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V O L . II.

C O N T A I N I N G

The C O M M O N W E A L T H ,

A N D

The Reigns of CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

By D A V I D H U M E , Esq;

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N Corrected.

L O N D O N :

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MDCCLXX.

C O N T E N T S.

The COMMONWEALTH.

C H A P. I.

State of England, — of Scotland, — of Ireland. — Levellers suppressed. — Siege of Dublin raised. — Treachery planned. — Covenanters. — Montrose taken prisoner. — Executed. — Covenanters. — Battle of Dunbar, — of Worcester. — King's escape. — The Commonwealth. — Dutch war. — Dissolution of the Parliament. Page 1

C H A P. II.

Cromwell's birth and private life. — Barebon's Parliament — Cromwell made Protector. — Peace with Holland. — A new Parliament. — Expulsion of the Royalists. — State of Europe. — War with Spain. — Famous campaign. — Success and death of admiral Blake. — Demerit admitted of Cromwell. — Humble petition and advice. — Dunkirk taken. — Success of the Protector. — His death, — and character. 4

C H A P. III.

King and a new elected Protector — A Parliament. — Civil Wars in France. — Religion suppressed. — Long Parliament or Rump parliament. — Composition of the Rump. — Its dissolution. — Suppressed. — Parliament restored. — Covenanters not forgiven. — Negotiations. — General Massacre. — Declaration for the Parliament. — Parliament not dissolved. — Monk's usurpation. — Declaration for a new Parliament. — Second Massacre. — Long Parliament dissolved. — New Parliament. — The Restoration. — Monk's return to France. 4

CHARLES II.

CHAP. I.

New ministry. — Act of indemnity. — Settlement of the revenue. — Trial and execution of the Regicides — Dissolution of the convention Parliament. — Prelacy restored. — Insurrection of the Millenarians. — Affairs of Scotland. — Conference at the Savoy. — Arguments for and against a comprehension. — A new Parliament. — Bishop's seats restored. — Corporation Act. — Act of uniformity. — King's marriage. — Trial of Vane, — and execution. — Presbyterian clergy ejected. — Dunkirk sold to the French. — Declaration of indulgence. — Decline of Clarendon's credit.

129

CHAP. II.

A new session. — Rupture with Holland. — A new session. — Victory of the English. — Rupture with France. — Rupture with Denmark. — New session. — Sea fight of four days. — Victory of the English. — Fire of London. — Alliance towards peace. — Disgrace at Chatham. — Peace of Breda. — Charles's fall, — and banishment. — State of France — Character of Louis XIV. — French invasion of the Low Countries. — Negotiations. — Triple league. — Treaty of Astola-Chapell. — Affairs of Scotland, — and of Ireland.

159

CHAP. III.

War with France — The Chal — Their Character. — Their customs, — Alliance with France. — A Parliament. — Liberty of conscience. — Duke of York's marriage. — Duke of York's marriage. — Declaration of indulgence. — Attack of the republicans. — War

C H A P. VI.

State of parties.——*State of the ministry.*——*Meal-tub plot.*——*Whig and Tory.*——*A new Parliament.*——*Violence of the Commons.*——*Exclusion-bill.*——*Arguments for and against the Exclusion.*——*Exclusion-bill rejected.*——*Trial of Stafford.*——*His execution.*——*Violence of the Commons.*——*Dissolution of the Parliament.*——*New Parliament at Oxford.*——*Fitzharris's case.*——*Parliament dissolved.*——*Victory of the Royalists.* 310

C H A P. VII.

State of affairs in Ireland.——*Shaftesbury acquitted.*——*Argyle's trial.*——*State of affairs in Scotland.*——*State of the ministry in England.*——*New nomination of sheriffs.*——*Quo warrantos.*——*Great power of the Crown.*——*A conspiracy.*——*Shaftesbury retires and dies.*——*Rye-house-plot.*——*Conspiracy discovered.*——*Execution of the conspirators.*——*Trial of lord Ruffel.*——*His Execution.*——*Trial of Algernon Sidney.*——*His execution.*——*State of the nation.*——*State of foreign affairs.*——*King's sickness and death,*——*and character.* 339

J A M E S II.

C H A P. I.

King's first transactions.——*A Parliament.*——*Argument for and against a revenue for life.*——*Oates convicted of perjury.*——*Monmouth's invasion.*——*His defeat,*——*and execution.*——*Cruelties of Kirke,*——*and of Jefferies.*——*State of affairs in Scotland.*——*Argyle's invasion,*——*defeat,*——*and execution.*——*A Parliament.*——*French persecutions.*——*The dispensing power.*——*State of Ireland.*——*Breach betwixt the King and the church.*——*Court of ecclesiastical commission.*——*Sentence against the bishop of London.*——*Suspension of the penal laws.*——*State of Ireland.*——*Embassy to Rome.*——*Attempt upon Magdalen College.*——*Imprisonment,*——*trial,*——*and acquittal of the bishops.*——*Birth of the Prince of Wales.*

C H A P. II.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange.—He forms a league against France,——refuses to concur with the King,——resolves to oppose the King,——is applied to by the English.——Coalition of parties.——Prince's preparations.——Offer of France to the King,——rejected.——supposed league with France.——General discontents.——The King retracts his measures.——Prince's declaration.——The Prince lands in England.——General commotion.——Desertion of the army,——and of Prince George,——and of the Princess Anne.——King's confirmation,——and flight.——General confusion.——King seized at Feversham.——Second evasion.——King's character.——Convention summoned.——Settlement of Scotland.——English convention meets.——Views of the parties.——Three conferences betwixt the Houses.——Commons prevail.——Settlement of the Crown.——Manners and sciences.

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G R E A T B R I T A I N.

T H E C O M M O N W E A L T H.

C H A P. I.

*State of England.—Of Scotland.—Of Ireland.—Levellers suppressed.
—Siege of Dublin raised.—Tredah stormed.—Covenanters.—
Montrose taken prisoner.—Executed.—Covenanters.—Battle of
Dunbar.—Of Worcester.—King's escape.—The Commonwealth.
—Dutch war.—Dissolution of the Parliament.*

THE confusion which overspread England after the murder of the King, proceeded as well from the spirit of reform and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the dissolution of all that authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, by which the nation had ever been accustomed to be governed. Every man had formed the model of a republic, and, however new or fantastical, he was eager of recommending it to his country, or even of imposing it by force upon them. Every man had formed a system of religion, which, being derived from no traditional authority, was equally arbitrary and being founded on supposed inspiration, not only every man's, but every man's reasoning, had no means, but force and terror, to be able to recommend itself to others. The Levellers insisted on an equal distribution of property

Chap. I.
1647.

and power, and disclaimed all dependance and subordination. The Millenarians or Fifth-Monarchy-men required, that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming on earth they suddenly expected. The Antinomians even insisted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine, were superior to the *beggary elements* of justice and humanity. A considerable party declaimed against tythes and a hireling priesthood, and were resolved that the magistrate should not support by power or revenue any ecclesiastical establishment. Another party inveighed against the law and its professors; and under pretence of rendering more simple the distribution of justice, were desirous of abolishing the whole system of English jurisprudence, which seemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even those among the republicans, who adopted not such extravagancies, were so intoxicated with their faintly character, that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges; and all professions, oaths, laws, and engagements had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them. The bands of society were every where loosened; and the irregular passions of men were encouraged by speculative principles, still more unsocial and irregular.

The Royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, being degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries, who had reduced them to subjection. The Presbyterians, whose credit had first supported the arms of the Parliament, were enraged to find, that, by the treachery or superior cunning of their associates, the fruits of all their successful labours were ravished from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealously attached themselves to the son of their unfortunate Monarch, whose memory they respected, and whose tragical death they deplored. The latter cast their eyes towards the same object; but they had still many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealousies to be allayed, 'ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of restoring that family, whom they had so grievously offended, and whose principles they regarded with such violent abhorrence.

The only solid support of the republican independant faction, which, tho' it formed so small a part of the nation, had violently usurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of about fifty thousand men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit, that rendered it extremely dangerous to the assembly, which had assumed the command over it. Accustomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every
frenzy

Chap. I. they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom, they acknowledged, they had entirely derived it.

THE Commonwealth found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leisure nor inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself, amidst his present distresses, with the prospect of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new Republic.

Of Scotland. AFTER the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity, however, against the independants, who had prevented the long wished for settlement of Presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Tho' invited by the English Parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to Monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their Covenant, they were obliged to defend. They considered besides, that as the property of the kingdom lay chiefly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to establish a Commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate, invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execution therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles the second; but upon condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men and faithful to that obligation." These unusual clauses, inserted in the very first acknowledgement of their Prince, sufficiently shewed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the English Commonwealth, having no pretext to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scotch, for the present, to take their own measures in settling their government.

Of Ireland. THE dominion, which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for subduing that country. In order to convey a just notion of Irish affairs, it will be necessary to look backwards some years, and to relate briefly these transactions, which had past during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late King agreed to that cessation of arms with the Popish rebels, which was become so requisite, as well for the security of the Irish Protest-

tants as for promoting his interests in England, the Parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favoring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly against the terms of the cessation. They even went so far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, because finished without their consent; and to this declaration the Scotch in Ulster, and the Earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. By their means, the war was still kept alive; but as the dangerous distractions in England hindered the Parliament from finding any considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland, Inchiquin entered into an accommodation with Ormond, whom the King had created Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. This latter nobleman, being a native of Ireland, and a person endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and for engaging the rebel Irish to support the cause of his royal master. There were many circumstances which strongly invited the Irish to embrace the King's party. The maxims of that Prince had always led him to give a reasonable indulgence to the Catholics thro'out all his dominions; and one principal ground of that enmity, which the Puritans professed against him, was this tacite toleration. The parliament, even when unprovoked, had commenced the Papists with the most rigid restraint, if not a total extirpation; and immediately after the commencement of the Irish rebellion, they put to fire the whole estates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that condition. The success, therefore, which the arms of the Parliament met with at Naueby, struck a just terror into the Irish; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the Ministers of Ormond.* They promised to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the King's authority in England, and were contented with stipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

ORMOND not doubting but a peace, so advantageous and even necessary to the Irish, would be strictly observed, advanced with a small body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert measures for common defence with his new allies. The Pope had sent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whose commission empowered him to direct the spiritual concerns of the Irish, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to assume the civil authority in the civil government. Foreseeing that a general submission to the Lord Lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conspired with Owen O'neal, who commanded the native Irish in Ulster, and who bore a great jealousy to Pres-

ton; the General chiefly trusted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, these two malcontents secretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in security, trusting to the pacification so lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with great celerity and conduct, and sheltered his small army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

THE nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their lawful sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all those who should adhere to a peace, so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the Catholic religion; and the deluded Irish, terrified with his spiritual menaces, ranged themselves every where on his side, and submitted to his authority. Without scruple, he carried on war against the Lord Lieutenant, and threatened with a siege the Protestant garrisons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate King was necessitated to take shelter in the Scotch army; and being there reduced to close confinement, and secluded from all commerce with his friends, despaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would be restored to him. He sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and accordingly the Lord Lieutenant, being reduced to the last extremity, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garrisons to Colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English Parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, was admitted to the King's presence, received a grateful acknowledgement for his past services, and during some time lived in tranquillity near London. But being banished, with the other Royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal master, and threaten him with a catastrophe still more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the Queen and the Prince of Wales.

IN Ireland, during these transactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the Catholics; and that Prelate, by his indiscretion and insolence soon made them repent of the power, with which they had intrusted him. Prudent men likewise were sensible of the total destruction, which was hanging over the nation from the English Parliament, and saw no resource nor safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the King. The Earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of very antient family, a person too of merit, who had ever preserved his loyalty, was sensible of the ruin which threatened his country-

men, and was resolved, if possible, to prove it. He secretly formed a combination among the Catholics; he entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the Protestants in Munster; he attacked the rangers, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the Lord Lieutenant to return and take possession of his government.

On his arrival in Ireland found the kingdom divided into many factions, among whom either open war or secret enmity prevailed. The authority of the English Parliament was established in Dublin, and the other towns, which the King had delivered into their hands. Onslow maintained his credit in Ulster; and having entered into a secret correspondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on schemes for his own personal safety than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their measures. The Scotch in the North, enraged, as well as their other countrymen, against the usurpation of the Sectarian army, professed their adherence to the King; but were still hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his Lieutenant. All these distracted councils and contrary humors checked the progress of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground against him. The English army, while employed in subduing the revolted Royalists, neglected the Parliament to subjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of the sovereign, totally neglected the supply of Ireland, and allowed Jones and the towns in Dublin to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. But the Parliament, having at last, with much difficulty, assembled an army of 12,000 men, stationed up on the English garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the garrison, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, Newry, and other forts were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege, and the advice of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young King entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

The English state being brought to some tolerable appearance of tranquillity began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the course of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of contention; and the Presbyterian endeavoured to obtain the lieutenantcy for Waller, the Independants for Lambert. After the execution of the King, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a command, where so much glory, he thought might be won, and so much authority acquired. In his absence, he took care to have his name proposed to the council of state; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote

Chap. I.
1649.

him into that important office: The former suspected, that the matter had not been proposed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter desired to remove him to a distance, and hoped, during his absence, to gain the ascendant over Fairfax, whom he had so long blinded by his hypocritical professions. Cromwel himself, when informed of his election, feigned surprize, and pretended at first to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his dissimulation, or, in his turn, feigning to be deceived, still continued, notwithstanding this disappointment, his friendship and connexions with Cromwel.

