limited in its dura-  
 tion to a short period, revocable at pleasure, and  
 deprived of several of those powers which had  
 hitherto been annexed to it. All military com-  
 missions were revoked, and an order was made  
 that a committee of nine members should recom-  
 mend the persons to be officers in each regiment;  
 that their respective merit should be canvassed in  
 the house; and that those who had passed this  
 ordeal, should receive their commissions at the  
 table from the hand of the speaker. The object  
 of this arrangement was plain: to make void the  
 declaration of the military; to weed out men of  
 doubtful fidelity; and to render the others de-  
 pendent for their situations on the pleasure of the  
 house. Fleetwood, with his adherents, resolved  
 never to submit to the degradation, while the  
 privates amused themselves with ridiculing the  
 age and infirmities of him whom they called their  
 new lord-general, the speaker Lenthall; but  
 Hazlerig prevailed on colonel Hacker, with his  
 officers, to conform; their example gradually drew



others, and, at length, the most discontented, though with shame and reluctance, condescended to go through this humbling ceremony. The republicans congratulated each other on their victory; they had only accelerated their defeat<sup>30</sup>.

Ever since the death of Oliver, the exiled king had watched with intense interest the course of events in England; and each day added a new stimulus to his hopes of a favourable issue. The unsettled state of the nation, the dissensions among his enemies, the flattering representations of his friends, and the offers of co-operation from men who had hitherto opposed his claims, persuaded him that the day of his restoration was at hand. That the opportunity might not be forfeited by his own backwardness, he announced to the leaders of the royalists his intention of coming to England, and of hazarding his life in the company of his faithful subjects. There was scarcely a county in which the majority of the nobility and gentry did not engage to rally round his standard: the first day of August was fixed for the general rising; and it was determined in the council at Brussels that Charles should repair in disguise to the coast of Bretagne, where he might procure a passage into Wales or Cornwall; that the duke of York, with six hundred veterans furnished by the prince of Condé, should attempt

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Projects of  
the royal-  
ists.

June 4.

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<sup>30</sup> Journals passim. Ludlow, ii. 197. Declaration of Officers, 6. Thurloe, 679. Clarend. Hist. iii. 665.

CHAP. to land from Boulogne on the coast of Kent; and  
 V. that the duke of Gloucester should follow from  
 1659.

— Ostend with the royal army of four thousand men, under the mareschal Marsin. Unfortunately his concerns in England had been hitherto conducted by the council called The Knot, at the head of which was sir Richard Willis. Willis, the reader is aware, was a traitor; but it was only of late that the eyes of Charles had been opened to his perfidy by Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who, to make his own peace, sent to the court at Bruges some of the original communications in the writing of Willis. This discovery astonished and perplexed the king. To make public the conduct of the traitor was to provoke him to farther disclosures; to conceal it, was to connive at the destruction of his friends and the ruin of his own prospects. He first instructed his correspondents to be reserved in their communications with “the knot”; he then ordered July 18. Willis to meet him on a certain day at Calais; Aug. 1. and, when this order was disregarded, openly forbid the royalists to give him information, or to follow his advice<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 514, 7, 8, 20, 4, 6, 9, 31, 5, 6. Willis maintained his innocence, and found many to believe him. Echard (p. 729) has published a letter with Morland's signature, in which he is made to say that he never sent any of the letters of Willis to the king, or even so much as knew his name: whence Harris (ii. 215) infers that the whole charge is false. That, however, it was true, no one can doubt who will examine the proofs in the Clarendon Papers, (iii. 518, 26, 9, 33, 5, 6, 42, 9,

But these precautions came too late. After the deposition of the protector, Willis had continued to communicate with Thurloe, who, with the intelligence which he thus obtained, was enabled to purchase the forbearance of his former opponents. At an early period in July, the council was in possession of the plan of the royalists. Reinforcements were immediately de-  
 manded from the armies in Flanders and Ireland ; directions were issued for a levy of fourteen regiments of one thousand men each ; measures were taken for calling out the militia ; numerous arrests were made in the city and every part of the country ; and the known cavaliers were compelled to leave the metropolis, and to produce security for their peaceable behaviour. These proceedings seemed to justify Willis in representing the attempt as hopeless ; and, at his persuasion, “ the knot ” by circular letters forbad the rising, two days before the appointed time. The royalists were  
 thrown into irremediable confusion. Many remained quiet at their homes ; many assembled in arms, and dispersed on account of the absence of their associates : in some counties the leaders were

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1659.

July 13.

July 29.

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56, 8, 62, 3, 74, 83, 5), and in Carte's Collection of Letters (ii. 220, 56, 84). Indeed, the letter from Willis of the 9th of May, 1660, soliciting the king's pardon, leaves no room for doubt. (Clar. Pap. 643). That Morland was the informer, and, consequently, that the letter in Echard is a forgery, is also evident from the reward which he received at the restoration, and from his own admission to Pepys. See Pepys, i. 79, 82, 133, 8vo.

CHAP. intercepted in their way to the place of rendez-  
 V. vous; in others, as soon as they met, they were  
 1659. surrounded or charged by a superior force. In  
 Rising in Cheshire. Cheshire alone was the royal standard successfully  
 Aug. 1. unfurled by sir George Booth, a person of considerable influence in the county, and a recent convert to the cause of the Stuarts. In the letter  
 Aug. 2. which he circulated, he was careful to make no mention of the king, but called on the people to defend their rights against the tyranny of an insolent soldiery and a pretended parliament. "Let  
 "the nation freely choose its representatives, and  
 "those representatives as freely sit without awe  
 "or force of soldiery". This was all that he sought: in the determination of such an assembly, whatever that determination might be, both he and his friends would cheerfully acquiesce<sup>32</sup>. It was in effect a rising on the presbyterian interest; and the proceedings were in a great measure controlled by a committee of ministers, who scornfully rejected the aid of the catholics, and received with jealousy sir Thomas Middleton, though of their own persuasion, because he openly avowed himself a royalist.

It is suppressed.

At Chester, the parliamentary garrison retired into the castle, and the insurgents took possession of the city. Each day brought them a new accession of strength; and their apparent success taught them to augur equally well of the expected

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<sup>32</sup> Park Hist. xxiii. 107.

attempts of their confederates throughout the kingdom. But the unwelcome truth could not long be concealed; and when they learned that they stood alone, that every other rising had been either prevented or instantly suppressed, and that Lambert was hastening against them with four regiments of cavalry and three of foot, their confidence was exchanged for despair; every gentleman, who had risked his life in the attempt, claimed a right to give his advice; and their counsels, from fear, inexperience, and misinformation, became fluctuating and contradictory. After much hesitation, they resolved to proceed to Namptwich and defend the passage of the Weever; but so rapid had been the march of the enemy, who sent forward part of the infantry on horseback, that the advance was already arrived in the neighbourhood; and, while the royalists lay unsuspecting of danger in the town, Lambert forced the passage of the river at Wimmington. In haste, they fled out of Namptwich into the nearest fields; but here they found that their ammunition was still at Chester; and, on the suggestion that the position was unfavourable, hastened to take possession of a neighbouring eminence. Colonel Morgan, with his troop, attempted to keep the enemy in check: he fell with thirty men; and the rest of the insurgents, at the approach of their adversaries, turned their backs and fled. Three hundred were made prisoners in the pursuit, and few of the leaders had

- CHAP. the good fortune to escape. The earl of Derby,  
 V. who had raised men in Lancashire to join the  
 1659. royalists, was taken in the disguise of a servant.
- Aug. 21. Booth, dressed as a female, and riding on a pillion, took the direct road for London, but betrayed himself at Newton Pagnell by his awkwardness in alighting from the horse. Middleton, who was eighty years old, fled to Chirk castle; and, after
- Aug. 21. a defence of a few days, capitulated, on condition that he should have two months to make his peace with the parliament<sup>33</sup>.

The news of this disaster reached the duke of York at Boulogne, fortunately on the very evening on which he was to have embarked with his men. Charles received it at Rochelle, whither he had been compelled to proceed in search of a vessel to convey him to Wales. Abandoning the hopeless project, he instantly continued his journey to the congress at Fuentarabia, with the expectation that, on the conclusion of peace between the two crowns, he should obtain a supply of money, perhaps still more substantial aid, from a personal interview with the ministers, cardinal Mazarin and don Louis de Haro. Montague, who had but recently become a proselyte to the royal cause, was drawn by his zeal into the most imminent danger. As soon as he heard of the insurrection,

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<sup>33</sup> Clar. Hist. iii. 672—675. Clar. Pap. iii. 673, 4. Ludlow, ii. 223. Whitlock, 683. Carte's Letters, 194, 202. Lambert's Letter, printed for Thomas Neucomb, 1659.

he brought back the fleet from the Sound in defiance of his brother commissioners, with the intention of blockading the mouth of the Thames, and of facilitating the transportation of troops. On his arrival, he learned the failure of his hopes; but boldly faced the danger, appeared before the council, and assigned the want of provisions as the cause of his return. They heard him with distrust; but it was deemed prudent to dissemble, and he received permission to withdraw<sup>34</sup>.

To reward Lambert for this complete, though almost bloodless, victory, the parliament voted him the sum of 1,000*l.*, which he immediately distributed among his officers. But, while they recompensed his services, they were not the less jealous of his ambition. They remembered how instrumental he had been in raising Cromwell to the protectorate; they knew his influence in the army; and they feared his control over the timid wavering mind of Fleetwood, whom he appeared to govern in the same manner as Cromwell had governed Fairfax. It had been hoped that his absence on the late expedition would afford them leisure to gain the officers remaining in the capital; but the unexpected rapidity of his success had defeated their policy; and, in a short time, the intrigue which had been interrupted by the insurrection, was resumed. While Lambert has-

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Renewal  
of the late  
dissen-  
sion.

Aug. 22.

<sup>34</sup> Journals, Sep. 16. Clar. Pap. iii. 551. Carte's Letters, ii. 210, 236. Pepys, Memoirs, i. 157.

CHAP. V. 1659. tened back to the capital, his army followed by slow marches; and at Derby the officers subscribed a petition which had been clandestinely forwarded to them from Wallingford-house. In it they complained that adequate rewards were not conferred on the deserving; and demanded that the office of commander-in-chief should be given to Fleetwood without limitation of time, and the rank of major-general to their victorious leader; that no officer should be deprived of his commission without the judgment of a court martial; and that the government should be settled in a house of representatives and a permanent senate. Hazlerig, a man of stern republican principles, and of a temper hasty, morose, and ungovernable, obtained a sight of this paper, denounced it as an attempt to subvert the parliament, and moved that Lambert, its author, should be sent to the Tower: but his violence was checked by the declaration of Fleetwood, that Lambert knew nothing of its origin; and the house contented itself with ordering all copies of the obnoxious petition to be delivered up; and with resolving that, “to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable, and dangerous<sup>35</sup>”. From that moment a breach was inevitable. The house, to gratify the soldiers, had advanced their daily pay; and, with a view

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<sup>35</sup> Journals, Aug. 23; Sep. 22, 23. Ludlow, ii. 225, 7, 233, 244.



of discharging their arrears, had raised the monthly assessment from 35,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*<sup>36</sup>. But the military leaders were not to be diverted from their purpose. Meetings were daily and nightly held at Wallingford-house; and another petition with two hundred and thirty signatures was presented by Desborough, accompanied by all the field-officers in the metropolis. In most points it was similar to the former; but it contained a demand that, whoever should afterwards “ground-  
 “ lessly and causelessly inform the house against  
 “ their servants, thereby creating jealousies, and  
 “ casting scandalous imputations upon them,  
 “ should be brought to examination, justice, and  
 “ condign punishment”. This was a sufficient intimation to Hazlerig and his party to provide for their own safety. Three regiments, through the medium of their officers, had already made the tender of their services for the protection of the house; Monk, from Scotland, and Ludlow, from Ireland, wrote that their respective armies were animated with similar sentiments; and a vote was passed and ordered to be published, declaring it to be treason to levy money on the people without the previous consent of parliament; a measure which, as all the existing taxes were to expire on the first day of the ensuing year, made the military dependent for their future subsistence on the pleasure of the party. Hazlerig, thus

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Oct. 5.

Oct. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Journals, May 31; Aug. 18; Sep. 1.

CHAP. fortified, deemed himself a match for his adver-  
 V. saries : the next morning he boldly threw down  
 1659. the gauntlet ; by one vote, Lambert, Desborough,  
 Oct. 12. and seven other colonels were deprived of their  
 commissions for having sent a copy of the petition  
 to colonel Okey ; and, by a second, Fleetwood  
 was dismissed from his office of commander-in-  
 chief, and made president of a board of seven  
 members established for the government of the  
 army. Aware, however, that he might expect  
 resistance, the republican chieftain called his  
 friends around him during the night ; and, at the  
 dawn of day, it was discovered that King-street  
 and the Palace-yard were in the possession of two  
 regiments of foot and four troops of horse, loudly  
 protesting that they would live and die with the  
 parliament <sup>37</sup>.

Expulsion  
 of the par-  
 liament.

Lambert mustered about three thousand men.  
 His first care was to intercept the access of mem-  
 bers to the house, and to prevent the egress of  
 the militia from the city. He then marched to  
 Westminster. Meeting the speaker, who was at-  
 tended by his guard, he ordered the officer on  
 duty to dismount, gave the command to major  
 Creed, one of his own adherents, and scornfully  
 directed him to conduct the “ lord-general ” to

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<sup>37</sup> Journals, Sep. 28 ; Oct. 5, 10, 11, 12. Ludlow, ii. 229, 247. Carte's Letters, ii. 246. Thurloe, vii. 755. Declaration of General Council of Officers, 9—16. True Narrative of the Proceedings in Parliament, Council of State, &c. published by special order, 1659. Printed by John Redmayne.

Whitehall, whence he was permitted to return to his own house. In Westminster, the two parties faced each other: but the ardour of the privates did not correspond with that of the leaders; and, having so often fought in the same ranks, they showed no disposition to imbrue their hands in each other's blood. In the mean time the council of state assembled: on the one side Lambert and Desborough, on the other Hazlerig and Morley, appeared to support their pretensions; much time was spent in complaint and recrimination, much in hopeless attempts to reconcile the parties; but the cause of the military continued to make converts; the advocates of the "rump", aware that to resist was fruitless, consented to yield; and it was stipulated that the house should cease to sit, that the council of officers should provide for the public peace, arrange a new form of government, and submit it to the approbation of a new parliament. An order that the forces on both sides should retire to their respective quarters, was gladly obeyed: the men mixed together as friends and brothers, and reciprocally promised never more to draw the sword against each other<sup>38</sup>.

Thus a second time the supreme authority devolved on the meeting at Wallingford-house. They immediately established their favourite plan

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1659.

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Government by the council of officers.

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<sup>38</sup> Whitelock, 685. Journals, Oct. 13. Clar. Pap. iii. 581, 590. Ludlow, ii. 247—251. Ludlow's account differs considerably from that by Whitelock. But the former was in Ireland, the latter present at the council.

CHAP. for the government of the army. The office of  
 V. commander-in-chief, in its plenitude of power,  
 1659. ————— was conferred on Fleetwood ; the rank of major-  
 general of the forces in Great Britain was given  
 to Lambert ; and the officers who refused to sub-  
 scribe a new engagement were removed from  
 their commands. At the same time they annulled  
 by their supreme authority all proceedings in  
 parliament on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of October,  
 vindicated their own conduct in a publication with  
 the title of “ The Army’s Plea <sup>39</sup>”, vested the  
 provisional exercise of the civil authority in a  
 committee of safety of twenty-three members,  
 and denounced the penalties of treason against  
 all who should refuse to obey its orders, or  
 should venture to levy forces without its permis-  
 sion. An attempt was even made to replace  
 Richard Cromwell in the protectorial dignity: for  
 this purpose he came from Hampshire to London,

Oct. 26.

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<sup>39</sup> See Declaration of the General Council of Officers, 17. The Army’s Plea for its Present Practice, printed by Henry Hills, printer to the army, 1659, is in many parts powerfully written. The principal argument is, that as the parliament, though bound by the solemn league and covenant to defend the king’s person, honour and dignity, did not afterwards scruple to arraign, condemn, and execute him because he had broken his trust ; so the army, though they had engaged to be true and faithful to the parliament, might lawfully rise against it, when they found that it did not preserve the just rights and liberties of the people. The condition was implied in the engagement : otherwise the making of the engagement would have been a sin, and the keeping thereof would have been a sin also, and so an adding of sin to sin.

escorted by three troops of horse; but his supporters were out-voted by a small majority, and he retired to Hampton-court<sup>40</sup>.

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V.  
1659.

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Of all the changes which had surprised and perplexed the nation since the death of the last king, none had been received with such general disapprobation as the present. It was not that men lamented the removal of the rump; but they feared the capricious and arbitrary rule of the army; and, when they contrasted their unsettled state with the tranquillity formerly enjoyed under the monarchy, many were not backward in the expression of their wishes for the restoration of the ancient line of their princes. The royalists laboured to improve this favourable disposition: yet their efforts might have been fruitless, had the military been united among themselves. But among the officers there were several who had already made their peace with Charles by the promise of their services: and many who secretly retained a strong attachment to Hazlerig and his party in opposition to Lambert. In Ireland, Barrow, who had been sent from Wallingford-house, found the army so divided and wavering, that each faction alternately obtained a short and precarious superiority; and in Scotland, Cobbet,

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<sup>40</sup> Whitelock, 685, 6. Ludlow, ii. 250, 286, 7. Clar. Pap. 591. At the restoration Richard, to escape from his creditors, fled to the continent; and, after an expatriation of almost twenty years, returned to England to the neighbourhood of Cheshunt, where he died in 1713, at the age of eighty-six. Noble, i. 228.

CHAP. V. 1659. who arrived there on a similar mission, was, with seventeen other officers, who approved of his proposals, imprisoned by order of Monk<sup>41</sup>.

Opposi-  
tion of  
Monk.

From this moment the conduct of Monk will demand a considerable share of the reader's attention. Ever since the march of Cromwell in pursuit of the king to Worcester he had commanded in Scotland; where, instead of concerning himself with the intrigues and parties in England, he appeared to have no other occupation than the duties of his place, to preserve the discipline of his army, and enforce the obedience of the Scots. His despatches to Cromwell form a striking contrast with those from the other officers of the time. There is in them no parade of piety, no flattery of the protector, no solicitation for favours. They are short, dry, and uninteresting, confined entirely to matters of business, and those only of indispensable necessity. In effect, the distinctive characteristic of the man was an impenetrable secrecy<sup>42</sup>. Whatever were his predilections or opinions, his wishes or designs, he kept them locked up within his

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<sup>41</sup> Ludlow, ii. 237, 252, 259, 262, 300. Clar. Pap. iii. 591. Carte's Letters, 266.

<sup>42</sup> "His natural taciturnity was such that most of his friends, who thought they knew him best, looked upon George Monk to have no other craft in him than that of a plain soldier, who would obey the parliament's orders, and see that his own were obeyed." Price, *Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration*, in *Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England*, published by Baron Maseres, ii. 700.

own breast. He had no confidant, nor did he ever permit himself to be surprised into an unguarded avowal. Hence all parties, royalists, protectorists, and republicans, claimed him for their own, though that claim was grounded on *their* hopes, not on *his* conduct. Charles had been induced to make to him repeatedly the most tempting offers, which were supported by the solicitations of his wife and his domestic chaplain; and Monk listened to them without displeasure, though he never unbosomed himself to the agents or the chaplain so far as to put himself in their power. Cromwell had obtained some information of these intrigues; but, unable to discover any real ground of suspicion, he contented himself with putting Monk on his guard by a bantering postscript to one of his letters. " 'Tis said," he added, " there is a cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart; pray use your diligence to take him and send him up to me" <sup>43</sup>. After the fall of the protector, Richard, he became an object of greater distrust; and, to undermine his power, Fleetwood ordered two regiments of horse attached to the Scottish army to return to England, and the republicans, when the military commissions were issued by the speaker, removed a great number of his officers, and supplied their places with creatures of their

CHAP.  
V.  
1659.

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<sup>43</sup> Price, 712.

CHAP. own. Monk felt these affronts: discontent urged  
 V.  
 1659. him to seek revenge; and, when he understood  
 ——— that Booth was at the head of a considerable  
 force, he dictated a letter to the speaker, complain-  
 ing of the proceedings of parliament, and  
 declaring that, as they had abandoned the real  
 principles of the old cause, they must not expect  
 the support of his army. His object was to  
 animate the insurgents and embarrass their adver-  
 saries; but, on the very morning on which the  
 letter was to be submitted for signature to his  
 principal officers, the news of Lambert's victory  
 arrived; the dangerous instrument was instantly  
 destroyed, and the secret most religiously kept by  
 the few who had been privy to the intention of  
 the general<sup>44</sup>.

His se-  
 crecy.

To this abortive attempt Monk, notwithstand-  
 ing his wariness, had been stimulated by his  
 brother, a clergyman of Cornwall, who visited  
 him with a message from sir John Grenville  
 by commission from Charles Stuart. After the  
 failure of Booth, the general dismissed him with  
 a letter of congratulation to the parliament, but  
 without any answer to Grenville, and under an  
 oath of secrecy both as to his past and to his  
 future projects<sup>45</sup>. But the moment he heard of  
 the expulsion of the members, and of the supe-

Oct. 17.