THE new Lieutenant immediately applied himself with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many disorders in England it behoved him previously to compose. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Tho' men, astonished with the successes of the army, remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of the highest discontent every where appeared. The English, long accustomed to a mild government, and unacquainted with dissimulation, could not conform their speech and countenance to the present necessity, or pretend attachment to a form of government, which they regarded with such violent abhorrence. It was requisite to change the magistracy of London, and degrade, as well as punish, the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of Monarchy could be published in the city. An engagement being framed to support the Commonwealth without King or House of Peers, the army were with some difficulty brought to subscribe it; but tho' it was imposed upon the rest of the nation under severe penalties, no less than the putting all refusers out of the protection of law; such obstinate reluctance was observed in the people, that even the imperious Parliament were obliged to desist from it. The spirit of Fanaticism, by which that assembly had at first been strongly supported, was now turned, in a great measure, against them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with Presbyterians, or disguised Royalists, and having been long the scene of news and politics, could by no penalties be restrained from declarations, unfavourable to the established government. Numberless were the extravagances, which broke out among the people. Everard, a disbanded soldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among Christians, led out his followers to take possession of the land; and being carried before the general, he refused to salute him; because he was but his fellow creature*. What seemed more dangerous: The army itself was infected with like humors†. Tho' the Levellers had for a
time

* Whitlock.

† The following instance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his History of Independency, part II. p. 132. About this time, there came six soldiers into the parish church of Walton upon Thames,

Chap. I.
1649.

still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

PETITIONS framed in the same spirit of opposition were presented to the parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious pamphlets, had formerly been treated with such severity by the Star Chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the Parliament, and he was thrown into prison, as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the Commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release; but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters, the Parliament were harrassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast, which the city gave to the Parliament and Council of State, it was esteemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them. Such perpetual terrors hang over tyranny and injustice!

THE laws of high-treason the Parliament judged it necessary to enlarge beyond those narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, tho' frustrated; crimes, which few civilized states ever punished with such severity. To affirm the present government to be an usurpation, to assert that the Parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour the subverting their authority or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason. The power of imprisonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the King, it was now found requisite to restore to the Council of State; and all the jails of England were filled with men whom the jealousies and fears of the ruling party had represented as dangerous*. The taxes continued by the new government, and which, being unusual, were esteemed heavy, increased the general ill will under which it labored. Besides the customs and excise, ninety thousand pounds a month were levied on land for the subsistence of the army. The sequestrations and compositions of the Royalists, the sale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, tho' they yielded immense sums, were not sufficient to supply the vast expences, and, as was suspected, the great depredation, of the Parliament and of their creatures.

AMONGST all these difficulties and disturbances, the steady mind of Cromwel, without confusion or embarrassment, still pursued its purpose. While he was collecting an army of twelve thousand men in the west of England, he sent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thousand horse and foot,

in

* History of Independency, part II.

in order to strengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himself against the main body of Ormond, who lay at Finglask and began to threaten Dublin. Cromwell, with a separate body, having taken Theobald and Dardilly, joined O'Connell, who served under O'Neal, and to young Coote who commanded the garrison of the city fort. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with which, for some time, he remained united, Ormond passed the river Liffey, and pitched his batteries some two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the siege of the city. In order to cut off all farther supply from Jones, he had begun to besiege the old fort, which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhausted with the fatigue for some days, he had retired to rest, after having ordered to lay down under arms. He was suddenly awaked with the noise of things; and when he rose from his bed, saw every thing already in tumult and confusion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had sallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived, and attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, pursued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. These he soon threw into disorder; put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the Lord-Lieutenant; chased them off the field, seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing three thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners.

This loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. That numerous army, which, with the assistance and discipline, the Lieutenant had been collecting for some time, was dispersed in a moment. Cromwell soon after arrived in Dublin, where he was met with all the might of fleets and reinforcements. The Lord-Lieutenant fled to Drogheda. The town was well fortified, and Ormond had thrown in it a considerable number of disciplined men, under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of great merit. He proposed that Trillick, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would be a proper attempt by Cromwell, and he was willing to employ the enemy's assistance, if he could, to be himself should repair his broken forces. But Cromwell knew the importance of dispatch. Having made a breach, he ordered his general assault. The place was taken with great loss, he renewed the attack, and had the advantage of the second on Blinnet. All opposition was overthrown, and the rebels were obliged to surrender. The town was taken sword in hand, and Lord Aston, who had been a considerable time in the castle, was a prisoner, who was afterwards put to death by the soldiers, satisfied with blood, without any trial. The remainder of the army fled to the coast. One person alone, a young gentleman, who was afterwards distinguished by the title of the Earl of Drogheda, had dedicated himself to the service of the

Chap. I.
1641.

CROMWEL pretended by this severe execution to retaliate the cruelty of the Irish massacre: But he well knew, that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garrison after a slight defence offered to capitulate; but before they obtained a cessation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the English army rushed in upon them. The same severity was exercised as at Tredah.

October.

EVERY town, before which Cromwel presented himself, now opened its gates without resistance. Ros, tho' strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by lord Taffe. Having taken Estlinage; Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carric. Owen Oneale submitted at discretion, and soon afterwards died. The English had no difficulties to encounter but what arose from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept in among the soldiers, who perished in great numbers. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had so far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to subsist in the enemies country, or retreat to his own garrisons. But while he was in these straits, Corke, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster deserted to him, and opening their gates resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

November.

1650.

THIS desertion of the English put an end entirely to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminished by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah and Wexford. The Irish, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a protestant governor, who was so unsuccessful in all his enterprises. The clergy renewed their excommunications against him and his adherents, and added the terrors of superstition to those arising from a victorious enemy. Cromwel having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the spring. After a siege, he made himself master of Kilkenny, the only place where he met with any vigorous resistance. The whole frame of the Irish union being in a manner dissolved, Ormond, soon after, left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men passed into foreign service; and Cromwel, pleased to free the island from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

When Cromwel proceeded with such a triumphant fleet in Ireland, with in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued that once so powerful a kingdom, he returned home with a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague, when Sir Ralph Douglas brought him intelligence that the Scotch had already declared for the Parliament. At the same time, Douglas informed him of the kind reception which was given to the proclamation, and stamped ex-*trême* the King, with the hope that the terms his being recognized for a King in one of his Kingdoms. Charles so considered that those who pretended to acknowledge his title, were at that very time in actual rebellion against his family, and would be sure to impart very little authority into his hands, and far less would afford him personal safety and security. As the prospect of affairs in Ireland was at that time very promising, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more durable submission and obedience.

Meanwhile he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people of the United Provinces were much attached to his interest. Besides the quarrel with the family of Orange, which was universally beloved by the people, all men were filled with compassion for his helpless condition, and expressed the greatest abhorrence against the murder of his father, a deed to which neither they thought, but the utmost rage of fanaticism and faction could have impelled the Parliament. But that the public in general bore a great favour to the King, the States were usually still opposite. They dreaded the Parliament, so formidable by their power, and so successful in all their enterprises. They apprehended the mild presbyterian religion from men of such violent and haughty disposition. As to the murder of Don Illius, they found it still more requisite to satisfy the English Commonwealth by removing the King at a distance from them.

Don Illius, tho' a native of Holland, had lived long in the Italian and being employed as assistant to the high court of justice, which he commanded the King, he had risen to great credit and favour with the ruling party. They sent him secretly into Holland; but no sooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was surrounded by some royalists, chiefly retainers to Montrose. They rallied him to their camp, where he was sitting with some company, and g'd him in on the table of parliament, as the first victim to their mad and bloody religion, very liberally and plentifully rewarded; and tho' orders were issued by the parliament that no such execution should be executed with such show and pomp, yet in the execution they had a full opportunity to make their escape.

Charles, having passed some time at Paris, where no assistance was to be had, and even few civilities were paid him, he returned to the Hague, where his

Chap. I.
1650.

thority was still acknowledged. Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of estates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions, to which he must necessarily submit before he could be admitted to the exercise of his authority. Conditions more severe, were never imposed by subjects upon their sovereign; but as the affairs of Ireland began extremely to decline, and the King found it no longer safe to venture himself in that island, he gave a civil answer to Winram, and desired commissioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to these conditions.

Covenanters.

THE earls of Cassilis and Lothian, the lord Burley, the laird of Liberton and other commissioners arrived at Breda; but without any power of treating: the King must submit without reserve to the terms imposed upon him. The terms were, That he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons, that is, all those, who either under Hamilton or Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject, who had served against the Parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of Parliament, by which Presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith and catechism were enjoined; and that in civil affairs he should govern himself entirely according to the direction of Parliament, and in ecclesiastical according to that of the assembly. These proposals, the commissioners, after passing some time in sermons and prayers, in order to express the more determined resolution, very solemnly delivered to the King.

THE King's friends were extremely divided with regard to the part, which he should act in this critical conjuncture. Most of his English counsellors dissuaded him from accepting conditions, so disadvantageous and dishonourable. They said, that the men, who now governed Scotland, were the most furious and bigotted of that party, which, notwithstanding his gentle government, had first excited a rebellion against the late King; after the most unlimited concessions, had renewed their rebellion, and stopt the progress of his victories; and after he had entrusted his person with them in his uttermost distress, had basely sold him, together with their own honour, to his barbarous enemies: That they had as yet shown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms, which they now proposed, displayed the same antimonarchical principles, and the same jealousy of their Sovereign, by which they had ever been actuated: That nothing could be more dishonourable, than that the King, in his first enterprize, should sacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, those principles, for which his father had died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated: That by this hypocrisy he might lose the Royalists, who alone were

were sincerely attached to him; but never united with the prebiterians, who were avowed enemies of his cause, and who had been long engaged in a civil war, and had not only refused to assist him, but had even engaged their intendments to march him to the throne, so that in a year could not even be engaged to make such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the course of Hamilton's engagement, how unprofitable it was to to procure an surprize. That on the first estate, which they should receive, Angle and the parties should lay hold on the quietest expedient for removing themselves to the King's party, and stand well betwixt the King, as they had done his father, in such a sort of his service: And that however desperate the royal cause, no maxims of prudence could justify him in favouring his honour for no other purchase than to endanger his life or liberty.

That the Earl of Lanrick, now Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were the courtiers of the King, and being desirous of returning home, he returning the opinion of the young Duke of Buckingham, and very earnestly pressed him to accept the conditions required of him. It was understood, that neither would mercifully the King's enemies than to see him fall into the snare of a condition, and by a scrupulous anxiety have the possession of his dominions to the one who desired but a pretext for excluding him: That Angle, not being fit to oppose the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his former King, had embraced this excellent, by which he hoped to make Charles declare himself King in a new Kingdom, which was offered him: That it was not to be doubted but the national spirit, inflamed by Hamilton and his party, would not suffer the King's favour of their Prince after he had intrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much relax the rigor of those conditions, now lay upon him: That what ever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the King's friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power, so much superior: That however a steady, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced and irrevocable engagements of the late King, no one would throw any blame on a young Prince for complying with conditions, which necessarily had extorted from him: That even the rigor of those principles, possibly by hesitation, and with some it had excited his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his interest, nor could anything be more serviceable to the royal cause than to have all parties soon to hope for more equal and moderate manners of government: And that where affairs were reduced to a dependence on conditions, it was not to be regarded, and the King's interest by reason in showing there

Chap. I.
131

Chap. 1.
1750.

early symptoms of courage and activity than in determining strictly among theological controversies, with which, it might be supposed, he was, as yet, very little acquainted.

THESE arguments, seconded by the advice of the Queen and the Prince of Orange, the King's brother in law, who both of them esteemed it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom, merely from regard to episcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Tho' in this instance the King saw more evidently the furious spirit, by which the Scotch were actuated, he had now no farther resource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

MONTROSE, having laid down his arms at the command of the late King, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural disposition, lived for some time inactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous Cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memoirs as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was extremely caressed by the Emperor, received the rank of Marechal, and proposed to levy a regiment for the Imperial service. While employed for that purpose in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the King; and at the same time received from his young master a renewal of his commission of Captain General in Scotland*. His ardent and daring spirit needed but this authority to put him in action. In Holland and the north of Germany he gathered followers, whom his great reputation allured to him. The King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein sent him some small supplies of money: The Queen of Sweden furnished him with arms: The Prince of Orange with ships: And Montrose, hastening his enterprize, lest the King's agreement with the Scotch should make him revoke his commission, set out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations, which he could make against a kingdom, settled in domestic peace, supported by a disciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprize, and prepared against him. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophesy that *to him and him alone it was reserved to restore the King's authority in all his dominions*; he lent a willing ear to suggestions, which, however ill grounded or improbable, were so conformable to his own magnanimous disposition.

SEVERAL

* Burnet, Clarendon.

SEVERAL of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, tho' an unwariike people, he armed and carried over with him to Caithness; hoping, that the general affection to the King's service and the fame of his former exploits, would make the parliamentiers flock to his standard. But all men were now harrass'd and fatigued with wars and disorders: Many of those, who formerly adhered to him, had been severely punished by the covenanters: And no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was drawn together against him. But however weak Montrose's army, the memory of past events struck a great terror into the committee of estates. They immediately ordered Leslie and Holborne to march against him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was sent before with a body of cavalry to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself, having put on the dress of a peasant, was, by a friend, whom he trusted, perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies.

ALL the insolence, which success can produce in ungenerous minds, was exercised by the covenanters against Montrose, whom they so much hated and so much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther increased their indignities toward a person whom they regarded as execrable on account of the excommunication, which had been pronounced against him. Leslie led him about for several days in the same low habit, under which he had disguised himself. The vulgar, wherever he passed, were inflamed, tho' sometimes with reluctance, to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumstance of elaborate rage and insult was put in practice by order of the Parliament. At the eastern gate of the city, he was met by the magistrate, and put into a new cart, purposely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his head and shoulders, and followed thro' holes made in the cart. When he had gone, the hangman took off the hat of the noble prisoner, and he was drawn on the cart in a shabby and wretched manner; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with the Marquis, walking two and two before them.

The populace, more generous and humane, who, they say, had not yet been of nature in this great man, taking pity on his cruel and tedious confinement, the night after, a few years before, had on their knees beseech'd the parliament, that they would release him, and let him walk at large with a halberd for a staff. The parliament, next Sunday, came down against their petition, and rebel nature, as they are expressed by our poets, and the people who had a private understanding with the king, were very obliging and oblig'd.

Chap. I.
1650.

MONTROSE himself, tho' passionately fond of true glory, knew to despise unmerited ignominy, and wherever he was carried, received with manly scorn and indifference the insults of his enemies: Their ignoble behaviour he considered as sufficient vengeance for all their injuries. In the road, he had passed by the earl of Southesk's house, his father in law, and was allowed to see his children, who lived there: Not even the tenderness of this last adieu could disturb the even tenor of his heroic mind, or extort a complaint against the injustice of men or the cruelty of fortune.

WHEN he was carried before the Parliament, which was then sitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had subscribed; his rebellion against God, the King, and the Kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose in his answer maintained the same superiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the conscience of a good cause, he was justly entitled. He told the Parliament, that since the King, as he was informed, had so far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect, which, while they stood in open defiance to their sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged with infinite shame and remorse the errors of his early conduct, when their plausible pretences had seduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms against his Prince and Country. That his following services, he hoped, had sufficiently testified his repentance, and his death would now atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could justly reproach himself. That in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard. That to venture his life for his sovereign was the least part of his merit: He had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the sacred commands of the King; and had resigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was still enabled to dispute with them. That no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers. That he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject, in whose death the King's commission must be at once so highly injured and affronted. That as to himself they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities: The justice of his cause, he knew,

would

would enoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to see the authority of his Prince, with which he was inveiled, treated with so much ignominy. And that he now joyfully followed, by a late unjust sentence, his late sovereign; and should be happy, in his future destiny, he could follow him to the same blissful mansions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompence.

MORRISSE'S sentence was next pronounced against him. "That he, James Graham" for this was the only name they vouchsafed him "should next day be carried to Edinburgh Cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty foot high, for the space of three hours: Then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison: His legs and arms be stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom: His body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication."

The clergy, hoping, that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flock'd about him, and bled over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and assured him, that the judgment, which he was so soon to suffer, would prove but an easy prologue to that which he must undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: But he was too well acquainted with those forms of imprecation, which they call'd prayers. "Lord vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible sinner; this wicked, perfidious, traitorous, and profane person, who refuseth to be taken to the voice of thy church." Such were the petitions, which he expected they would, according to custom, offer up for him. He told them, that they were a miserable deluded and deluding people; and would shortly bring their country under the most insupportable servitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For my part," added he, "I am much pleas'd to see my head affixed to the place, where it is sentenced to stand, than to have my picture hang in the King's bed-chamber. So far from being sorry, that my legs and arms are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom; I wish I had bin his country to be dispersed thro' all the cities of Christendom, there to remain as tokens in favour of the cause, for which I fall." This sentiment, that vanquish'd, while in prison, he threw into verse. The poem remains; a signal monument of his noble spirit, and no less a denotation of his practical piety.

Now was he death, amidst the murmur of his cheer'd soldiers, that stood on the people's side; a man of the most illustrious birth and great talents; a man of eminent abilities, for his adherence to the laws of his country, and the rights of his sovereign; the

Chap. I.
1670.

ignominious death destined to the meanest malefactor. Every attempt, which the insolence of the governing party had made to subdue his gallant spirit, had hitherto proved fruitless: They made yet one effort more, in this last and melancholy scene, when all enmity, arising from motives merely human, is commonly softened and disarmed. The executioner brought that book, which had been published in elegant Latin of his truly heroic actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montrose smiled at this new instance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and said, that he bore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the garter. Having asked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

Executed.

Thus perished in the thirty eighth year of his age, the gallant marquis of Montrose; the man whose military genius, both by valour and conduct, had shone forth beyond any, which, during these civil disorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts too, in his youth, he had successfully cultivated; and whatever was sublime, elegant, or noble touched his great soul. Nor was he insensible to the pleasures either of society or of love. Something, however, of the *vast* and *unbounded* characterized his whole actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of superiority and even of equality, to pay such unlimited submission to the will of his sovereign.

THE vengeance of the covenanters was not satisfied with Montrose's execution. Urry, whose inconstancy now led him to take part with the King, suffered about the same time: Spotswood of Daerrie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and colonel Sibbald, all of them men of birth and character, underwent a like fate. These were taken prisoners with Montrose. The Marquis of Huntley, about a year before, had fallen a victim to the severity of the covenanters.

THE past scene displays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: The sequel will sufficiently discover their absurdities. The corruptions of the best things produce the worst; and no wonder that the abuses of religion should of all others be the most odious and ridiculous. In order to convey a just notion of the genius of age, we are obliged sometimes in our narration to make use of the same cant and expression, which was then so prevalent.

THE King, in consequence of his agreement with the Scotch commissioners, set sail for Scotland; and being escorted by seven Dutch ships of war, who were sent to guard the herring fishery, he arrived in the firth of Cromarty. Before he was

13d of June.

suffered

Chap. I.
1650.

ference to the gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn upon his cause, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, the divine providence would crown his arms with victory.

Still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the King's sincerity. The facility, which he discovered in making compliances, caused them to suspect that he regarded all his concessions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he must of necessity submit. They had another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved, that he should pass thro' a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They sent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the King had agreed, that he would submit to this indignity. The various transgressions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and farther declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restitution of his rights, for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ*. In short, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were resolved to trample on it and vilify it, by every instance of contumely, which their present influence enabled them to impose upon their unhappy prince.

CHARLES in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure. He was not called to assist at any councils. His choice was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts, which he made to unite the opposite parties, increased the suspicion, which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he was not entirely their own. Argyle, who by subtilities and compliances, partly led and partly was governed by this wild faction, still turned a deaf ear to all advances, which the King made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever was disagreeable to the clergy failed not to have one of these epithets affixed to him. The fanaticism, which prevailed, being so full of sour and angry principles, and so overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: These were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates thro' all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwic, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished with fire†; and it became a science every where

* Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 170.

† Whittlecke, p. 434, 408.

where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trial and symptoms*.

Chap. I.
1730.

The advance of the English army under Cromwel was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the Scotch parties. The clergy were still resolved to exclude all but their most zealous adherents. As soon as the English Parliament found that the treaty between the King and the Scotch would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they saw, nearly in the end, prove inevitable. Cromwel having broke the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Heron, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with great vigilance and industry persevered in the work of subduing and expelling the natives.

It was expected, that Fairfax, who still retained the name of General, would continue to act against Scotland, and appear at the head of the armies; a situation for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax tho' he had allowed the army to make use of his name in murdering their Sovereign and offering violence to the Parliament, had entertained unfirm and scrupulous against invading the Scotch, whom he considered as zealous Presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred bands of the covenant. He was farther disgusted at the extremities into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his resolution by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herself much governed by the presbyterian clergy. A committee of Parliament was sent to reason with him; and Cromwel was one of the number. In vain did they urge, that the Scotch had first broke the covenant by their invasion of England under Hamilton; and that they would surely renew their hostile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous measures of the Commonwealth. Cromwel, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax, in every thing, which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to solicit him with the utmost earnestness, and he went so far as to shed tears of grief and vexation on this occasion. No one can suspect any ambition in the man, who laboured so resolutely to get himself out of that high office, which, he knew, he himself was alone entitled to fill. The same warmth of temper, which made Cromwel a most frantic enthusiast, rendered him the most dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as well as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful success. By the constant and vigorous pursuit of his zeal, he engaged every one to cooperate with him in his measures; and entering easily and affectionately into every part, which he was employed

* WILDING, p. 36, 41.

Chap. I.
1650.

to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempest of passion, all his crooked schemes and profound artifices.

FAIRFAX having resigned his commission, it was bestowed on Cromwel, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a Commonwealth, which stood entirely by arms, was of the utmost importance; and was the chief step, which this ambitious politician had yet made towards sovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16000 men.

THE command of the Scotch army was given to Lesley, a good officer, who formed a very proper plan for defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians every thing which could serve to support the English army. Cromwel advanced to the Scotch camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to bring Lesley to a battle: The prudent Scotchman knew, that, tho' superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline and experience to the English; and he kept himself carefully within his entrenchments. By skirmishes and small rencounters he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers; and he was successful in these enterprizes. His army encreased daily both in numbers and courage. The King came to the camp; and having exerted himself in an action, gained extremely on the affections of the soldiery, who were more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit and vivacity than under a committee of talking gowmen. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered the King immediately to leave the camp. They also purged it carefully of about 4000 *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose zeal had led them to attend the King, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation*. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of faints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only against their prudent General, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance†; and they plainly told him, that, if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God‡. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the General from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking.

CROMWEL found himself in a very bad situation. He had no provisions but what he received by sea. He had not had the precaution to bring these in sufficient quantities; and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar.
Lesley

* Sir Ed. Walker, p. 165.

† Id. p. 168.

‡ Whitlocke, p. 442.

The first of these is the fact that the Commonwealth is not a single entity, but a collection of states and territories. Each state and territory has its own laws, customs, and traditions, and they all contribute to the overall character of the Commonwealth. This diversity is one of its strengths, but it also presents challenges in terms of governance and policy-making.

Secondly, the Commonwealth is a young nation, having gained its independence in 1962. This means that it has a long way to go in terms of building a strong and stable political system. The young age of the nation is also a source of hope, as it has the potential to learn from the mistakes of older nations and to build a better future for itself.

Thirdly, the Commonwealth is a developing nation. It has a large and growing population, and it is still in the process of industrialization and modernization. This means that it faces many challenges in terms of economic development, social progress, and environmental protection. However, it also has many opportunities, as it has a young and energetic workforce, and it is rich in natural resources.

Finally, the Commonwealth is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, a group of 54 independent member states. This membership provides the Commonwealth with a platform for international cooperation and dialogue. It also allows the Commonwealth to voice its concerns and interests on the world stage.

In conclusion, the Commonwealth is a young, diverse, and developing nation. It faces many challenges, but it also has many opportunities. It is up to the people of the Commonwealth to build a strong and stable political system, to promote economic development and social progress, and to work for a better future for all.

Chap. I.
1650.

CROMWEL having been so successful in the war of the sword, took up the pen against the Scotch ecclesiastics. He wrote them some polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewise to retort on them their favorite argument of providence, and asked them whether the Lord had not declared against them. But the ministers thought, that the same events, which to their enemies were judgements, to them were but trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face, for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwel insisted, that the appeal had been made to God in the most express and solemn manner, and that in the fields of Dunbar an irrevocable decision had been awarded in favour of the English army*.

1651.