<sup>44</sup> Price, 711, 716, 721.

<sup>45</sup> All that Grenville could learn from the messenger was, that  
 his brother regretted the failure of Booth, and would oppose the



rior rank conferred on Lambert, he determined to appear openly as the patron of the vanquished, under the alluring, though ambiguous, title of “asserter of the ancient laws and liberties of the country.” Accordingly, he secured with trusty garrisons the castle of Edinburgh and the citadel of Leith, sent a strong detachment to occupy Berwick, and took the necessary measures to raise and discipline a numerous force of cavalry. At Leith was held a general council of officers: they approved of his object, engaged to stand by him, and announced their determination by letters directed to Lenthall, the speaker, to the council at Wallingford-house, and to the commanders of the fleet in the Downs, and of the army in Ireland. It excited, however, no small surprise, that the general, while he thus professed to espouse the defence of the parliament, cashiered all the officers introduced by it into his army, and restored all those whom it had expelled. The more discerning began to suspect his real intentions<sup>46</sup>; but Hazlerig and his party were too elated to dwell on the circumstance, and, under

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V.  
1659.

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arbitrary attempts of the military in England; an answer which, though favourable as far as it went, still left the king in uncertainty as to his real intentions. Clar. Pap. iii. 618.

<sup>46</sup> Ludlow, ii. 269, Whitelock, 686, 689, 691. Price, 736, 743. Skinner, 106—9. Monk loudly asserted the contrary. “I do call God to witness,” he says in the letter to the speaker, Oct. 20, “that the asserting of a commonwealth is the only intent of my heart.” True Narrative, 28. When Price remonstrated with him, he replied: “you see who are about me and

CHAP. the promise of his support, began to organize the  
 V. means of resistance against their military oppres-  
 1659. sors.

Monk soon discovered that he was embarked in a most hazardous undertaking. The answers to his letters disapproved of his conduct; and the knowledge of these answers kindled among his followers a spirit of disaffection which led to numerous desertions. From the general of an army obedient to his commands, he had dwindled into the leader of a volunteer force, which it was necessary to coax and persuade. Two councils were formed, one of the colonels of the longest standing, the other of all the commissioned officers. The first perused the public despatches received by the general, and wrote the answers, which were signed by him as the president; the other was consulted on all measures respecting the conduct of the army, and confirmed or rejected the opinion of the colonels by the majority of voices. But if Monk was controlled by this arrangement, it served to screen him from suspicion. The measures adopted were taken as the result of the general will.

Lambert  
 sent  
 against  
 him.

To the men at Wallingford-house it became of the first importance to win by intimidation, or reduce by force, this formidable opponent. Lambert marched against him from London at the

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“ write these things. I must not show any dislike of them. I  
 “ perceive they are jealous enough of me already.” Price, 746.

head of seven thousand men; but the mind of the major-general was distracted by doubts and suspicions, and, before his departure, he exacted a solemn promise from Fleetwood to agree to no accommodation, either with the king or with Hazlerig, till he had previously received the advice and concurrence of Lambert himself<sup>47</sup>. To Monk, delay was as necessary as expedition was desirable to his opponents. In point of numbers and experience the force under his command was no match for that led by Lambert; but his magazines and treasury were amply supplied, while his adversary possessed not money enough to keep his army together for more than a few weeks. Before the major-general reached Newcastle, he met three deputies from Monk on their way to treat with the council in the capital. As no arguments could induce them to open the negotiation with him, he allowed them to proceed, and impatiently awaited the result. After much discussion, an agreement was concluded in London; but Monk, instead of ratifying it with his signature, discovered, or pretended to discover, in it much that was obscure or ambiguous, or contrary to his instructions; the council agreed with him in opinion; and a second negotiation was opened with Lambert at Newcastle to obtain from him an explanation of the meaning of the officers in the

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V.  
1659.

Nov. 19.

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<sup>47</sup> See the Conferences of Ludlow and Whitelock with Fleetwood, Ludlow, ii. 277. Whitelock, 690.

CHAP. metropolis. Thus delay was added to delay ; and  
 V.  
 1659.

Monk improved the time to dismiss even the privates whose sentiments were suspected, and to fill up the vacancies in the regiments of infantry by levies among the Scots. At the same time he called a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, of two representatives from each county and one from each borough, recommended to them the peace of the country during his absence, and obtained from them the grant of a year's arrears of their taxes, amounting to 60,000*l.* in addition to the excise and customs. He then fixed his head quarters at Coldstream <sup>48</sup>.

In the mean while, the detention of Lambert in the north by the artifices of Monk had given occasion to many important events in the south. Within the city several encounters had taken place between the military and the apprentices <sup>49</sup>; a free parliament had become the general cry; and the citizens exhorted each other to pay no taxes imposed by any other authority. Lawson, though he wavered at first, declared against the army, and advanced with his squadron up the river as far as Gravesend. Hazlerig and Morley were

<sup>48</sup> Price, 741—4. Whitelock, 688, 9. Ludlow, 269, 271, 273. Skinner, 161, 4.

<sup>49</sup> The posts occupied by the army within the city were, " St. Paul's church, the Royall Exchange, Peeter-house in Aldersgate-street, and Bernnet's castle, Gresham coledge, Sion college. Without London, were the Musses, Sumersett-house, Whitehall, St. James's, Scotland-year". MS. Diary by Thomas Rugge.

admitted into Portsmouth by the governor, were joined by the force sent against them by Fleetwood, and marched towards London that they might open a communication with the fleet in the river. Alarm produced in the committee of safety the most contradictory counsels. A voice ventured to suggest the restoration of Charles Stuart; but it was replied, that their offences against the family of Stuart were of too black a dye to be forgiven; that the king might be lavish of promises, now that he stood in need of their services; but that the revenge of parliament would absolve him from the obligation, when the monarchy should once be established. The final resolution was to call a new parliament against the 24th of January, and to appoint twenty-one conservators of the public peace during the interval. But they reckoned on an authority which they no longer possessed. The fidelity of the common soldiers had been shaken by the letters of Monk, and the declaration of Lawson. Putting themselves under the command of the officers who had been lately dismissed, they mustered in Lincoln's-inn-fields, marched before the house of Lenthall in Chancery-lane, and saluted him with three vollies of musketry as the representative of the parliament and lord-general of the army. Desborough, abandoned by his regiment, fled in despair towards Lambert; and Fleetwood, who for some days had done nothing but weep and pray, and complain that "the Lord had spit in his face",

CHAP.  
V.  
1659.

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Dec. 24.

CHAP. tamely endeavoured to disarm by submission the  
 V. resentment of his adversaries. He sought the  
 1659. speaker, fell on his knees before him, and sur-  
 rendered his commission <sup>50</sup>.

Its first  
 acts.

Dec. 26.

Thus the rump was again triumphant. The members, with Lenthall at their head, resumed possession of the house amidst the loud acclamations of the soldiery. Their first care was to establish a committee for the government of the army, and to order the regiments in the north to separate and march to their respective quarters. Of those among their colleagues who had supported the late committee of safety, they excused some, and punished others by suspension, or exclusion, or imprisonment: orders were sent to Lambert and the most active of his associates to withdraw from the army to their homes, and then instructions were given to the magistrates to take them into custody. A council of state was appointed, and into the oath to be taken by the members was introduced a new and most comprehensive abjuration of kingship and the family of Stuart. All officers commissioned during the interruption by any other authority than that of Monk were broken; the army was entirely remodelled; and the time of the house was daily occupied by the continued introduction of officers

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<sup>50</sup> Ludlow, 268, 276, 282, 7, 9, 290, 6, 8. Whitelock, 689, 690, 1. Clar. Pap. 625, 9, 636, 641, 7.

to receive their commissions in person from the hand of the speaker <sup>51</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

In the meanwhile, Monk, to subdue or disperse the army of Lambert, had raised up a new and formidable enemy in his rear. Lord Fairfax was become a convert to the cause of monarchy; to him the numerous royalists in Yorkshire looked up as leader; and he, on the solemn assurance of Monk, that he would join him within twelve days or perish in the attempt, undertook to call together his friends, and to surprise the city of York. On the first day of the new year, each performed his promise. The gates of York were thrown open to Fairfax by the cavaliers confined within its walls <sup>52</sup>; and Monk, with his army, crossed the Tweed on his march against the advanced posts of the enemy. Thus the flame of civil war was again kindled in the north: within two days it was again extinguished. A messenger from parliament ordered Lambert's forces to withdraw to their respective quarters; dispirited by the defection of the military in the south, they dared not disobey: at Northallerton, the officers bid adieu with tears to their general; and Lambert retired in privacy to a house which he possessed in the county. Still, though the weather

Monk  
marches  
to York.

Jan. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Journals, Dec. 26; Jan. 31.

<sup>52</sup> That the rising under Fairfax was in reality a rising of royalists, and prompted by the promises of Monk, is plain from the narrative of Monkton, in the Lansdowne MSS. No. 988, f. 320, 334. See also Price, 748.

CHAP. V. 1660. was severe, though the roads were deeply covered with snow, Monk continued his march; and, at York, spent five days in consultation with Fairfax; but to the advice of that nobleman, that he should remain there, assume the command of their united forces, and proclaim the king, he replied that, in the present temper of his officers, it would prove a dangerous, a pernicious, experiment. On the arrival of what he had long expected, an invitation to Westminster, he resumed his march, and Fairfax, having received the thanks of the parliament, disbanded his insurrectionary force<sup>53</sup>.

And thence to London. Jan. 21. At York, the general had caned an officer who charged him with the design of restoring the kingly government: at Nottingham, he prevented with difficulty the officers from signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart"; and at Leicester, he was compelled to suffer a letter to be written in his name to the petitioners from Devonshire, stating his opinion that the monarchy could not be re-established, representing the danger of recalling the members excluded in 1648, and inculcating the duty of obedience to the parliament as it was then constituted<sup>54</sup>. Here he was met by two of the most active members, Scot and Robinson, ordered to accompany him during his journey, under the pretence of doing him

<sup>53</sup> Price, 749—753 Skinner, 196, 200, 205. Journals, Jan. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Price, 754. Kennet's Register, 32.



honour, but, in reality, to sound his disposition, and to act as spies on his conduct. He received them with respect as the representatives of the sovereign authority; and so flattered were they by his attentions, so duped by his wariness, that they could not see through the veil which he spread over his intentions. As he advanced, he received at every stage addresses from boroughs, cities, and counties, praying him to restore the excluded members, and to procure a free and a full parliament. With much affectation of humility, Monk referred the deputies to the two delegates of the supreme power, who haughtily rebuked them for their officiousness, while the friends of Monk laboured to keep alive their hopes by remote hints and obscure predictions<sup>55</sup>.

To lull the jealousy of the parliament, Monk had taken with him from York no more than five thousand men, a force considerably inferior to that which was quartered in London and Westminster. But from St. Alban's, he wrote to the speaker, requesting that five of the regiments in the capital might be removed before his arrival, alleging the danger of quarrels and seduction, if his troops were allowed to mix with those who had been so recently engaged in rebellion. The order was instantly made; but the men refused to obey. Why, they asked, were they to leave their

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

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Mutiny in  
the capi-  
tal.

Jan. 28.

Feb. 2.

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<sup>55</sup> Price, 754. Merc. Polit. No. 604. Philips, 595. Journals, Jan. 16.

CHAP. quarters for the accommodation of strangers?

V.  
1660.

Why were they to be sent from the capital, while their pay was several weeks in arrear? The royalists laboured to inflame the mutineers, and Lambert was on the watch, prepared to place himself at their head; but the distribution of a sum of money appeased their murmurs; they consented to march; and the next morning the general entered at the head of his army, and proceeded to the quarters assigned to him at Whitehall<sup>56</sup>.

Monk ad-  
dresses  
the house.

Feb. 6.

Soon after his arrival, he was invited to attend and receive the thanks of the house. A chair had been placed for him within the bar: he stood uncovered behind it; and, in reply to the speaker, extenuated his own services, related the answers which he had given to the addresses, warned the parliament against a multiplicity of oaths and engagements, prayed them not to give any share of power to the cavaliers or fanatics, and recommended to their care the settlement of Ireland and the administration of justice in Scotland. If there was much in this speech to please, there was also much that gave offence. Scot observed that the servant had already learned to give directions to his masters<sup>57</sup>.

As a member of the council of state, he was

<sup>56</sup> Price, 755, 7, 8. Journ. Jan. 30. Skinner, 219—221. Philips, 594, 5, 6. Clar Pap. iii. 666, 668. Pepys, i. 19, 21.

<sup>57</sup> Journals, Feb. 6. New Parl. Hist. iii. 1575. Philips, 597. Price, 759. The lord-general Monk, his Speech. Printed by J. Macock, 1660.

summoned to abjure the house of Stuart, according to the late order of parliament. He demurred. Seven of the counsellors, he observed, had not yet abjured, and he wished to know their reasons for the satisfaction of his own conscience. Experience had shown that such oaths were violated as easily as they were taken, and to him it appeared an offence against Providence to swear never to acquiesce in that which Providence might possibly ordain. He had given the strongest proofs of his devotion to parliament: if these were not sufficient, let them try him again: he was ready to give more<sup>58</sup>.

The sincerity of this declaration was soon put to the test. The loyal party in the city, especially among the moderate presbyterians, had long been on the increase. At the last elections the common council had been filled with members of

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

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Ordered  
to chastise  
the citi-  
zens.

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<sup>58</sup> Gamble, 228. Price, 759, 760. Philips, 595. About this time, a parcel of letters to the king, written by different persons in different ciphers, and entrusted to the care of a Mr. Leonard, was intercepted by Lockart at Dunkirk, and sent by him to the council. When the writers were first told that the letters had been deciphered, they laughed at the information as of a thing impracticable; but were soon undeceived by the decipherer, who sent to them by the son of the bishop of Ely copies of their letters in cipher, with a correct interlineary explanation of each. They were astonished and alarmed; and, to save themselves from the consequences of the discovery, purchased of him two of the original letters at the price of 300*l*. Compare Barwick's Life, 171, and App. 402, 412, 5, 422, with the correspondence on the subject in the Clarendon Papers, iii. 668, 681, 696, 700, 715. After this, all letters of importance were conveyed through the hands of the abbess of the English convent at Gand.

CHAP. a new character, and the declaration which they  
 V. issued demanded “ a full and free parliament ac-  
 1660. ———— cording to the ancient and fundamental laws of  
 “ the land”. Of the assembly sitting in West-  
 minster, as it contained no representative from  
 the city, no notice was taken ; the taxes which it  
 had imposed were not paid ; and the common  
 council, as if it had been an independent authority,  
 received and answered addresses from the neigh-  
 bouring counties. This contumacy, in the opinion  
 of the parliamentary leaders, called for prompt  
 and exemplary punishment ; and it was artfully  
 suggested that, by making Monk the minister of  
 their vengeance, they should open a wide breach  
 Feb. 9. between him and their opponents. Two hours  
 after midnight he received an order to march into  
 the city, to arrest eleven of the principal citizens,  
 to remove the posts and chains which had lately  
 been fixed in the streets, and to destroy the port-  
 cullises and the gates. After a moment’s hesita-  
 tion, he resolved to obey rather than hazard the  
 loss of his commission. The citizens received him  
 with groans and hisses ; the soldiers murmured ;  
 the officers tendered their resignations. He merely  
 replied that his orders left nothing to his discre-  
 tion ; but the reply was made with a sternness of  
 tone, and a gloominess of countenance, which  
 showed, and probably was assumed to show, that  
 he acted with reluctance and with self-reproach <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Journ. Feb. 9. Price 761. Ludlow, ii. 336. Clar. Pap.  
 iii. 674, 691. Gamble, 236. Skinner, 231—7.

As soon as the posts and chains were removed, Monk suggested, in a letter to the speaker, that enough had been done to subdue the refractory spirit of the citizens. But the parliamentary leaders were not satisfied: they voted that he should execute his former orders; and the demolition of the gates and portcullises was effected. The soldiers loudly proclaimed their discontent: the general, mortified and ashamed, though he had been instructed to quarter them in the city, led them back to Whitehall<sup>60</sup>. There, on the review of these proceedings, he thought that he discovered proofs of a design, first to commit him with the citizens, and then to discard him entirely. For the house, while he was so ungraciously employed, had received, with a show of favour, a petition from the celebrated Praise-God Barebone, praying that no man might sit in parliament, or hold any public office, who refused to abjure the pretensions of Charles Stuart, or any other single person. Now this was the very case of the general, and his suspicions were confirmed by the reasoning of his confidential advisers. With their aid, a letter to the speaker was prepared the same evening, and approved the next morning by the council of officers. In it the latter were made to complain that they had been rendered the instruments of personal resentment against the citizens, and to require that by the

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

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Feb. 10.

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<sup>60</sup> Journ. Feb. 9. Philips, 599.

CHAP. following Friday every vacancy in the house  
 V. should be filled up, preparatory to its subsequent  
 1660. dissolution and the calling of a new parliament.

He joins  
 with  
 them.

Without waiting for an answer, Monk marched back into Finsbury-fields : at his request, a common council (that body had recently been dissolved by a vote of the parliament) was summoned ; and the citizens heard from the mouth of the general, that he, who yesterday had come among them as an enemy by the orders of others, was come that day as a friend by his own choice ; and that his object was to unite his fortune with theirs, and by their assistance to obtain a full and free parliament for the nation. This speech was received with the loudest acclamations. The bells were tolled ; the soldiers were feasted ; bonfires were lighted ; and, among the frolics of the night was “ the roasting of the rump ”, a practical joke which long lived in the traditions of the city. Scot and Robinson, who had been sent to lead back the general to Whitehall, slunk away in secrecy, that they might escape the indignation of the populace <sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> Price, 765—8. Clar. Pap. iii. 681, 692, 714. Ludlow, 337. Gamble, 249. Skinner, 237—243. Old Parl. Hist. xxii. 94. Pepys, i. 24, 25. “ At Strand-bridge I could at one time tell “ thirty-one fires ; in King-street, seven or eight, and all along “ burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps ; there being “ rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The “ butchers at the May-pole in the Strand rang a peal with their “ knives, when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On “ Ludgate-hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump “ tied to it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination ”. Ibid. 28.

At Westminster, the parliamentary leaders affected a calmness and intrepidity which they did not feel. Of the insult offered to their authority they took no notice; but, as an admonition to Monk, brought in a bill to appoint his rival, Fleetwood, commander-in-chief in England and Scotland. The intervention of the Sunday allowed more sober counsels to prevail. They solicited the general to return to Whitehall; they completed the bill for the qualifications of the candidates and the electors; and on the day fixed by the letter of the officers, ordered writs to be issued for the filling up of the vacancies in the representation. This measure had been forced upon them; yet they had the ingenuity to make it subservient to their own interest, by inserting a provision in the act, that no man should choose or be chosen who had not already bound himself to support a republican form of government. But immediately the members excluded in 1648 brought forward their claim to sit, and Monk assumed the appearance of the most perfect indifference between the parties. At his invitation, nine of the leaders on each side argued the case before him and his officers; and the result was, that the latter expressed their willingness to support the secluded members, on condition that they should pledge themselves to settle the government of the army, to raise money to pay the arrears, to issue writs for a new parliament to sit on the 20th of April, and to dissolve themselves before that period. The general returned to Whitehall:

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

Admits  
the se-  
cluded  
members.  
Feb. 11.

Feb. 17.

Feb. 21.

CHAP. the secluded members attended his summons ;  
 V.  
 1660. and, after a long speech, declaratory of his per-  
 suasion that a republican form of government and  
 a moderate presbyterian kirk were necessary to  
 secure and perpetuate the tranquillity of the  
 nation, he exhorted them to go and resume their  
 seats. Accompanied by a great number of officers,  
 they walked to the house ; the guards opened to  
 let them pass ; and no opposition was made by the  
 speaker or the members<sup>62</sup>. Haslerig, however,  
 and the more devoted of his adherents, rose, and  
 withdrew—a fortunate secession for the royalists ;  
 otherwise, with the addition of those among the  
 restored members who adhered to a common-  
 wealth, they might on many questions have still  
 commanded a majority<sup>63</sup>.

Perplexi-  
 ty of the  
 royalists.

To the cavaliers, the conduct of Monk on this  
 occasion proved a source of the most distressing  
 perplexity. On the one hand by introducing the  
 secluded members he had greatly advanced the  
 cause of royalty. For, though Hollis, Pierpoint,  
 Popham, and their friends, still professed the  
 doctrines which they had maintained during the  
 treaty in the Isle of Wight, though they mani-  
 fested the same hatred of popery and prelacy,

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<sup>62</sup> Journals, Feb. 11, 13, 15, 17, 21. Price, 768—773. Lud-  
 low, ii. 345, 351, 3. Skinner, 256—264. Clar. Pap. 663, 682, 8.  
 Gamble, 260, 3. Philips, 600. The number of secluded mem-  
 bers then living was one hundred and ninety-four, of members  
 sitting or allowed to sit by the orders of the house, eighty-nine.  
 “ A Declaration of the True State of the Matter of Fact”, 57.