THE defeat of the Scotch was regarded by the King as a very fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both sides, were almost equally his enemies; and the vanquished were now obliged to give him some more authority, and apply to him for support. The Parliament were summoned to meet at St. Johnstone. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the Engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions. Some Malignants also crept in under various pretexts. The intended humiliation or penance of the King was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which with great pomp and magnificence was performed at Scone. But amidst all this appearance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid Covenanters; and tho' treated with civility and courtesy by Argyle, a man of parts and address, he was little better than a prisoner, and was still exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the ecclesiastics.

1st of January.

THIS young prince was in a situation, which very ill suited his temper and disposition. All those good qualities which he possessed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety,

* This is the best of Cromwel's wretched compositions that remain, and we shall here extract a passage out of it. "You say you have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so to? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in this mighty and strange appearance of his, but can slightly call it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited on God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fasting, tears, expectations and solemn appeal, call those mere events? The Lord pity you. Surely we have receiv'd but been a merciful and a gracious deliverance to us.

"I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers that you may find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Christ yearn after the godly in Scotland."

Churche, Vol. I. p. 158.

politeness, his gentlemanly, disengaged behavior, were here so many vices; and his love of ease, liberty, and pleasure was regarded as the highest enormity. The annual, the practice of courtly dissimulation, the sanctified style was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that insidious grimace, which the Covenanters required as the intalible mask of conversion. The dullest of the English was the only English courtier allowed to attend them; and his ridiculous talent of ridicule, he had rendered himself extremely useful to his master. While so many objects of derision surrounded them, it was almost altogether interrible to the temptation, and wholly to suppress the laugh. Of course to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons, they began to evolve symptoms of weariness or contempt. The clergy never could make the King sufficiently regenerated: And by continued exhortations, remonstrances, and reprimands, they still endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty.

The King's passion for the fair could not altogether be restrained. He had once been observed using some familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him for a behavior so unbecoming a crowned monarch. The spokesman of the committee, one Douglass, began with a severe address, informed the King that great scandal had been given to the gospel, enlarged on the heinous nature of sin, and concluded with exhorting his Majesty, whenever he was disposed to amuse himself, to be more careful, for the future, in shutting his windows. This delicacy, so unusual to the place and to the character of the man, was remarked by the King; and he never forgot the obligation.

The King, shocked with all the indignities, and perhaps, still more tired with all the formalities, which he underwent, made an attempt to regain his liberty. Council Mordaunt, at the head of some Royalists, being appointed by the Covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting some opportunity of serving his master. The King resolved to join them. He secretly made a detachment of his army towards the Highlands. Council Montgomery, with a troop of cavalry, was sent in pursuit of him. He overtook the King, and persuaded him to return. The Royalists, being too weak to support him, Charles was the more easily brought to comply. The incident produced many advantages to the army and navy of the King; the Covenanters being afraid to drive the King to the Highlands, for fear of being defeated. An army would have been sent to pursue him, and that army would have been defeated, and the King would have been able to return to London. The King's army was now in a state of great strength, and he was able to return to London. The King's army was now in a state of great strength, and he was able to return to London.

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counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger, which threatened their country, were resolved not to unite their cause with that of an army, which admitted any Engagers or Malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themselves the *Protectors*; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally against the King and Cromwel. The other party were denominated *Resolutioners*; and the distinction continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

CHARLES encamped at the Torwood; and his generals resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After losing much time, the English general sent Lambert over the firth into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the provisions of the Scotch army. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scotch, and with great slaughter put them to rout. Cromwel also passed over with his whole army, and lying at the back of the King, made it impossible for him to keep his post any longer.

CHARLES, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution worthy a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected, that all his friends and all those discontented with the present government would flock to his standard. He persuaded the generals to enter into the same views; and with one consent the army, to the number of 15,000 men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the south.

CROMWELL was surprized at the movements of the Scotch army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had exposed his friends to the most imminent danger, and saw the King with a large army marching into England, where his presence, from the general hatred, which prevailed against the Parliament, was capable of operating some great revolution. But if this conduct was an oversight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He dispatched letters to the Parliament, exhorting them not to be terrified at the approach of the Scotch: He sent orders every where for assembling forces, to oppose the King: He ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and hinder their march: And he himself, leaving Monk with 7000 Men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the King with all the expedition possible.

CHARLES found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scotch, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great numbers. The English presbyterians, having no warning given them of the King's

Chap. I.
1651. his hearing their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the whole neighbourhood with great veneration.

CHARLES WAS in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and party zeal interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indifference of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighborhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous Royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The King's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's shoes not made for him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attended by the five Penderells, who had been so faithful to him. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ship, in which he might transport himself. He had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a pass (for during those times of confusion this precaution was requisite) for his sister Jane Lane and a servant, to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending her relation. The King rode before the lady, and personated the servant: Wilmot, carrying a hawk on his hand, passed for a stranger, who had accidentally joined them.

WHEN they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended, that she had brought along as her servant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son, who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Tho' Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, soon knew him; and throwing himself on his knees, prayed for his Majesty's life and preservation. The King was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ship, it was found, would, for a month, set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain; and the King was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He entrusted himself to colonel Windham of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family. The natural effect of the long civil wars and of the furious rage, to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thorowly known, and even the courage and fidelity of most men, by the variety of incidents, had been put to trial. The Royalists too had, many of them, been obliged to contrive concealments in their houses for themselves, their friends, or most valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been often practised. All these circumstances proved favourable

After one and forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. Problems of many men and women had at different times been privy to his escape*.

This insidious violence against Cromwell has been called his *evening meal*. It did not, however, hinder him from having fought in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Lambert; but was dissuaded by his friends from exercising his sole or regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook submission to the empty name of a Regent, which stood chiefly by his influence and was supported only by violence. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hands the reins of government is uncertain. We are only assured, that he now discovered to his intimate friends, their advising views; and even expressed a desire of wearing the rank of King, which he had contributed, with such firmness, to break and destroy.

Their late popularity and credit, acquired by the Republicans, farther stimulated the ambition of this enterprising politician. These men had not that large though not comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators: Selfish aims and bigotry chiefly engrossed their attention. They carried their rigid authority so far as to enact laws, declaring perjury, after the first trial, to be felony, without benefit of clergy †. They made small progress in that important work, which they professed to have so much at heart, the settling a new model of representation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend, that they intended to establish themselves as a perpetual legislature, and to confine the whole power to 60 or 70 persons, who called themselves the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to bestow new liberties upon the nation, they found themselves obliged to change even the most valuable of those, which thro' time heretofore, had been transmitted from their ancestors. Not daring to entrust the trial of treason to juries, who, being chosen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the Commonwealth, and would have favored their verdict upon the ancient laws, they eluded that noble institution, by which the government of this island has ever been so much distinguished. They had seen evidently in the trial of Edburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the most virtuous, but the most upright and courageous of human kind, was tried for a confession of the new statute of treasons: But tho' he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted, to the infinite joy of the people. Westminster Hall, nay the whole city, rung with shout and acclamation. Never did any established power receive so strong a demonstration of hatred, and invalidity; and from no other milita-

tion,

* Hume's *Character*, p. 111.

Whitlock, p. 325.

Forster, p. 121.

men, besides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

CHAP. I.
1651.

THAT they might not for the future be exposed to affronts, which so much lessened their authority, the Parliament erected a high court of justice, who were to receive indictments from the council of state. This court was composed entirely of men, devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to sacrifice every thing to their own safety or ambition. Colonel and his Andrews, and colonel Walter Slingsby were tried by this court for very badness, and condemned to death. They were Royalists, and refused to plead before this jurisdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other presbyterians, having entered into a plot against the Republic, were also tried and executed. The earl of Derby, and Timotay Fetherstone, Bemboe, being taken prisoners after the battle of Worcester, were put to death by sentence of a court martial: A method of proceeding declared unlawful by that very petition of right, for which that same parliament had so strenuously contended, and which, after great efforts, they had extorted from the King.

EXECUTING their principles of toleration, the maxims, by which the Republicans regulated ecclesiastical affairs, no more prognosticated any durable settlement, than those by which they conducted their civil concerns. The presbyterial council of congregations, classes, and assemblies was not allowed to be finished: It was not even the intention of many leaders in the Parliament to admit of no established church, and to leave every one, without any guidance or the magistrature, to embrace whatever sect and to support whatever clergy were most agreeable to him. It was not perceived, that by this policy the enthusiastic spirit must of necessity, from a concurrence of the emulation and interflaming views of the ecclesiastics, be raised to such a height as to elude all the rules of civil and moral duty.

The Parliament went so far as to make some apprehensions in consequence to their independant model. About the middle of Wales being divided into counties, six in each county, and chiefly by a natural division, but chiefly by the public spirit, derived from place to place, and carried as a general principle, except a few of the gaps, &c. They were called them in a more precise manner, by the name of counties, which denoted an hereditary jurisdiction, and a more independent power. And in this particular, as in the other, they were not far from the spirit of the republicans.

The Republicans, who had been so long in the possession of the government, which they supported as a sacred trust, were not so ready to relinquish it, as they were to give up the principles of their religion.

Chap. I.
1651.

vigour than for the slow and deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, been so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as at this time it appeared in the hands of the Commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one, in implicate subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views, among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impositions, tho' much superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality very moderate, and what a nation, so opulent, could easily bear. The military genius of the people, by the civil contests, had been roused from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break thro' their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands, which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. And while so great power was lodged in such active hands, no wonder the Republic was successful in all its enterprises.

BLAKE, a man of heroic courage and a generous disposition, the same person, who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the King, was made an admiral; and tho' he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than in any former period it had ever attained. A fleet was committed to him, and he received orders to pursue Prince Rupert, to whom the King had given the command of that squadron, which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued, and chased him into the Tagus, where he intended to attack that Prince. But the King of Portugal, moved by the favour, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided Rupert in making his escape. To be revenged of this partiality, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, and threatened still farther vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his new acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest, in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions to the haughty Republic, and was at last admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, made sail towards the West-Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there ship wrecked in a hurricane. Every where this squadron subsisted by privateering, sometimes on

English,

Clap. I.
1651.

capacity, even for the strict execution of justice in that unlimited command, which he possessed in Ireland. He was observed to be inflexible in all his purposes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a sincere and passionate love for liberty, and never could have been induced, by any motive, to submit to the smallest appearance of regal government. Cromwel appeared to be much affected by his death; and the Republicans, who reposed great confidence in him, were inconsolable. To show their regard for his merit and services, they bestowed an estate of two thousand pounds a year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Tho' the established government was but the mere shadow of a Commonwealth, yet was it beginning by proper arts to encourage that public spirit, which no other species of civil polity is ever able fully to inspire.

THE command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the island was entrusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained an easy victory. That unhappy people, disgusted with the King on account of those violent declarations against them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scotch, applied to the King of Spain, to the duke of Lorraine; and found assistance no where. Clanricarde, unable any longer to resist the prevailing power, made submissions to the Parliament, and retired into England, where he soon after died. He was a steady catholic; but a man much respected by all parties.

THE successes, which attended Monk in Scotland, were no less decisive. That able general laid siege to Stirling castle; and tho' it was well provided for defence, it was soon surrendered to him. He there became master of all the records of the kingdom; and he sent them to England. The earl of Leven, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert means for raising a new army, were suddenly set upon by colonel Alured, and most of them taken prisoners. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scotch, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprize, met with the same fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, supplied with a good garrison under Lumisdon, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate and money of the kingdom, which had been sent thither as to a place of safety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach gave a general assault. He carried the town; and following the example and instructions of Cromwel, put the whole inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, and other towns and forts, of their own accord, yielded to the enemy. Argyle made his submissions to the English Commonwealth; and excepting a few Royalists, who remained some time in the mountains,

Chap. I
1672

except by their good offices, betwixt the contending parties. When William, who had married an English Princess, surrendred to his father's commands and authority, the States, both before and after the execution of the late King, were accused of taking steps more favourable to the royal cause, and of betraying a great alienation from the Parliament. It was long before the envoy of the English Commonwealth could obtain an audience of the States General. The murderers of Donaus were not pursued with such vigour as the Parliament expected. And much regard had been payed the King, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public and by men of all ranks, in the United Provinces.

AFTER the death of William, Prince of Orange[†], which was attended with the depression of his party and the triumph of the Republicans, the Parliament thought, that the time was now come of cementing a closer confederacy with the United Provinces. Sir John, lord chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a species of coalition betwixt the two Republics, which would have rendered their interests totally inseparable; but fearing that so extraordinary a project would not be relished, he contented himself with dropping some hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propose a strict defensive alliance betwixt England and the States, such as has now, for near seventy years, taken place between these friendly powers*. But the States, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government, whose measures were so obnoxious and whose situation seemed so precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty Sir John, disgusted with this refusal, as well as enraged at many affronts, which with impunity had been offered him, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two Republics.