<sup>63</sup> Hutchinson, 362.



though they still inculcated the necessity of limiting the prerogative in the choice of the officers of state and in the command of the army, yet they were royalists by principle, and had, several of them, made the most solemn promises to the exiled king of labouring strenuously for his restoration. On the other hand, that Monk at the very time when he gave the law without control, should declare so loudly in favour of a republican government and a presbyterian kirk, could not fail to alarm both Charles and his abettors<sup>64</sup>. Neither was this the only instance: to all, cavaliers or republicans, who approached him to discover his intentions, he uniformly professed the same sentiments, occasionally confirming his professions with oaths and imprecations. To explain this inconsistency between the tendency of his actions and the purport of his language, we are told by those whom he admitted to his private counsels, that it was forced upon him by the necessity of his situation; that, without it, he must have forfeited the confidence of the army, which believed its safety and interest to be intimately linked with the existence of the commonwealth. According to Ludlow, the best soldier and statesman in the opposite party, Monk had in view an additional object, to deceive the suspicions and divert the vigilance of his adversaries; and so successfully had he imposed on the credulity of

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1660.

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<sup>64</sup> Clar. Hist. iii. 720, 1, 3, 4. Papers, iii. 698.

CHAP. many (Hazlerig himself was of the number), that,  
 V. in defiance of every warning, they blindly trusted  
 1660. to his sincerity, till their eyes were opened by the  
 ——— introduction of the secluded members <sup>65</sup>.

Proceed-  
 ings of the  
 house.

In parliament the presbyterian party now ruled without opposition. They annulled all votes relative to the death of the late king and their own expulsion from the house; they selected a new council of state, in which the most influential members were royalists; they appointed Monk commander-in-chief of the forces in the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with admiral Montague; they voted him the sum of 20,000*l.* in lieu of the palace of Hampton-court, settled on him by the republican party; they discharged from confinement, and freed from the penalty of sequestration, sir George Booth and his associates, a great number of cavaliers, and the Scottish lords taken after the battle at Worcester; they restored the common council, borrowed 60,000*l.* for the immediate pay of the army, declared the presbyterian confession of faith to be that of the church of England, ordered copies of the solemn league and covenant to be hung up in all churches, offered rewards for the apprehension of catholic priests, urged the execution of the laws against catholic recusants, and fixed the 15th of March for their own dissolution, the 25th of April for the meeting of a new parliament <sup>66</sup>.

March.

<sup>65</sup> Price, 773. Ludlow, 349, 355. Clar. Pap. iii. 678, 697, 703, 711.

<sup>66</sup> Journals, *passim*.

Here, however, a serious difficulty arose. The house of commons (according to the doctrine of the secluded members, it could be nothing more) was but a single branch of the legislature. By what right could it pretend to summons a parliament? Ought not the house of lords, the peers who had been excluded in 1649, to concur? Or rather, to proceed according to law, ought not the king either to appoint a commission to hold a parliament, as was usually done in Ireland, or to name a guardian invested with such power, as was the practice formerly, when our monarchs occasionally resided in France? But, on this point, Monk was inflexible. He placed guards at the door of the house of lords to prevent the entrance of the peers; and he refused to listen to any expedient which might imply an acknowledgement of the royal authority. To the arguments urged by others, he replied, that the parliament according to law determined by the death of Charles I.; that the present house could justify its sitting on no other ground but that of necessity, which did not apply to the house of lords; and that it was in vain to expect the submission of the army to a parliament called by royal authority. The military had, with reluctance, consented to the restoration of the secluded members; and to ask more of them at present was to hazard all the advantages which had hitherto been obtained <sup>67</sup>.

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March 3.

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<sup>67</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 704. Ludlow, 364, 5. Price, 773.

CHAP. Encouraged by the downfall of the republicans,  
 V. the royalists throughout the country expressed  
 1660. their sentiments without restraint. In some  
 And of the places Charles was proclaimed by the populace;  
 general. several ministers openly prayed for him in the  
 churches; the common council, in their address,  
 declared themselves not averse to his restoration;  
 March 10. and the house itself was induced to repeal the  
 celebrated engagement in favour of a common-  
 wealth, without a single person or house of peers,  
 and to embody under trusty officers the militia of  
 the city and the counties, as a counterpoise to the  
 republican interest in the army. The judges of  
 the late king and the purchasers of forfeited pro-  
 perty began to tremble. They first tempted the  
 ambition of the lord-general with the offer of the  
 sovereign authority<sup>68</sup>. Rejected by him, they

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<sup>68</sup> Gamble, 270. Two offers of assistance were made to the general, on the supposition that he might aspire to the supreme power, one from the republicans which I have mentioned, another from Bordeaux, the French ambassador, in the name of cardinal Mazarin. On one of these offers he was questioned by sir Anthony Ashley Cooper in the council of state. If we may believe Clarges, one of his secret advisers, it was respecting the former, which he had mentioned to Cooper. With respect to the offer of Bordeaux, he tells us that it was made through Clarges himself, and scornfully rejected by Monk, who nevertheless consented to receive a visit from Bordeaux, on condition that the subject should not be mentioned. Philips, 602, 4. Locke, on the contrary, asserts that Monk accepted the offer of the French minister; that his wife, through loyalty to the king, betrayed the secret; and that Cooper put to the general such searching questions that he was confused, and, in proof of his fidelity, took away the commissions of several officers of whom

appealed to the military; they represented the loss of their arrears, and of the property which they had acquired, as the infallible consequences of the restoration of the royal exile; and they so far wrought on the fears of the officers, that an engagement to oppose all attempts to set up a single person was presented to Monk for his signature, with a request that he would solicit the concurrence of the parliament. A second council of officers was held the next morning; the general urged the inexpediency of troubling the house with new questions, when it was on the point of dissolving itself; and by the address and influence of his friends, though with considerable difficulty, procured the suppression of the obnoxious paper. In a short time he ordered the several officers to join their respective regiments, appointed a commission to inspect and reform the different corps, expelled all the officers whose sentiments he had reason to distrust, and then demanded and obtained from the army an engagement to abstain from all interference in matters of state, and to submit all things to the authority of the new parliament<sup>69</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

March 14.

March 15.

Nineteen years and a half had now elapsed since the long parliament first assembled—years of revolution and bloodshed; during which the

Dissolu-  
tion of the  
long par-  
liament.

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the council was jealous. Memoirs of the earl of Shaftsbury, in Kennet's Register, 86.

<sup>69</sup> Phillips, 603, 6. Price, 781. Kennet's Reg. 113. Thurloe, vii. 852, 9, 870. Pepys, i. 43. Skinner, 279—284.

CHAP. V. 1660. nation had made the trial of almost every form of government, to return at last to that form from which it had previously departed. On the 16th of March, one day later than was originally fixed, its existence, which had been illegally prolonged since the death of Charles I., was terminated by its own act<sup>70</sup>. The reader is already acquainted with its history. For the glorious stand which it made against the encroachments of the crown, it deserves both admiration and gratitude: its subsequent proceedings assumed a more ambiguous character; ultimately they led to anarchy and military despotism. But, whatever were its merits or demerits, of both posterity has reaped the benefit. To the first, we are indebted for many of the rights which we now enjoy; by the second, we are warned of the evils which result from political changes, effected by violence and in opposition to the habits and predilections of the people.

Monk's  
interview  
with  
Grenville.

Monk had now spent more than two months in England, and still his intentions were covered with a veil of mystery, which no ingenuity, either of the royalists or of the republicans could remove. Sir John Grenville, with whom the reader is already acquainted, paid frequent visits to him at St. James's: but the object of the cavalier was suspected, and his attempts to obtain a private interview were defeated by the caution

March 10.

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<sup>70</sup> Journals, Mar. 16.

of the general. After the dissolution, Morris, the confidential friend of both, brought them together, and Grenville delivered to Monk a most flattering letter from the king. He received and perused it with respect. This was, he observed, the first occasion on which he could express with safety his devotion to the royal cause; but he was still surrounded with men of hostile or doubtful sentiments; the most profound secrecy was still necessary; Grenville might confer in private with Morrice, and must consent to be himself the bearer of the general's answer. The heads of that answer were reduced to writing. In it Monk prayed the king to send him a conciliatory letter, which, at the proper season, he might lay before the parliament; for himself he asked nothing; he would not name, as he was desired, his reward; it was not for him to strike a bargain with his sovereign; but, if he might obtrude his opinion, he advised Charles to promise a general, or nearly general, pardon, liberty of conscience, the confirmation of the national sales, and the payment of the arrears due to the army. As soon as this paper had been read, he threw it into the fire, and bade Grenville rely on his memory for its contents <sup>71</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> Clar. Hist. iii. 734—6. Price, 785. Philips, 605. Clar. Pap. iii. 706, 711. From the last authorities it is plain that Mor-daunt was intrusted with the secret as well as Grenville—also a Mr. Herne, probably a fictitious name.

CHAP. V. By Charles at Brussels the messenger was received as an angel from heaven. The doubts which had so long tormented his mind were suddenly removed; the crown, contrary to expectation, was offered without previous conditions; and nothing more was required than that he should aid with his pen the efforts of the general: but when he communicated the glad tidings to Ormond, Hyde, and Nicholas, these counsellors discovered that the advice, suggested by Monk, was derogatory from the interests of the throne and the personal character of the monarch, and composed a royal declaration which, while it professed to make to the nation the promises recommended by Monk, in reality neutralized their effect, by subjecting them to such limitations as might afterwards be imposed by the wisdom of parliament. This paper was enclosed within a letter to the speaker of the house of commons; another letter was addressed to the house of lords; a third to Monk and the army; a fourth to Montague and the navy; and a fifth to the lord mayor and the city. To the general, open copies were transmitted, that he might deliver or destroy the originals as he thought fit. Notwithstanding the alterations made at Brussels, he professed himself satisfied with the declaration, and ordered Grenville to keep the papers in his custody, till the proper season should arrive<sup>72</sup>.

CHAP. V. 1660. His message to the king. March 26. April 2. April 10.

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<sup>72</sup> Clar. iii. 737—740, 742—751. Price, 790. Monk had been



In the meanwhile the writs for the new parliament had been issued; and, as there was no court to influence, no interference of the military to control the elections, the result may be fairly taken to express the sense of the country. The republicans, the cavaliers, the presbyterians, all made every effort in their power to procure the return of members of congenial sentiments. Of the three parties, the last was beyond comparison the most powerful, had not division paralyzed its influence. The more rigid presbyterians, though they opposed the advocates of the commonwealth because they were sectaries, equally deprecated the return of the king, because they feared also the restoration of episcopacy. A much greater number who still adhered with constancy to the solemn league and covenant, deemed themselves bound by it to replace the king on the throne, but under the limitations proposed during the treaty in the Isle of Wight. Others, and these the most active and influential, saw no danger to be feared from a moderate episcopacy; and,

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The elec-  
tions.

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assured, probably by the French ambassador, that the Spaniards intended to detain the king at Brussels as a hostage for the restoration of Jamaica and Dunkirk. On this account he insisted that the king should leave the Spanish territory, and Charles, having informed the governor of his intention to visit Breda, left Brussels about two hours, if Clarendon be correct, before an order was issued for his detention. The several letters, though written and signed at Brussels, were dated from Breda, and given to Grenville the moment the king placed his feet on the Dutch territory. Clar. 740.

CHAP. anxious to obtain honours and preferment, la-  
 V. boured by the fervour of their present loyalty to  
 1660. ———— deserve the forgiveness of their past transgres-  
 sions. These joined with the cavaliers; their  
 united efforts bore down all opposition; and, in  
 most places, their adversaries either shrunk from  
 the contest, or were rejected by overwhelming  
 majorities <sup>73</sup>.

Rising un-  
 der Lam-  
 bert.

But the republicans sought for aid in another  
 direction. Their emissaries penetrated into the  
 quarters of the military, where they lamented  
 the approaching ruin of the good old cause,  
 regretted that so many sacrifices had been made,  
 so much blood had been shed in vain; and again  
 insinuated to the officers, that they must forfeit  
 the purchases which they had made; to the  
 privates, that they would be disbanded and lose  
 their arrears <sup>74</sup>. A spirit of discontent began to  
 spread through several corps, and a great number  
 of officers repaired to the metropolis. But Monk,  
 though he still professed himself a friend to repub-  
 lican government, now ventured to assume a  
 bolder tone. The militia of the city, amounting  
 to fourteen thousand men, was already embodied

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<sup>73</sup> Thurloe, vii. 866, 887. Price, 787. Carte's Letters, ii. 326. Clar. Pap. iii. 705, 714, 726, 730, 1, 3. It appears that many of the royalists were much too active. "When the complaint was made to Monk, he turned it off with a jest, that as there is a fanatic party on the one side, so there is a frantic party on the other", 721, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Thurloe, vii. 870.

under his command ; he had in his pocket a commission from Charles, appointing him lord-general over all the military in the three kingdoms ; and he had resolved, should circumstances compel him to throw off the mask, to proclaim the king, and to summon every faithful subject to repair to the royal standard. He first ordered the officers to return to their posts : he then directed the promise of submission to the new parliament to be tendered to the privates, and every man who refused to make it was immediately discharged <sup>75</sup>. At the same time, the friends of the commonwealth resolved to oppose Lambert, once the idol of the soldiery, to Monk. Lambert, indeed, was a prisoner in the Tower, confined by order of the council ; but, with the aid of a rope, he descended from the window of his bed-chamber, was received by eight watermen in a barge, and found a secure asylum in the city. But the citizens were too loyal to listen to the suggestions of the party : he left his concealment, hastened into Warwickshire, collected from the discontented regiments six troops of horse and some companies of foot, and expected in a few days to see himself at the head of a formidable force. But Ingoldsby, who, regicide, was become a royalist, met him near Daventry with an equal number : a troop of Lambert's men passed over to his opponents ; and the others, when he gave the word to charge,

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April 9.

April 13.

April 21.

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<sup>75</sup> Clar. Pap. iii. 715.

CHAP. pointed their pistols to the ground. The unfor-  
 V. fortunate commander immediately turned and fled;  
 1660. ————— Ingoldsby followed; the ploughed land gave the  
 advantage to the stronger horse; the fugitive  
 was overtaken, and, after an ineffectual effort to  
 awaken the pity of his former comrade, submitted  
 April 24. to his fate. He was conducted back to the Tower,  
 at the time when the trained bands, the volunteers,  
 and the auxiliaries raised in the city, passed in  
 review before the general in Hyde-park. The  
 auxiliaries drank the king's health on their knees;  
 Lambert was at the moment driven under Tyburn;  
 and the spectators hailed with shouts and exclama-  
 tions the disgrace of the prisoner <sup>76</sup>.

Influence  
 of the  
 cavaliers  
 in the new  
 parlia-  
 ment.

The convention parliament (so it was called  
 because it had not been legally summoned) met  
 on the appointed day, the 25th of April. The  
 presbyterians, by artful management, placed sir  
 Harbottle Grimstone, one of their party, in the  
 chair; but the cavaliers, with their adherents,  
 formed a powerful majority, and the new speaker,  
 instead of undertaking to stem, had the prudence  
 to go along with, the stream. Monk sate as re-  
 presentative of Devonshire, his native county.

To neutralize the influence of the cavaliers  
 among the commons, the presbyterian peers who  
 sat in 1648 assembled in the house of lords, and  
 chose the earl of Manchester for their speaker.

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<sup>76</sup> Kennet's Reg. 120. Price, 792, 794. Ludlow, 379. Phi-  
 lips, 607. Clar. Pap. iii. 735.

But what right had they exclusively to constitute a house of parliament? They had not been summoned in the usual manner by writ; they could not sit as a part of the long parliament, which was now at least defunct; and, if they founded their pretensions on their birthright, as consiliarii nati, other peers were in possession of the same privilege. The question was propounded to the lord-general, who replied that he had no authority to determine the claims of any individual. Encouraged by this answer, a few of the excluded peers attempted to take their seats, and met with no opposition; the example was imitated by others, and in a few days the presbyterian lords formed not more than one-fifth of the house. Still, however, to avoid cavil, the peers who sat in the king's parliament at Oxford, as well as those whose patents bore date after the commencement of the civil war, abstained for the present from demanding admission <sup>77</sup>.

Monk continued to dissemble. By his direction Grenville applied to a member, who was entering the council chamber, for an opportunity of speaking to the lord-general. Monk came to the door, received from him a letter, and, recognizing on its seal the royal arms, commanded the guards to take care that the bearer did not depart. In a few minutes Grenville was called in, interrogated by the president as to the manner in which he

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1660.

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The  
king's let-  
ters deli-  
vered.

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<sup>77</sup> L. Journ. xi. 4, 5, 6.

CHAP. became possessed of the letter, and ordered to be  
 V. taken into custody. "That is unnecessary" said  
 1660. Monk, "I find that he is my near kinsman; and  
 I will be security for his appearance".

The ice was now broken. Grenville was treated not as a prisoner but a confidential servant of the sovereign. He delivered to the two houses the letters addressed to them, and received in return a vote of thanks, with a present of 500*l*. The letter for the army was read by Monk to his officers, that for the navy by Montague to the captains under his command, and that for the city by the lord mayor to the common council in the Guildhall. Each of these bodies voted an address of thanks and congratulation to the king.

The de-  
 claration  
 from Bre-  
 da.

The paper which accompanied the letters to the two houses, 1°. granted a free and general pardon to all persons, excepting such as might afterwards be excepted by parliament, ordaining that every division of party should cease, and inviting all who were the subjects of the same sovereign to live in union and harmony: 2°. it declared a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and promised moreover the royal assent to such acts of parliament as should be offered for the full granting of that indulgence: 3°. it alluded to the actions at law to which the actual possessors of estates purchased by them or granted to them

during the revolution, might be liable, and pur- CHAP.  
 posed to leave the settlement of all such differences V.  
 to the wisdom of parliament, which could best pro- 1660.  
 vide for the just satisfaction of the parties concern-  
 ed: lastly, it promised to liquidate the arrears of the  
 army under general Monk, and to retain the officers  
 and men in the royal service upon the same pay and  
 conditions which they actually enjoyed. This was  
 the celebrated declaration from Breda, the royal  
 charter on the faith of which Charles was per-  
 mitted to ascend the throne of his fathers <sup>78</sup>.

Encouraged by the bursts of loyalty with which The two  
 the king's letters and declaration had been re- houses re-  
 ceived, his agents made it their great object to cal the  
 procure his return to England before limitations king.  
 could be put on the prerogative. From the lords,  
 so numerous were the cavaliers in the upper house,  
 no opposition could be feared; and the temper  
 already displayed by the commons was calculated  
 to satisfy the wishes of the most ardent champions  
 of royalty. The two houses voted that by the  
 ancient and fundamental laws of the realm the  
 government was and ought to be by king, lords,  
 and commons; they invited Charles to come and  
 receive the crown to which he was born; and, to  
 relieve his more urgent necessities, they sent him  
 a present of 50,000*l.*, with 10,000*l.* for his brother  
 the duke of York, and 5,000*l.* for the duke of  
 Gloucester. They ordered the arms and symbols

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<sup>78</sup> L. Journ. xi. 7, 10.

CHAP. of the commonwealth to be effaced, the name of  
 V.  
 1660. the king to be introduced in the public worship,  
 ——— and his succession to be proclaimed as having  
 commenced from the day of his father's death <sup>79</sup>.  
 Hale, the celebrated lawyer, ventured with Prynne  
 to call upon the house of commons to pause in  
 their enthusiasm, and attend to the interests of  
 the nation. The first moved the appointment of  
 a committee to inquire what propositions had been  
 offered by the long parliament, and what conces-  
 sions had been made by the last king in 1648; the  
 latter urged the favourable opportunity of coming  
 to a mutual and permanent understanding on all  
 those claims, which had been hitherto subjects of  
 controversy between the two houses and the crown.  
 But Monk arose, and strongly objected to an inquiry  
 which might revive the fears and jealousies, the  
 animosities and bloodshed, of the years that were  
 past. Let the king return while all was peace  
 and harmony. He would come alone: he could  
 bring no army with him: he would be as much  
 at their mercy in Westminster as in Breda.  
 Limitations, if limitations were necessary, might  
 be prepared in the interval, and offered to him  
 after his arrival. At the conclusion of this speech,  
 the house resounded with the acclamations of the  
 cavaliers; and the advocates of the inquiry,  
 awed by the authority of the general, and the  
 clamour of their opponents, deemed it prudent to  
 desist <sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> Journals of both houses.    <sup>80</sup> Burnet, i. 151. Ludlow, iii. 8, 9.