THE movements of great states are often directed by as slender springs as those of individuals. Tho' war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might seem dangerous to the yet unsettled commonwealth, there were several motives, which at this time engaged the English Parliament into hostile measures. Many of the members thought, that a foreign war would serve as a pretext for continuing the same Parliament, and delaying the new model of a representative, with which the nation had so long been flattered. Others hoped, that the war would furnish a reason for maintaining, some time longer, that numerous mercenary army, which was so much complained

* See Chap. 17.

† In October 1702.

Chap. I.
1652.

TROMP, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action, which ensued betwixt these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine; since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a signal to the Dutch admiral to strike, Tromp, instead of complying, fired a broad-side upon him. Tromp asserted, that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral, nevertheless, began hostilities. It is certain, that the admiralty of Holland, who are distinct from the council of state, had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion with regard to that vain, but much contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new Commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect, which they had ever payed the English flag, as a deference due only to the Monarchy. This circumstance forms a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, were desirous of a war with England.

BLAKE, tho' his Squadron consisted only of fifteen vessels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with great bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of State sent guards to protect them.

WHEN the States heard of this action, of which the fatal consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. They immediately dispatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the Parliament the narrative which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found upon enquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they so much disapproved. The imperious Parliament would hearken

to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated with the multiplicity of victories which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought, that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they seized the opportunity, which they sought, of making war upon the States. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or enquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages, which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

BLAKE sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring-busht, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them. Blake took shelter in the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was dispersed and received great damage.

SIR GEORGE AYSCOE, near Plymouth, tho' he commanded only forty ships according to the English accounts, engaged the famous de Ruyter, who had under him fifty ships of war, with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ships were indeed of inferior force to the English. De Ruyter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greatest general, defended himself so well, that Ayscove gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greatest heat of the combat. De Ruyter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English had been so flattered in the action, that they were not able to pursue.

Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Pen, met the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number, commanded by de Witte and de Ruyter. A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was killed and taken. Two other vessels were sunk and one blown up. The Dutch fleet next day made sail towards Holland.

The English were not so successful in the Mediterranean. Ven Galca with much superior force attacked captain Babbly, and defeated him. He escaped, however, his victory with the loss of his life.

SEVEN years are sufficient to decline as to dilute the vanquished from their glory in a little time against the victors. Tromp, seconded by de Ruyter, met the Godwin, with Blake, who tho' it was inferior to the Dutch, but was not so well equipped to sustain the combat. A furious battle commenced, which was attended with such a loss, as well as the mutual destruction of many men, that it was not till the close of the action, the Dutch had the advantage. Blake had the honour of making the Godwin and Bonaventure were taken. The only vessel that escaped and returned to England was the *St. Andrew*. Night came very opportunely to save the English fleet. After the battle of

Chap. I.
1522

Tromp in a bravado affixed a broom to his main-mast; as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

1666
10th of Fe-
bruary.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When they lay off Portland, they descried near break of day the Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the Channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchant-men, who had received orders to wait at the Isle of Rhé, till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Tromp and de Ruiter commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious which had yet been fought, betwixt these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the battle continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skillful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost however eleven ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, tho' many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

ALL these successes of the English were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an imposition, which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late King had put the navy into a situation, which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ships of a size, which was then unusual. But the misfortunes, which the Dutch met with in battle, were small in comparison of those, which their trade sustained from the English. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off: Even that to the Baltic was much infested by the English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. A great number of their ships, above 1600, had fallen into the enemies hands. And all this distress they suffered, not for any national interest or necessity; but from vain points of honour and personal resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the public. They resolved therefore to gratify the pride of the Parliament, and to make some advances towards a peace. Their reception, however, was not favourable; and it was not without pleasure, that they learned the dissolution of that haughty assembly by the violence of Cromwell, an event from which they expected a more prosperous turn in their affairs.

The numerous Republicans in the Parliament had not been the chief or first promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every possible advantage. On all occasions, they set up the fleet in opposition

Cap. I.
1653.

26th of April.

THE Parliament took this remonstrance in very ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and opposition, the breach still farther widened betwixt the army and the Commonwealth. Cromwel, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settlement. As he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrifon having assured the council, that the General sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, major Streater briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly: For if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldfby informs Cromwel, that the Parliament were sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections; and were at that very time engaged in reasonings with regard to this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately hastens to the house, and carries a body of 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, that he then came with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears prayed the Lord not to impose upon him: But there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates with regard to the act for filling up the Parliament. He beckoned Harrifon, and told him, that he now judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir," said Harrifon, "the work is very great and dangerous: I desire you seriously to consider, before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the General; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrifon, "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the Parliament, "get you gone: Give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a Parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament. The Lord has done with you: He has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this procedure, he cried with a loud voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton." "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bauble? Here take it away. It is
"you,"

“ you,” said he addressing himself to the House, “ that have forced me upon this.”
 “ I have fought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather say me no, than
 “ me upon this work.” Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, Cromwell
 went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings
 in Whitehall.

In this furious manner, which so well marks his genuine character, did Cromwell, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution. All parties now reaped successively the dismal pleasure of seeing the injuries, which they had suffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the same arts, which had been practised against them. The King had stretched his prerogative beyond its just bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The Presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocrisy, the populace first to tumults, then to war, against the King, the Peers, and all the Royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the Independants, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The Independants, amidst their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all antient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretexts it may be covered, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.

Chap. II.
1653.

C H A P. II.

Cromwel's birth and private life.—Barebone's Parliament.—Cromwel made Protector.—Peace with Holland.—A new Parliament.—Insurrection of the Royalists.—State of Europe.—War with Spain.—Jamaica conquered.—Success and death of admiral Blake.—Domestic administration of Cromwel.—Humble Petition and Advice.—Dunkirk taken.—Sickness of the Protector.—His death.—And Character.

1655.
Cromwel's
birth and pri-
vate life.

OLIVER CROMWEL, in whose hands the dissolution of the Parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the last year of the former century, of a very good family; tho' he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate from his father. In the course of his education he had been sent to the university; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning; and he made small proficiency in his studies. He even threw himself into a very dissolute and disorderly course of life; and in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, he consumed the more early years of his youth, and dissipated part of his fortune. All of a sudden, the spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a grave and composed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained by gaming. The same vehemence of temper, which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. His house was the resort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hospitality, as well as his liberalities to the silenced and deprived ministers, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Tho' he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so injured by his expences, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture as a profession. But this expedient served rather to involve him in farther debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he said to his family in the morning and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs. His active mind, superior to the low occupations, to which he was condemned, preyed upon itself; and he indulged his

imagination

Chap. II.
1053:

mander. He raised a troop of horse, fixed his quarters in Cambridge, exerted great severity towards that university, which zealously adhered to the royal party; and showed himself a man who would go all lengths in favour of that cause, which he had espoused. He would not allow his soldiers to perplex their heads with those subtilities of fighting by the King's authority against his person, and of obeying his Majesty's orders signified by both houses of Parliament: He plainly told them, that, if he met the King in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face as readily as against any other man. His troop of horse he soon augmented to a regiment, and first instituted that discipline and inspired that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies, in the end victorious. "Your troops," said he to Hambden, according to his own account*, "are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; the King's forces are composed of gentlemen's younger sons and persons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean spirits of such base and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit; and take it not ill that I say, of a spirit, that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will still be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every rencounter." He did as he proposed. He insisted freeholders and farmer's sons. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics thro'out England. When collected in a body, their enthusiastic spirit still rose to a higher pitch. Their colonel, from his own natural character, as much as from policy, was sufficiently inclined to encrease the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded. The wild enthusiasm, together with valour and discipline, still propagated itself; and all men cast their eyes on so pious and so successful a leader. From low commands, he rose with great rapidity to be really the first, tho' in appearance only the second, in the army. By fraud and violence, he soon rendered himself the first in the state. In proportion to the encrease of his authority, his talents seemed always to expand themselves; and he displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergence, by which they were called forth into action. All Europe stood astonished to see a nation, so turbulent and unruly, who, for encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent Prince, descended from a long line of monarchs, now at last subdued and reduced to slavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whose name was not known in the nation, and who was very little regarded even in that low sphere, to which he had always been confined.

THE

* Conference held at Whitehall.

Chap. II.
1653.

Millenarians had a great interest in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their size of understanding afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years, it had been so usual a topic of conversation to discourse of Parliaments and Councils and Senates, and the soldiers themselves had been so much accustomed to enter into that spirit, that Cromwel thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a Commonwealth. He supposed, that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right as well as power of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summons to a hundred and twenty eight persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. The supreme authority of the state he pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these persons. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons, who might succeed them in that high and important office.

But their
Parliament.

4th of July.

THERE were great numbers at that time, always disposed to adhere to the power, which was uppermost, and to support the established government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be esteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed an hypocritical phrase for expressing so prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting upon providence. When providence, therefore, was so kind as to bestow on these persons, now assembled together, the supreme authority, they must have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaisance towards it. They immediately voted themselves a Parliament; and having their own consent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legislative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exercise of it. It must be confessed, that the nation, when it must submit to be governed by such thin pretexts as these, was reduced to great subjection; or if those pretexts were requisite, in order to deceive the military enthusiasts, these must have been so blind and stupid, that the grossest impositions might have succeeded with them.

IN this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greatest part were low mechanics; Fifth Monarchy men, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Independents; the very dregs of the whole fanatics, themselves the dregs of the human species. They began with seeking God by prayer. This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the assembly; and with so much success, that, according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devout exercises, enjoyed so much of the holy spirit as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were no doubt, dilated when they considered the high
dignity,

dignity, to which they supposed themselves entitled. They had been told by Cromwell in his first discourse, that he never looked to see his day, when all things should be so owned *. They thought it therefore their duty to present the following information, and to pave the way for the reign of the Republic, by doing their worst work, which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring to perfection. The commons, being confederated by their own fond imagination, that their law was superior to the clergy, who claim a peculiar sanctity, derived much from their office and priestly character. This Parliament took into consideration the nature of the clerical function, as favouring of popery; and the various abuses, which they called a relict of Judaism. Learning also and the sciences, they deemed heathenish and unnecessary: The common law they condemned, as a relic of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and threatened the lawyers, with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards the abolition of the chancery †, the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and the civil law was intended to be established as the sole system of English jurisprudence ‡.

Of all the extraordinary schemes, adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy. This point at themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the members of the house, there was a very active member, much noted for long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London: His name *Richard Baxter*. His ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some peccator, and

Chap. II.
1653.

to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the denomination of Barebone's Parliament*.

THE Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negotiation with this Parliament; but tho' protestants and even presbyterians, they met with a very bad reception from those who pretended to a sanctity so much superior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly minded men, intent only on commerce and industry; whom it was fitting the saints should first eradicate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themselves by providence destined, of subduing Antichrist, the man of sin, and extending to the uttermost bounds of the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer †. The ambassadors, finding themselves proscribed, not as enemies of England, but of Christ, remained in astonishment, and knew not which was most to be admired, the implacable spirit or egregious folly of these pretended saints.

CROMWEL began to be ashamed of his legislature. If he ever had any other design in summoning so preposterous an assembly beyond amusing the populace and the army; he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had so far succeeded as to make them desire any other government, which might secure their professions, now brought in danger by these desperate fanatics. Cromwel himself was dissatisfied, that the Parliament, tho' they had received all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord*, and to insist already on their divine commission. He had carefully summoned in his writs several persons entirely de-

voted

* It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly: Even the New Testament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in such regard as those borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habakkuk, Joshua, Zerobabel. Sometimes, a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury enclosed in the county of Suffex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Northam.

Redeemed, Compton of Battle.

Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.

Make peace, Henton of Hare.

God Reward, Smart of Fincham.

Stand fast on high, Striager of Crowland.

Faith, Adams of Warbleton.

Called, Lower of the same.

Fill son, Pimple of Witham.

Return, Spelman of Watling.

Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.

Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.

Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.

More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.

Hope for, Bending of the same.

Graceful, Harding of Lewes.

Weep not, Billing of the same.

Meek Brewer of Okeham.

See Innes's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwel," says an anonymous author of those times, "had beat up his drums clean thro' the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The master-master has no other list, than the first chapter of St. Matthew."

† Thunbe, Vol. I. p. 273, 591. Also Stubbe, p. 91, 92.

* Tauler, Vol. I. p. 393.

Chap. II.
1653.

was vested in the Protector, jointly with the Parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a Parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills, which they enacted, were to be presented to the Protector for his consent; but if within twenty days, it was not obtained, they were to pass into laws by the authority alone of the Parliament. A standing army for Britain and Ireland was established, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse; and funds were assigned for their support. These were not to be diminished without consent of the Protector; and in this article alone he assumed a negative. During the intervals of Parliament, the Protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were valid till the first meeting of Parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both the benches must be chosen with the approbation of Parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by Parliament. The Protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. This was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and solemnly sworn to by Oliver Cromwell. The council of state named by the Instrument were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the Protector, and not likely, by reason of the opposition among themselves in party and principles, ever to combine against him.

CROMWELL said, that he accepted the dignity of Protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a constable, and preserve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that pass, by the furious animosities of the several factions, that the extensive authority and even arbitrary power of some first magistrate was become a necessary evil, in order to keep the people from relapsing into blood and confusion. The Independants were too small a party ever to establish a popular government, or entrust the nation, where they had so little interest, with the free choice of its own representatives. The presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of persecution; incompatible at all times with the peace of society, much more with the wild zeal of those numerous sects, which prevailed among the people. The Royalists were so much enraged by the injuries, which they had suffered, that the other prevailing parties would never submit to them, who, they knew, merely by the execution of the ancient laws, were enabled to take such severe revenge upon them. Had Cromwell been guilty of no crime but this temporary usurpation, the plea of necessity and public good, which he alleged, might be allowed, in every view, a very reasonable excuse for his conduct.

DURING

Chap. II.

1653.

1654

15th April.

Peace with
Holland.

coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, interests, and councils. This project appeared so wild to the States General, that they wondered any man of sense could ever entertain it; and they refused to enter into conferences with regard to a proposal, which could serve only to delay any practicable scheme of accommodation. The peace was at last signed by Cromwel, now invested with the dignity of Protector; and it proves sufficiently, that the war had been very impolitic, since after the most signal victories, no terms more advantageous could be obtained. A defensive league was made betwixt the two republics. They agreed, each of them, to banish the enemies of the other; those concerned in the massacre of Amboyna were to be punished, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the English; eighty five thousand pounds were stipulated to be payed by the Dutch East India company for losses, which the English company had sustained; and the island of Polorone in the East Indies was promised to be yielded to the latter.

CROMWEL, jealous of the connexions betwixt the royal family and that of Orange, insisted on a separate article; that neither the young Prince nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of Stadholder. The province of Holland, strongly prejudiced against that office, which they esteemed dangerous to liberty, secretly ratified this article. The Protector, knowing that the other provinces would never be induced to make such a concession, was satisfied with that security.

THE Dutch war, being successful, and the peace reasonable, brought credit to Cromwel's administration. An act of justice, which he exercised at home, gave likewise satisfaction to the people; tho' the regularity of it may perhaps appear somewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission*, fancying himself insulted in London, came upon the Exchange, armed and attended with several servants. By mistake, they fell upon a gentleman, whom he took for the person that had given him the offence, and having butchered him with many wounds, they all took shelter in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, who had connived at this base enterprize †. The populace surrounded the house, and threatened to set it on fire. Cromwel sent a guard, who seized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: And notwithstanding the protestations of the ambassador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: But the crime committed by the Portuguese gentleman was to the last degree atrocious; and the vigorous chastisement of it, suiting so well the undaunted character of Cromwel, was universally approved at home and admired among

* Thierice, Vol. II. p. 429.

† Id. Vol. I. p. 68.

Chap. II.
1654.

THE Protector seems to have been disappointed, when he found, that all these precautions, which were probab'y nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Tho' Cromwel's administration was less odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to none of them. The Royalists had been instructed by the King to remain quiet, and to cover themselves under the appearance of Republicans; and they found in this latter faction such inveterate hatred against the Protector, that they could not wish for more zealous adversaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and popular election was but a new artifice of this grand deceiver, in order to lay asleep the deluded nation, and give himself leisure to rivet their chains more securely upon them: That in the instrument of government he openly declared his intention of still retaining the same mercenary army, by whose assistance he had subdued the antient, established government, and who would with less scruple obey him, in overturning, whenever he should please to order them, that new system, which he himself had been pleased to model: That being sensible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to intermix some appearance, and but an appearance, of civil administration, and to ballance the army by a seeming consent of the people: That the absurd trial, which he had made of a Parliament, elected by himself, appointed perpetually to elect their successors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averse to a free republican government, and possessed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legislator: That his imperious character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, would never seriously submit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while it was conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure: And that the best policy was to oblige him to take off the mask at once; and either submit entirely to that Parliament which he had summoned, or by totally rejecting its authority, leave himself no resource but his seditious and enthusiastic army.

In prosecution of these views, the Parliament, having heard the Protector's speech three hours long *, and having chosen Lenthall for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority, which Cromwel, under the title of Protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwel escaped not altogether without censure. The utmost, which could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for so they were called, was, by arguments and long speeches, to protract the debate, and prevent

* Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 588.

prevent the decision of a question, which, they were sensible, would, by a great majority, be carried against them. The Protector, surpris'd and enraged at this refractory spirit in the Parliament, which however he had so much reason to expect, sent for them to the Painted Chamber, and with an air of great authority inveigh'd against their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title; since the same instrument of government, which made them a Parliament, had invest'd him with the Protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretext, to be altered or disputed; that among these were to be esteem'd the government of the nation by one person and a Parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new Parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that, with regard to these particulars, there was reserv'd to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumstances of government, he confin'd himself no way intitled.

THE Protector now found himself necessitated to exact a security, which, had he foreseen the spirit of the house, he would with much better grace have required at their first meeting*. He oblig'd the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration of the government, as it was settl'd in one single person and a Parliament; and he plac'd guards at the door of the house, who allow'd none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retain'd the same refractory spirit, which they had discover'd in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pieces, and examin'd, one article after another, with the most scrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the house: And during the whole course of their transactions, they neither sent up one law to the Protector, nor took any notice of him. Being inform'd, that conspiracies were enter'd into between the members and some malecontent officers of the army; he hasten'd to a dissolution of so dangerous an assembly. By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no Parliament could be dissolv'd, till it had sat five months; but Cromwell pretend-

1653.

Chap. II.
1655.

which, tho' they see their object clearly and distinctly in general; yet, when they come to unfold its parts by discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception, which they had before attained. All accounts agree in ascribing to Cromwel a tiresome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to disguise his meaning: Yet no man's actions were ever, in such a variety of difficult incidents, more decisive and judicious.

THE electing a discontented Parliament is a sure proof of a discontented nation: The angry and abrupt dissolution of that Parliament is sure always to increase the general discontent. The members of this assembly, returning to their counties, propagated that spirit of mutiny, which they had exerted in the house. Sir Harry Vane and the old Republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long Parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the present usurpation; tho' they acted so cautiously as to give the Protector no handle against them. Wildman and some others of that party carried farther their conspiracies against the Protector's authority. The Royalists, observing this general ill will towards the establishment, could no longer be retained in subjection; but fancied, that every one, who was dissatisfied like them, had also embraced the same views and inclinations. They considered not, that all the old parliamentary party, tho' many of them were displeas'd with Cromwel, who had dispossest them of their power, were still more apprehensive of any success to the royal cause; whence, besides a certain prospect of the same inconvenience, they had so much reason to dread the severest vengeance for their past transgressions.

Information
of the Royal-
ists.

IN concert with the King a conspiracy was entered into by the Royalists thro'out England, and a day of general rising appointed. Information of this design was conveyed to Cromwel. The Protector's administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the King's family, kept a regular correspondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, so generally diffused among a party, who valued themselves more on zeal and courage, than on secrecy and sobriety. Many of the Royalists were thrown into prison. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conspiracy broke out into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the west, entered Salisbury with about 200 horse; at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. These they made prisoners; and proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no assistance of force; so prevalent was the terror of the established government. Having in vain wondered about for some time, they were totally discouraged; and one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy, being

11th of
March.

Chap. II.
1655.

of slavery, and had delegated to his inferior ministers the same unlimited authority, which he himself had so violently assumed.

A GOVERNMENT, totally military and despotic, is sure, after some time, to fall into impotence and languor: But when it immediately succeeds a legal constitution, it may, at first, to foreign nations appear very vigorous and active, and exert with more unanimity that power, spirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form of government. It seems now proper, after so long an interval, to look abroad to the general state of Europe, and to consider the measures, which England, at this time, embraced in its negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two last princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great security which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them very negligent of the transactions of the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. The bold and restless spirit of the Protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprizes to every corner of Christendom; and partly from the ascendant of his magnanimous genius, partly from the situation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its justest and bravest princes, was never more sensibly felt than during this illegal and violent usurpation.

A WAR of thirty years, the most signal and most furious which had appeared in modern annals, was at last finished in Germany*; and by the treaty of Westphalia, were composed those fatal quarrels, which had been excited by the Palatine's precipitant acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young Palatine was restored to a portion of his dignities and of his dominions: The rights, privileges, and authority of the several members of the Germanic body were fixed and ascertained: Sovereign Princes and free States were in some degree reduced to obedience under laws: And by the valour of the heroic Gustavus, the enterprizes of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effectuated, after an infinite expence of blood and treasure, what had been expected and demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, seconded by the scanty supplies of his jealous Parliaments.

SWEDEN, which had acquired by conquest very large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprizes, which promised her, from her success and valour, still more extensive acquisitions on the side both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles the tenth, who had mounted the throne of that Kingdom after the voluntary resignation of Christina, being stimulated by the fame of the great Gustavus as well as by his own martial disposition, carried his conquering arms to the south of

* In 1648.

the Baltic, and gained the celebrated victory of Warsaw, which, during the space of three days, had been obstinately contested against him. The Protector, at the time his alliance was courted by every power in Europe, anxiously courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a protestant power of such renown, even tho' it threatened the whole north with conquest and subjection.

The transactions of the Parliament and Protector with France had been various and complicated. The emissaries of Richelieu had furnished fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it first broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffused itself, the French court, observing the materials to be of themselves sufficiently combustible, found it unnecessary any longer to animate the British malecontents to an opposition of their Sovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for composing these intestine disorders; and their ambassadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a prince, with whom their master was connected by so near an affinity. Mean while, Richelieu died, and soon after him, the French King, Louis the thirteenth; leaving his son an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine succeeded Richelieu in the ministry; and the same plan of administration, tho' by men of such opposite characters, was still continued in the French councils. The establishment of royal authority, the reduction of the Austrian family, were pursued with ardor and success; and every year brought an accession of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were gained, towns and fortresses taken; the genius too of the nation seemed gradually to improve, and to compose itself to the spirit of dutiful obedience and of steady enterprize. A Condé, a Turenne were formed; and the troops animated by their valour, and guided by their discipline, acquired daily a greater ascendant over the Spaniards. All of a sudden, from some intrigue of the court, and some discontents in the courts of judicature, which the French call parliaments, intestine commotions were excited, and every thing relapsed into confusion. But these rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the spirit of liberty, nor disgraced by the fanatical extravagancies, which distinguished the British civil wars, were conducted with little bloodshed, and made but small impression on the minds of the people. Tho' seconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the heroic Condé, the malecontents, in a little time, were either expelled or subdued; and the French monarchy, having lost a few of its conquests, returned again, with fresh vigor, to the acquisition of new dominions.

Chap. II.
1655.

THE Queen of England and her son, Charles, during these commotions, passed most of their time at Paris; and notwithstanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and still less support, from the French court. Had the Queen regent been ever so much inclined to assist the English Prince, the disorders of her own affairs, for a long time, would have rendered such intentions absolutely impracticable. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill payed, and her credit ran so low, that, one morning, when the Cardinal de Retz waited on her, she informed him, that her daughter, the Princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a Queen of England, and daughter of Henry the fourth of France!

THE English Parliament, however, having assumed the sovereignty of the State, resented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate Monarch. Under pretext of injuries, of which their merchants complained, they issued letters of reprisal upon the French; and Blake went so far as to attack and seize a whole squadron of ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. That town, disappointed of these supplies, fell into the enemies hands. The court of France soon found it requisite to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and to save them the shame of desiring his absence. He went first to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years on a small pension, about 6000 pounds a year, payed him by the French Monarch, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he discovered a disposition to order and oeconomy; and his temper, cheerful, careless, and sociable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord-chancellor, and the Marquess of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants.

If the French ministry had thought it prudent to bend under the English Parliament, they esteemed it still more requisite to pay deference to the Protector, when he assumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the French councils were directed, and who, tho' a stranger, had reduced the most powerful kingdom of Europe to subjection, was artful and vigilant, supple and patient, false and intriguing; desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final success of his measures than in the splendor and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his situation, acquired an ascendant over this man; and each proposal made by the Protector, however unreasonable

Chap. II.
1655.

HAD Cromwel understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved that ballance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depends. Had he studied only his own interests, he would have maintained an exact neutrality betwixt those two great monarchies; nor would he ever have hazarded his ill acquired and unsettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend assistance to domestic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: His active disposition and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose: And as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms.

War with
Spain.