Charles was as eager to accept, as the houses had been to vote, the address of invitation. From Breda he had gone to the Hague, where the States, anxious to atone for their former neglect, entertained him with unusual magnificence. The fleet, under Montague<sup>81</sup>, had anchored in the bay of Schevelin; and Charles, as soon as the weather permitted, set sail for Dover, where Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry from the neighbouring counties, waited to receive the new sovereign. Every eye was fixed on their meeting; and the cheerful, though dignified condescension of the king, and the dutiful, respectful homage of the general, provoked the applause of the spectators. Charles embraced him as his benefactor, bade him walk by his side, and took him into the royal carriage. From Dover to the capital the king's progress bore the appearance of a triumphal procession. The roads were covered with crowds of people anxious to testify their loyalty while they gratified their curiosity. On Blackheath he was received by the army in battle array, and greeted with acclamations as he passed through the ranks: in St. George's-fields the lord mayor and aldermen invited him to partake of a splendid collation in a tent prepared for the purpose; from London-bridge to Whitehall the houses

CHAP.  
V.  
1660.

Charles  
lands at  
Dover.

May 23.

May 25.

May 29.

And en-  
ters Lon-  
don.

<sup>81</sup> Montague had long been in correspondence with the king, and disapproved of the dissimulation of Monk, so far as to call him in private a "thick-skulled fool"; but thought it necessary to flatter him, as he could hinder the business. Pepys, i. 69.

CHAP. were hung with tapestry, and the streets lined by  
 V.  
 1660. the trained bands, the regulars, and the officers

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who had served under Charles I. The king was preceded by troops of horsemen, to the amount of three thousand persons, in splendid dresses, attended by trumpeters and footmen ; then came the lord mayor, carrying the naked sword, after him the lord-general and the duke of Buckingham, and lastly, the king himself, riding between his two brothers. The cavalcade was closed by the general's life-guard, five regiments of horse, and two troops of noblemen and gentlemen. At Whitehall Charles dismissed the lord mayor, and received in succession the two houses, whose speakers addressed him in strains of the most impassioned loyalty, and were answered by him with protestations of attachment to the interests and liberties of his subjects. It was late in the evening before the ceremonies of this important day were concluded ; when Charles observed to some of his confidants " It must surely have  
 " been my fault that I did not come before ; for I  
 " have met with no one to-day who did not pro-  
 " test that he always wished for my restoration<sup>82</sup>".

That the re-establishment of royalty was a blessing to the country, will hardly be denied. It presented the best, perhaps the only means of restoring public tranquillity amidst the confusion

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<sup>82</sup> Whitelock, 702. Kennet's Reg. 163. Clarend. Hist. iii. 772. Clarendon's Life by himself, Continuation, p. 7, 8. Evelyn's Diary, ii. 148.

and distrust, the animosities and hatreds, the parties and interests which had been generated by the events of the civil war, and by a rapid succession of opposite and ephemeral governments. To Monk belongs the merit of having, by his foresight and caution, effected this desirable object without bloodshed or violence; but to his dispraise it must also be recorded, that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch. Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining by mutual consent the legal rights of the crown, and securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. That Charles would have consented to such conditions, we have sufficient evidence: but when the measure was proposed, the lord-general declared himself its most determined opponent. It may have been, that his cautious mind figured to itself danger in delay; it is more probable that he sought to give additional value to his services in the eyes of the new sovereign. But, whatever were the motives of his conduct, the result was, that the king ascended the throne unfettered with conditions, and thence inferred that he was entitled to all the powers claimed by his father at the commencement of the civil war. In a few years the consequence became manifest. It was found that by the negligence or perfidy of Monk a door had been left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and

CHAP. the people; and that very circumstance which  
V.  
1660. Charles had hailed as the consummation of his  
——— good fortune, served only to prepare the way for  
a second revolution, which ended in the per-  
manent exclusion of his family from the govern-  
ment of these kingdoms.

## NOTE [A], Page 55.

## THE COMMISSION OF LORD FAIRFAX.

Die Veneris 14 Junii 1650.

**T**HE Parliament of England having had abundant Testimonies and experience of the singular fidelitie and courage of Thomas Lord Fairfax doe enact and ordaine, and be it enacted and ordained by this present Parliament and the authoritie thereof, and the Parliament doe hereby constitute, ordaine and appoint the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, captaine generall and commander in chief of the armies and forces raised and to be raised by authoritie of Parliament within the commonwealth of England, untill the Parliament shall otherwise order and ordaine, Giuing and Graunting to the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, full power and authoritie to rule, govern, command, dispose, and imploy the said armies and forces and everie part thereof and all officers and others whatsoever imployed, or to be imployed in or concerning the same, in for or about all defences, offences, invasions, executions, and other military and hostile acts and services as captaine Generall and commander in chief, and to be subject to and pursue such orders and directions as he hath received, or at any time shall receive from the Parliament or the counsell of state appointed by authoritie of Parliament. And

further giving and granting to the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, full power and authoritie to conduct and lead the said armies and forces and everie part thereof, against all enemies, rebells, traitors and other like offenders and everie of their adherents, and with them to fight, and them to invade, resist, depress, subdue, pursue, slay, kill, and put to execution of death, by all waies and meanes, and to fulfill and execute all and singular other things, for the governing of the said armies and forces, and to assigne and grant commissions to all such commanders and officers, as shall be thought necessarie and requisite for the government and commaund of the said armies and forces: And to assigne and appoint one or more provost Marshalls for the execution of his comands according to the tenor hereof. And to command all garrisons, forts, castles and towns alreadie fortified or to be fortified as likewise by himself or others deputed and authorized by him, to take up and use such carriages, horses, boates and other vessels as in his discretion and as often as he shall thinke meet, shall be needfull for the conveying and conducting of the said armies and forces or any part thereof; or for bringing or carrying ammuniti- on, ordnance, artillerie, victualle, and all or any other provisions necessarie or requisite for the said armies or forces or any part thereof, to or from any place or places according to the tenor hereof. And to give rules, instructions, and directions for the governing leading and conducting of the said armies and forces and euery part thereof; And to execute, or cause to be executed Marshall law for the punishment of all tumults, rapines, murders, and other crimes and misdemeanors in any person whatsoever in the said armies and forces or any part thereof according to the course and customes of the warres, and according to the

lawes and ordinances of the warres heretofore allowed by any act ordinance or order of Parliament; And the said lawes and ordinances of warre shall cause to be proclaymed and executed; wrightly charging and requiring all the officers and soldiers of the said armies and every part thereof, to be obedient to him the said Thomas Lord Fairfax as likewise all sheriffes, officers of the ordnance, justices of the peace, maiors, bailiffes and other officers and persons whatsoever in their respective counties and places, to be ayding and assisting to him the said Thomas Lord Fairfax in the execution of the said office of captaine generall and commander-in-chief of the said armies and forces for the ends and purposes and in manner aforesaid.

[From the original.]

HEN. SCOBELL,  
Clic. Parliament.

### NOTE [B], Page 133.

#### THE ACT FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

Whereas the parliament of England after expense of much blood and treasure for suppression of the horrid rebellion in Ireland have by the good hand of God vpon their vndertakings brought that affaيرة to such an issue as that a total reducm<sup>t</sup> and settlement of that nation may with Gods blessing be speedily effected. To the end therefore that the people of that nation may knowe that it is not the intention of the Parliament to extirpat that wholl nation, but that mercie and pardon both as to life and estate may bee extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, in manner as is heereafter declared, they submitting themselves to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England and liveing peaceably and

obediently vnder their gouernement, and that others alsoe of a higher ranke and quality may knowe the Parliament's intention concerning them according to the respective demerits and considerations under which they fall, Bee it enacted and declared by this present Parliament and by the authority of the same, That all and every person and persons of the Irish nation comprehended in any of the following Qualifications shal bee lyable vnto the penalties and forfeitures herein mentioned and contained or bee made capable of the mercy and pardon therein extended respectively according as is heereafter expressed and declared, that is to saye,

1. That all and every person and persons who at any time before the tenth day of November 1642 being the time of the sitting of the first generall assembly at Kilkenny in Ireland have contrived, advised, counselled, or promoted the Rebellion, murthers, massacres, done or committed in Ireland w<sup>ch</sup> began in the yeare 1641. or have at any time before the said tenth day of November 1642 by bearing armes or contributing men, armes, horses, plate, money, victuall or other furniture or habilliments of warre (other then such w<sup>ch</sup> they shall make to appeare to haue beene taken from them by meere force & violence) ayded, assisted, promoted, prosecuted or abetted the said rebellion murthers or massacres, be excepted from pardon of life and estate

2. That all and every person & persons who at any time before the first day of May 1643. did sitt or vote, in the said first generall assembly, or in the first pretended counsell, comonly called the supreamc councill of the confederate Catholiques in Ireland or were employed as secretaries or cheife clearke to be exempted from pardon for life and estate.

3. That all and every Jesuitt preist and other person



or persons who have received orders from the Pope or Sea of Rome, or any authoritie from the same, that have any wayes contrived, advised, counselled, promoted, continued, countenanced, ayded, assisted or abetted, or at any time hereafter shall any wayes contriue, advise, counsell, promote continue, countenance, ayde, assist or abett the Rebellion or warre in Ireland, or any the murthers, or massacres, robberies or violences comitted against y<sup>e</sup> Protestants, English, or others there, be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

4. That James Butler earl of Ormond, James Talbot earl of Castelhaven, Ullick Bourke earl of Clanricarde, Christopher Plunket earl of Fingal, James Dillon earl of Roscommon, Richard Nugent earl of Westmeath, Moragh O'Brian baron of Inchiquin, Donogh M'Carthy viscount Muskerry, Richard Butler viscount Mountgarrett, Theobald Taaffe viscount Taaffe of Corren, Rock viscount Fermoy, Montgomery viscount Montgomery of Ards, Magennis viscount of Iveagh, Fleming baron of Slane, Dempsey viscount Glanmaleere, Birmingham baron of Atheney, Oliver Plunket baron of Lowth, Robert Barnwell baron of Trymletstoune, Myles Bourke viscount Mayo, Connor Magwyre baron of Enniskillen, Nicholas Preston viscount Gormanstowne, Nicholas Nettervill, viscount Nettervill of Lowth, John Bramhall late bishop of Derry, (with eighty-one baronets, knights and gentlemen mentioned by name) be excepted from pardon of life and estate.