THE extensive dominion and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumstances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprising Protector, and made him hope, that, by some gainful conquest, he would for ever render illustrious that dominion, which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without laying new burthens on the discontented people. From France a vigorous resistance must be expected: No plunder, no conquests could be hoped for. The progress of his arms, even if attended with success, must there be slow and gradual; and the advantages acquired, however real, would be less striking to the ignorant multitude, whom it was his interest to allure. The royal family, so closely connected with the French Monarch, might receive great assistance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French Protestants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the most opposite factions against the present usurpation*.

THESE motives of policy were probably seconded by his bigotted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained so strange a mixture of sagacity and absurdity as that of this extraordinary personage. The Swedish alliance, thro' much contrary to the interests of England, he had contracted merely from his zeal for Protestantism†; and Sweden being closely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he so much prided himself, should

a rup-

* See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain by Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 759.

† He proposed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the Protestants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims, by which he conducted his foreign politics, see further Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 295. 343; 443. Vol. vii. p. 174.

rupture ensue between England and this latter kingdom? The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a close alliance with their sovereigns. And as the Spaniards were much more Papists than the French, were much more exposed to the old papistical hatred, and had erected the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition, which, upon Christian's conversion, they had refused to mitigate; he hoped that a man, who, in alliance with such idolaters could not fall off protection from heaven. A private late wife, inspired, as was supposed, by a prophetic spirit, bid him, *quit Spain, calling him a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would tread down the Spaniard, crush Antichrist, and make way for the coming of the King over the whole world.*

ACTUATED equally by those biggotted, those ambitious, and those interested motives, the Protector equipped two considerable squadrons; and while he was making these preparations, all the neighbouring nations, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspense, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm would discharge itself. One of the squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose name was now spread over all Europe. No English fleet, except during the Crusades, had ever before sailed those seas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and whose pride, equally provoke attacks, dreaded invasion from a power, which professed the most inveterate enmity against him, and which so little regulated its movements by the common motives of interest and prudence. Blake, calling anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained of the grand Duke annual tribute some tolls, which the English commerce had hitherto sustained from him. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make promises, and to refrain his tyrannical subjects from any farther violence against the English. He proceeded himself before Tunis, and having made the town command, the Dey of that republic had no choice but to the castle of Porto Farina and to retreat, and to surrender. Blake needed not to be incited by such a transient success. He drew his ships close up to the castle, and took some advantage, that he could not improve. He sent a messenger to demand of the Dey, that he should surrender the castle, and would every thing which lay therein, and that he should be allowed to depart, and

* See the History of the

of the English, and the History of the Dey of Algiers, and the History of the Dey of Tunis.

of the English, and the History of the Dey of Algiers, and the History of the Dey of Tunis.

of the English, and the History of the

of the English, and the History of the Dey of Algiers, and the History of the Dey of Tunis.

Chap. II.
1655.

perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with very little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

It has been remarked, that Blake was the first, who taught the seamen to despise castles, and by that means much extended the terror of naval enterprizes. The castles, which at that time guarded the entrance into harbours, were commonly built on the brink of the water: If they were raised to any height, their shot passed over the ships, and they were themselves soon destroyed by the superior fire of the vessels; if low, the small arms of the seamen, who overlooked them, rendered it impossible for the soldiers to stand to their guns. At present, the castles are removed to some distance, and sunk to a level with the water; which renders such enterprizes as those of Blake in reality as impracticable, as before his time they were universally esteemed.

Jamaica con-
quered.

THE other Squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christophers. Both these officers were inclined to the king's service*; and it is pretended, that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the soldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conspiracy, which had been formed†. The ill success of this enterprize, may justly be ascribed, as much to the injudicious contrivance of the Protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted. The soldiers were the refuse of the whole army: The forces enlisted in the West Indies were the most profligate of mankind: The admiral and general were of very incompatible tempers: The troops were not furnished with arms fit for such an expedition: The provisions were very defective both in quantity and quality: All hopes of pillage, the best incentive to valour among such men, were refused the soldiers and seamen: No directions nor intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprize: And at the same time, they were tied down to follow the advice of commissioners, who extremely disconcerted them in all their projects‡.

13th of April.

It was agreed to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On their approach, the Spaniards in a fright deserted their houses and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were disembarked without guides ten leagues distant from the town. They wandered four days thro' the woods without provisions, and what was still more intolerable

in

* Clarendon.

† Vita D. Berwicki, p. 124.

‡ Burchet's Naval History. See also Carte's Collection, Vol. II. p. 46, 47. Thunee, Vol. III. p. 305.

Chap. II.
1656.
September.

tain Stayner, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of seven vessels, came in sight of the galleons, and immediately set sail to pursue them. The Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore: Two others followed his example: The English took two ships valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were set on fire; and the Marquess of Bajadox, Viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young Duke of Medina-Celi, were destroyed in them. The Marquess himself might have escaped; but seeing these unfortunate women, astonished with the danger, fall in a swoon and perish in the flames, he chose rather to die with them than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of these dismal scenes*. Such events, which melt the tender heart of humanity, are matter of triumph and exultation in the barbarous trade of war. When the treasures, gained by this enterprize, arrived at Portsmouth, the Protector, from a spirit of ostentation, ordered them to be transported by land to London.

THE next action against the Spaniards was more glorious, tho' less profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately made sail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a most formidable posture. The bay was secured with a strong castle, well fortified with cannon, besides seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with musqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, ordered all his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore, and posted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea.

BLAKE was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasures. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They lay under the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must, in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

THIS was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his last breath in his native country, which he so passionately loved, and which he had so much adorned by his valour. As he came within sight of land, he expired. Never

and death of
admiral
Blake.

* Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 433.

† 20th of April, 1657.

Ch. p. 11.
1. 59.

In the army was laid the sole basis of the Protector's power; and in managing the army consisted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The soldiers were held in the most exact discipline; a policy, which both accustomed them to rigid obedience, and made them less hateful and burthenome to the people. Their pay he augmented; tho' the public necessities sometimes obliged him to run in arrears with them. Their interests, they were sensible, were closely united with those of their General and Protector. And their affectionate regard he entirely commanded, by his ability and success in almost every enterprize, which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it stands in opposition to civil establishments; and still more, where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticism, which he had nourished in the soldiers, he had transported and seduced them into measures, for which, if openly proposed to them, they would have entertained the utmost aversion. But this same spirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of King was an usurpation upon Christ, they were apt to suspect a Protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harrison, tho' raised to the highest dignity, and possessed entirely of Cromwel's confidence, became his most inveterate enemy as soon as he established the authority of a single person, against which he had always made such violent protestations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of great rank in the army, were actuated with like principles; and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them of their commissions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, seemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

To more effectually to curb the enthusiastic and seditious spirit of the troops, Cromwel established a kind of militia in the several counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were enlisted under proper officers, regular pay distributed among them, and a resource by that means provided both against the insurrections of the Royalists, and mutiny of the army.

RELIGION can never be deemed a point of small consequence in civil government: But during this period, it may be regarded as the great spring of men's actions and determinations. Tho' transported, himself, with the most frantic whimsies, Cromwel's scheme for the regulating this principle in others was sagacious and politic. Being resolved to maintain a national church, and yet determined neither to admit Episcopacy nor Presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of *Wynns*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some Presbyterians, some Independants. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted such persons as received

Chap. II.
1656.

supported the persecuted Protestants thro'out all Europe. Even the duke of Savoy, so remote a Prince, and so little exposed to the naval power of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the Protestants of the Vallies, against whom that prince had commenced a furious persecution. France itself was constrained to bear, not only with the religion, but even in some instances, with the seditious insolence of the Hugonots; and when that court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the Catholic religion in England, the Protector, who arrogated in every thing the superiority, would hearken to no such proposal. He had entertained a project of instituting a college in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith; and his apostles, in zeal, tho' not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the Catholics.

THE church of England Cromwel retained in constraint; tho' he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican Parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleased, that the superior lenity of his administration should in every thing be remarked. He bridled the Royalists, both by the mercenary army which he retained, and by those secret spies, which he found means to intermix in all their counsels. Manning being discovered and punished with death, he corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much trusted by chancellor Hyde and all the Royalists; and by means of that man he was let into every design and conspiracy of the party. Any project he could disconcert, by confining the persons who were the actors in it; and as he restored them afterwards to liberty, his severity passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. The secret source of his intelligence remained still unknown and unsuspected.

CONSPIRACIES for an assassination he was chiefly afraid of; these being designs, which no prudence nor vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of All n, had wrote a very spirited discourse, exhorting every one to embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwel knew, that the inflamed minds of the royal party were sufficiently disposed to put this doctrine in practice against him. He openly told them, that assassinations were base and odious, and he never would commence hostilities by so shameful an expedient; but if the first attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermost. He had instruments, he said, whom he could employ; and he never would desist, till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the security of his person*.

THESE

* About this time an accident had almost robbed the Protector of his life, and saved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got six fine Friesland coach-horses as a present from the count of Olfenburg, he undertook for his amusement to drive them about Hyde-park; his secretary Thimbleby

Chap. II.
1756.

same frolic upon Cromwel*. He frequently gave feasts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was set upon the table, a signal was given; the soldiers rushed in upon them; and with much noise, tumult, and confusion, ran away with all the dishes, and disappointed the officers of their expected meal†.

AMONG all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this extraordinary personage, he took the opportunity of remarking the characters, designs, and weaknesses of men; and he would sometimes push them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the most secret recesses of their bosom. Great regularity, however, and even austerity of manners were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld; but with little expence, and without any splendor. The nobility, tho' counted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to intermix themselves with those mean persons, who were the instruments of his government. Without departing from oeconomy, he was generous to those who served him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests every man possessed of those talents, which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambassadors, were persons, who contributed, all of them, in their several spheres, to the security of the Protector and to the honour and interest of the nation.

UNDER pretext of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one Commonwealth with England, he had reduced these kingdoms to a total subjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting mostly of English, of which lord Broghill was president. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both abolished all vassalage‡ and revived the office of justices of peace, which King James had introduced, but was not able to support. A long line of forts and garrisons were maintained thro'out the whole kingdom. An army of 10,000 men§ kept every thing in peace and obedience, and neither the banditti of the mountains nor the bigots of the low countries could indulge their inclination to turbulence and disorder. The Presbyterian clergy he courted; tho' he nourished that intestine enmity which prevailed betwixt the Resolutionsers and Protestors. Very little policy is requisite to foster quarrels among Theologians. He permitted no church assemblies, being sensible that from thence had proceeded many of the past mischiefs. And in the main, the Scotch were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular, factious liberty, had they attained so much happiness as at present, when reduced to subjection under a foreign nation.

THE

* Trial of the Regicides.

† Bates.

‡ Whitlocke, p. 570.

§ Farlow, vol. iv. p. 87.

§ Id. vol. vi. p. 337.

Chap. II.
1656.

act, dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move, that the Parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwel; and no surprize nor reluctance was discovered on that occasion. When Cromwel afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to make such a motion, "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in Parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," said Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, "get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwel resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That measure was also become requisite for his own security. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between a despotic monarchy and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being possessed of so much distinct jurisdiction, began to establish a separate title to power, and had rendered themselves formidable to the Protector himself; and for this inconvenience, tho' he had not foreseen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his son in law, who possessed entirely his confidence, abandoned them to the pleasure of the house: and tho' the name was still retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At length, a more formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the Protector with the dignity of King. This motion, at first, excited great disorder, and divided the whole house into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the Protector, the major-generals and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue and of great interest in the army, had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwel in the Protectorship; and he foresaw, if the Monarchy was restored, that hereditary right would also be established, and the crown be transmitted to the posterity of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and exciting all those civil and religious jealousies against kingly government, which had been so industriously encouraged among the soldiers, and which served them as a pretext for so many violences, he formed a numerous and a still more formidable party against the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was supported by every one, who was more particularly devoted to the Protector, and who hoped, by so acceptable a measure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired

Chap. II.
1657.

them suddenly to it, even tho' bestowed upon their general, to whom they were so much devoted. A contradiction open and direct, to all past professions would make them pass, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the most shameless hypocrites, insisted by no other than mercenary motives in the cause of the most perfidious traitor. Principles, such as they were, had been encouraged in them by every consideration human and divine; and tho' it was easy, where interest concurred, to deceive them by the thinnest disguises, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the masque, and show them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suspended between these fears and his own most ardent desires, Cromwel protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the reasonings of the committee; in hopes, that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the soldiers to his new dignity.

WHILE the Protector argued so much in contradiction both to his judgement and inclination, it is no wonder, that his elocution, always confused, embarrassed, and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reason. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curiosity. The members of the committee, in their reasonings, discover judgement, knowlege, elocution: Lord Broghill in particular exerts himself on this memorable occasion. But what a contraste when we pass to the Protector's replies! After so singular a manner does nature distribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man, who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the Parliament to make him an offer of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of*.