5. That all and every person & persons (both principalls and accessories) who since the first day of October 1641 have or shall kill, slay or otherwise destroy any person or persons in Ireland w<sup>ch</sup> at ye time of their being soe killed, slaine or destroyed were not publicly entertained, and mainteyned in armes as

officers or private souldiers for and on behalfe of the English against y<sup>e</sup> Irish and all and every person and persons (both principalls and accessories) who since the said first day of October 1641 have killed, slayne or otherwise destroyed any person or persons entertained and mainteyned as officers or private souldiers for and on behalfe of the English, against the Irish (the said persons soe killing, slaying or otherwise destroying, not being then publicquely enterteined and mainteyned in armes as officer or private souldier vnder the comānd and pay of y<sup>e</sup> Irish against the English) be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

6. That all and every person & persons in Ireland that are in armes or otherwise in hostilitie against y<sup>e</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealth of England, and shall not w<sup>th</sup>in eight and twenty dayes after publicacōn hereof by y<sup>e</sup> deputy gen<sup>ll</sup> of Ireland, & y<sup>e</sup> comiſſion<sup>rs</sup> for the Parliam<sup>t</sup> lay downe armes & submitt to y<sup>e</sup> power and authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> said Parliam<sup>t</sup> & commonwealth as y<sup>e</sup> same is now established, be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

7. That all other person & persons (not being comprehended in any of y<sup>e</sup> former Qualifications,) who have borne comāund in the warre of Ireland against the Parliam<sup>t</sup> of England or their forces, as generall, leift<sup>ts</sup> generall, major gen<sup>ll</sup>, commissary generall, colonell, Gouverno<sup>rs</sup> of any garrison, Castle or Forte, or who have been employed as receaver gen<sup>ll</sup> or Treasurer of the whole Nation, or any prouince thereof, Comiſſarie gen<sup>ll</sup> of musters, or prouissions, Marshall generall or marshall of any province, advocate to y<sup>e</sup> army, secretary to y<sup>e</sup> councill of warre, or to any generall of the army, or of any the seuerall prouinces, in order to the carrying on the warre, against the parliam<sup>t</sup> or their forces, be banished dureing the pleasure of the parliam<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup>

Com<sup>w</sup>wealth of England, and their estates forfeited & disposed of as followeth, (viz.) That two third partes of their respective estates, be had taken & disposed of for the vse & benefitt of the said Com<sup>w</sup>wealth, and that y<sup>e</sup> other third parte of their said respective estates, or other lands to y<sup>e</sup> proporcōn & value thereof (to bee assigned in such places in Ireland as the Parliam<sup>t</sup> in order to y<sup>e</sup> more effectual settlem<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> peace of this Nation shall thinke fitt to appoint for that purpose,) be respectiuey had taken and enioyed by y<sup>e</sup> wives and children of the said persons respectively.

8. That y<sup>e</sup> deputy gen<sup>ll</sup> and com<sup>is</sup>sion<sup>rs</sup> of parliam<sup>t</sup> have power to declare, That such person or persons as they shall judge capeable of y<sup>e</sup> parliam<sup>ts</sup> mercie (not being comprehended in any of y<sup>e</sup> former qualifications) who have borne armes against the Parliam<sup>t</sup> of England or their forces, and have layd downe armes, or within eight & twenty dayes after publicacōn hereof by y<sup>e</sup> deputy gen<sup>ll</sup> of Ireland and y<sup>e</sup> Com<sup>is</sup>sioners for y<sup>e</sup> parliam<sup>t</sup>, shall lay downe armes & submitt to y<sup>e</sup> power & authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> said parliam<sup>t</sup> & com<sup>w</sup>wealth as y<sup>e</sup> same is now established, (by promising & ingaging to be true to y<sup>e</sup> same) shal be pardoned for their liues, but shall forfeit their estates, to the said Com<sup>o</sup>nwealth to be disposed of as followeth (viz) Two third partes thereof (in three equall partes to bee diuided) for the vse benefitt & aduantage of y<sup>e</sup> said Com<sup>o</sup>nwealth, and y<sup>e</sup> other third parte of the said respective estates, or other lands to y<sup>e</sup> proporcōn or value thereof (to bee assigned in such places in Ireland as the parliam<sup>t</sup> in order to y<sup>e</sup> more effectual settlement of the peace of the Nation shall thinke fitt to appoint for that purpose) bee enioyed by y<sup>e</sup> said persons their heires or assigns respectively, provided, That in case the deputy gen<sup>ll</sup> & Com<sup>is</sup>sion<sup>rs</sup> or either of them, shall

see cause to give any shorter time than twenty eight dayes, vnto any person or persons in armes, or any Guarrison, Castle, or Forte, in hostilitie against the Parliam<sup>t</sup> & shall giue notice to such person or persons in armes or in any Guarrison, Castle or Forte, That all and every such person & persons who shall not w<sup>thin</sup> such time as shal be sett downe in such notice surrender such Guarrison, Castle, or Forte to y<sup>e</sup>parliam<sup>t</sup>, and lay downe armes, shall haue noe advantage of y<sup>e</sup> time formerly limited in this Qualificacōn.

9. That all and every person & persons who have recided in Ireland at any time from the first day of October 1641, to y<sup>e</sup> first of March 1650, and haue not beene in actuall service of y<sup>e</sup> parliam<sup>t</sup> at any time from y<sup>e</sup> first of August 1649, to the said first of March 1650, or have not otherwise manifested their constant good affections to the interest of y<sup>e</sup> Comōnwealth of England (the said Persons not being comprehended in any of the former Qualificacōns) shall forfeit their estates in Ireland to the said Comōnwealth to be disposed of as followeth, (viz.) one third parte thereof for the vse, benefitt, & advantage of the said Comonwealth, and the other two third partes of their respective estates, or other lands to the proporcōn or value thereof (to bee assigned in such places in Ireland, as y<sup>e</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> more effectual settlement of y<sup>e</sup> peace of the Nation shall thinke fitt to appoint for that purpose) bee enioyed by such person or persons their heires or assigns respectively.

10. That all and every person & persons (haueing noe reall estate in Ireland nor personall Estate to the value of ten pounds,) that shall lay downe armes, and submitt to the power and Authoritie of the Parliament by the time limited in the former Qualificacōn, & shall take & subscribe the engagem<sup>t</sup> to be true and faithfull to the Comōnwealth of England as the same is now

established, within such time and in such manner, as the deputy Generall, & commission<sup>rs</sup> for the Parliam<sup>t</sup> shall appoint and direct, such persons (not being excepted from pardon nor adiuged for banishm<sup>t</sup> by any of the former Qualificacōns) shal be pardoned for life & estate, for any act or thing by them done in prosecution of the warre.

11. That all estates declared by the Qualificacōns concerning rebels or delinquents in Ireland to be forfeited shal be construed, adiuged & taken to all intents and purposes to extend to y<sup>e</sup> forfeitures of all estates tayle, and also of all rights & titles thereunto which since the five and twentieth of March 1639, have beene or shal be in such rebels or delinquents, or any other in trust for them or any of them, or their or any of their vses, w<sup>th</sup> all reversions & remainders thereupon in any other person or persons whatsoever.

And also to the forfeiture of all estates limited, appointed, conueyed, settled, or vested in any person or persons declared by the said Qualificacōns to be rebels or delinquents with all reversions or remainders of such estates, conueyed, uested, limited, declared or appointed to any the heires, children, issues, or others of the blood, name, or kindred of such rebels or delinquents, w<sup>ch</sup> estate or estates remainders or reuer-sions since the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1639 have beene or shal be in such rebels or delinquents, or in any their heires, children, issues or others of the blood, name, or kindred of such rebels or delinquents.

And to all estates graunted, limited, appointed or conueyed by any such rebels or delinquents vnto any their heires, children, issue, w<sup>th</sup> all the reversions and remainders therevpon, in any other person of the name blood or kindred of such rebels or delinquents, provided that this shall not extend to make voyd the estates of any English Protestants, who haue constantly

adhered to the parliam<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> were by them purchased for valuable consideracōn before y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 1641, or vpon like valuable consideracōn mortgaged to them before y<sup>e</sup> tyme or to any person or persons in trust for them for satisfaction of debts owing to them.

[From the original.]

NOTE [C], Page 291.

REVENUE OF THE PROTECTOR.

When the parliament, in 1654, undertook to settle an annual sum on the protector, Oliver Cromwell, the following, according to the statement of the sub-committee, was the amount of the revenue in the three kingdoms :—

Excise and customs in England . . . . .	£80,000
Excise and customs in Scotland . . . . .	10,000
Excise and customs in Ireland . . . . .	20,000
Monthly assessments in England (at £60,000) . . . . .	720,000
Monthly assessments in Ireland (at £8,000) . . . . .	96,000
Monthly assessments in Scotland (at £8,000) . . . . .	96,000
Crown revenue in Guernsey and Jersey,	2,000
Crown revenue in Scotland . . . . .	9,000
Estates of Papists and delinquents in England . . . . .	60,000
Estates of Papists and delinquents in Scotland . . . . .	30,000
Rent of houses belonging to the crown	1,250
Post-office . . . . .	10,000
Exchequer revenue . . . . .	20,000
Probate of wills . . . . .	10,000

Coinage of tin .....	£2,000
Wine licences .....	10,000
Forest of Dean .....	4,000
Fines on alienations .....	20,000
	<hr/>
	£1,200,000
	<hr/>

[From the original, which, as well as the originals of the two former notes, is in the collection of Thomas Lloyd, Esq.]

### NOTE [D], Page 370.

#### PRINCIPLES OF THE LEVELLERS.

The following statement of the principles, maintained by the levellers, is extracted from one of their publications, which appeared soon after the death of Cromwell; entitled, “The Leveller; or, The Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are asserted by those that are commonly called Levellers; 1659.”

#### PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

1°. The government of England ought to be by laws and not by men: that is, the laws ought to judge of all offences and offenders, and all punishments and penalties to be inflicted upon criminals; nor ought the pleasure of his highness and his council to make whom they please offenders, and punish and imprison whom they please, and during pleasure.

2°. All laws, levies of monies, war and peace ought to be made by the people’s deputies in parliament, to be chosen by them successively at certain periods. Therefore there should be no negative of a monarch, because he will frequently by that means consult his

own interest or that of his family to the prejudice of the people. But it would be well, if the deputies of the people were divided into two bodies, one of which should propose the laws, and the other adopt or reject them.

3°. All persons without a single exception should be subject to the law.

4°. The people ought to be formed into such a military posture by and under the parliament, that they may be able to compel every man to obey the law, and defend the country from foreigners. A mercenary (standing) army is dangerous to liberty, and therefore should not be admitted.

#### PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION.

1°. The assent of the understanding cannot be compelled. Therefore no man can compel another to be of the true religion.

2°. Worship follows from the doctrines admitted by the understanding. No man therefore can bind another to adopt any particular form of worship.

3°. Works of righteousness and mercy are part of the worship of God, and so far fall under the civil magistrate, that he ought to restrain men from irreligion, that is, injustice, faith-breaking, oppression, and all other evil works that are plainly evil.

4°. Nothing is more destructive to true religion than quarrels about religion, and the use of punishments to compel one man to believe as another.

END OF VOL. XI.









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