THE

* We shall produce any passage at random: For his discourse is all of a piece. " I confess, for it
 " behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say, I hope, I may be understood in
 " this, for indeed I must be tender what I say to such an audience as this; I say, I would be under-
 " stood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind and a Parlia-
 " ment, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon
 " me, that my words have the least colour that way, because the Parliament seems to give liberty to
 " me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and
 " opinion to them; and if I think they are such and will be such to them, and are faithful servants
 " and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative wheresoever it is: If I say, I should not
 " tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the
 " end you may report it to the Parliament: I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I
 " do protest it. I am not a man scrupulous about words or names of such things I have not: But a I
 " have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my in-
 " formation; so truly men that have been led in dark paths, thro' the providence and dispensation of
 " God; why surely it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? But
 " providence

THE opposition, which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as his capital enemies, and whom he was resolved, on the first occasion, to deprive of all power and authority: It was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter: Desborow his sister: Yet these persons, actuated by principle alone, could, by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. They told him, that, if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards would have it in their power to serve him*. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of King, signed by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several persons, it was said, had entered into an engagement to murder the Protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown, which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him. Most historians are inclined to blame his choice; but he must be allowed to be the best judge of his own situation. And in such complicated subjects, the alteration of a very minute circumstance, unknown to the spectator, will often be sufficient to cast the ballance, and render a determination, which, in itself, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even absolutely necessary to the actor.

A DREAM or prophecy, lord Clarendon mentions, which, he asserts, and he must have known the truth, was universally talked of almost from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwel was to considerable a person as to bestow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold, that Cromwel should be the greatest man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully, mount the throne. Such a prepossession probably arose from the heated imagination either of himself or of his followers; and as it might be one cause of the

* I have seen the original of this petition, which is now in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke. It is a very curious document, and contains many particulars which are not to be found in any other account of the matter. The petition is signed by a great number of officers, and is addressed to the Protector. It is a very well written paper, and contains many expressions of loyalty and affection to the Protector, and a strong desire that he should not accept of the crown. The petition is now in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke, and is a very valuable document.

great progress, which he had already made, it is not an unlikely reason, which may be assigned for his refusing at this time any farther elevation.

The Parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwel, found themselves oblig'd to retain the name of a Commonwealth and Protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and of their representatives. Any content, more full or regular, has seldom had place in laying the foundations of a new constitution. Instead of the instrument of government, which was the work of the general officers alone, an humble petition and advice was framed, and by the Parliament offer'd to the Protector. This was represented as the great basis of the Republican establishment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the constitution, and securing the liberty of the people to the most remote posterity. By this deed, the authority of Protector was in some particulars enlarged: In others, it was considerably diminished. He had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assign'd him, a million a year for the fleet and army, three hundred thousand pounds for the civil government; and he had authority to name another house, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of Peers. But he abandoned the power assum'd in the intervals of Parliament, of framing laws with the consent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either house should be excluded but by the consent of that house, of which they were members. The other articles were in the main the same as in the instrument of government.

The instrument of government Cromwel had formerly extoll'd as the most perfect work of human invention: He now represented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself without sinking. Even the Humble Petition and Advice, which he extoll'd in its turn, appear'd so lame and imperfect, that it was found requisite, this very session, to mend it by a supplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a very crude and undigested model of government. It was, however, accepted for the deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwel, as if his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was anew inaugurated in Westminster Hall, after the most solemn and most pompous manner.

The Parliament having adjourn'd itself, the Protector deprived Lambert of all his commissions; but still allow'd him a considerable pension, of 2000 pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the great surprize of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loss of his commissions. Packer and some other officers, whom Cromwel respected, were also displaced.

Chap. II.
1658.

of a considerable number of its members. The Protector, dreading combinations betwixt the Parliament and the malecontents in the army, was resolved to allow no leisure for the forming any conspiracy against him; and with great expressions of anger and displeasure, he dissolved the Parliament. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to precipitate himself into this rash measure, he swore by the living God, that they should not sit a moment longer.

THESE distractions at home were not able to take off the Protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his measures he proceeded with equal vigour and enterprise, as if secure of the duty and attachment of all the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he still supported; and he endeavoured to assist that crown in its successful enterprises, for reducing all its neighbours to subjection, and rendering itself totally master of the Baltic. As soon as Spain declared war against him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himself in all his councils with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendship of the successful usurper, was reduced at last to apply to the unfortunate Prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his small court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The Duke of York, who had, with great applause, served some campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular esteem of Marshal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to seek military experience under Don John of Austria and the Prince of Condé.

THE scheme of foreign politics, adopted by the Protector, was highly imprudent, but was suitable to that magnanimity and enterprise, with which he was so signally endowed. He was particularly desirous of conquest and dominion on the Continent*; and he sent over into Flanders six thousand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into their hands. Early this campaign, siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the famous battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated †.

The

* He aspired to get possession of Elfinore and the passage of the Sound. See *Wool's Mistake in Oliver Cromwel*. He also endeavoured to get possession of Bremen. Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 478.

† It was remarked by the pretended saints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a fast in London, so that as Fleetwood said (Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 159.) while we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a signal answer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all straits and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his

brave

The valour of the English was much remark'd on this occasion. Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambassador in the court of France.

Chap. II.
1654.
Dunkirk
111

This acquisition was regarded by the Protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was resolv'd to concert measures with the French court for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries*. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, this chimerical or rather so pernicious project, would certainly have been reduced to execution. And this first and principal step towards Universal Monarchy, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expence of blood and treasure, fully to effectuate, had at once been accomplished by the enterprising, and ambitious politics of Cromwel.

GREAT demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard, during these transactions, pass'd betwixt the French King and the Protector. Lord Falkland, Cromwel's son-in-law, was sent over to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the same regard, which is usually, by the French court, pay'd to foreign princes†. Mazarine sent to London his nephew, Mancini, along with the Duke of Crequi; and express'd his regret, that his urgent affairs shou'd deprive him of the honour, which he had long wish'd for, of paying, in person, his respects to the great, &c. man in the world‡.

The Protector reap'd little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad: His situation at home kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His administration, so expensive both by military enterprizes and by ret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in a considerable debt. The Royalists, he perceiv'd, had renew'd their conspiracies, for a general insurrection; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this project.

I have a mind, but mark the reason for the same fault. Thuroloze, Vol. II. p. 111. You have, as you I truly believe and am perswaded, a plentiful stock of private judgement, and a ready way to the truth. I should not approve of his being your friend, as it would not be your interest to be so. I am not so very rich, as to be able to give you, which a gentleman, and I think a very good one, should not great an enjoyment. But now, if you had all this, it would be well for you, as to your judgement, and all our affairs, to the disposition of our affairs, and the nation, who are not only of your own, but because of being a man, woman and child, ought to be taught and led by the children of your own, and are children of the same country, and the same race.

* Thuroloze, Vol. II. p. 111.

† Thuroloze, Vol. III. p. 111, 113.

‡ In reality the cardinal had not consented to be his ally, or ally of Cromwel. He refused to sign the articles of peace with Ormond. Vide Comptes de la Reueue de la Cour de France, Collection, Vol. III. p. 111. Guizot's Life of Monk, p. 111. West's Mistake in O. Cromwel.

Chap. 11.
1656

project. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the Presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent, and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from them. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the last Parliament, that he would ever be able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or temper the military with the ministers of any civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhausted; and having, so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the same professions, to meet with equal confidence and regard.

HOWEVER zealous the Royalists, their conspiracy took not effect: Wills discovered the whole to the Protector. Cromwell was obliged to fly, and he esteemed himself fortunate to have escaped so violent an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. An high court of justice was anew erected for the trial of such of the criminals, whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last Parliament, the Protector could not, as yet, trust to an unbiassed jury. Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Heuet, were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, very narrowly escaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquittal were equal; and just as the sentence was pronounced in his favour, colonel Pride, who was resolved to condemn him, came into the court. Ashton, Storey, and Botley were hanged in different streets of the city.

The conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions. Harrison and the other discarded officers of that party could not remain at rest. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and by conscience, they still laboured in their mind some desperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were disposed to second all their undertakings. The Levellers and Agitators had been encouraged by Cromwell to interpose with their advice in all political deliberations; and many of them he had even pretended to honour with his most intimate friendship, while he conducted his daring enterprises against the King and the Parliament. It was an usual practice with him, in order to familiarize himself the more with the Agitators, who were commonly corporals or sergeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to discuss together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having assumed the dignity of Protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leisure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among those who were enraged at this alteration was Sexby: an active Agitator, who now employed against him all that restless industry which had formerly been exerted in his favour. He even went so far as to enter into a

negotiation

Chap. II.
1658.

Her death, which followed soon after, gave new edge to every word, which she had uttered.

ALL composure of mind was now for ever fled from the Protector: He found, that the grandeur, which, with so much guilt and courage, he had attained, could not ensure him that tranquillity, which it belongs to virtue alone and moderation fully to ascertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually some fatal accident in his distempered government, seeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, possessing the confidence of no party, resting his title on no principle, civil or religious, his power he found to depend on so delicate a poize of factions and interests, as the smallest event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with such signal intrepidity, he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his terrified apprehensions, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him: With a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face, to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him: He wore armour below his cloaths, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Scidom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber: And he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose, nor entrusted himself in any, which was not provided with backdoors, at which sentinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: Solitude astonished him, by withdrawing that protection, which he found so necessary for his security.

Sickness of the
Protector.

His body also, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health seemed very sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week, no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length, the fever encreased, and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of death, and to cast his eye towards that future existence, whose idea had once been intimately present to him; tho' since, in the hurry of affairs and the shock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine was true, that the elect could never fall or suffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then

“ Then am I safe,” said the Protector: For I am sure that once I was in a state of grace. Chap. II.
1653.

His physicians were sensible of the perilous condition, to which his distemper had reduced him: But his chaplains, by their prayers, visions, and revelations, to buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable answer, it was pretended, had been returned by heaven to the petition of all the godly; and he relied on their asseverations much more than on the opinion of the most experienced physicians. “ I tell you,” he cried with confidence to the latter, “ I shall not dye of this distemper: I am well assured of my recovery. It is promised by the Lord, not only to my supplications, but also to that of many who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate correspondence with him. You may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world, and God is far above nature.” Nay, to such a degree of madness did their enthusiastic assurances mount, that upon a fast day, which, on his account, was observed, as well at Hampton Court as at Whitehall, they did not to much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges, which they had received of his recovery. He himself was overheard offering up his addresses to heaven: and so far had the illusions of fanaticism prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural morality, that he assumed more the character of a mediator, in interceding for his people, than that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of social duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the severest vengeance.

MEANWHILE all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the Protector could not survive the next fit, with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed.

A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His faculties were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean, that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the Protectorship.

A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 21 of September, that very day, which he had always considered as the most fortunate to him, he expired. A violent storm, which he had entirely neglected himself, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar. The popular tales, which were reported, were fond of remarking his death, and his fall from heaven, as a confirmation of his pretensions, to interpret it a confirmation of the prophecies which he had made.

The writers, attached to the memory of Charles the first, have given a more favourable account, with regard to abilities, than the above account. They have represented him as a man of a more liberal and extensive mind, than Henry the first. Some have represented him as a man of a more liberal and extensive mind, than Henry the first.

Chap. II.
1758.

lent investive. Both of them, it must be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune as bestow on their representation a great air of probability. "What can be more extraordinary," it is said*, "than that a person, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor shining talents of mind, which have often raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt and the abilities to execute so extraordinary a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established Monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his Prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a Parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that Parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them so soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress again that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England? Overcome first all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriously at last? Over-run each corner of the three nations, and subdue with equal felicity, both the riches of the south, and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign Princes, and be adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? Call together Parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of seditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant? Have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the spending of them? And lastly (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory) with one word bequeath all this power and splendour to his posterity? Dye possessed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world, which as it was too little for his praise, so might it have been for his conquests, if the first line of his mortal life could have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?"

My intention is not to disfigure this picture, drawn by so masterly a hand: I shall only endavour to remove from it somewhat of the marvellous; a circumstance which,

* C. de la Harpe's Discours sur l'Angleterre, altered in some particulars from the original.

Chap. II.
1638.

If we survey the moral character of Cromwel with that indulgence, which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. Amidst the passion and prejudices of that time, that he should prefer the parliamentary to the royal cause, will not appear very extraordinary; since, even at present, many men of sense and knowledge are disposed to think, that the question with regard to the justice of the quarrel may be regarded as very doubtful and ambiguous. The murder of the King, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible, that he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action, which he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see, how the various factions could at that time have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwel, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise. And upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity.

CROMWEL was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, tho' not agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Falconbrige, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was Protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. She could not be persuaded, that his power or person was ever in security. At every noise, which she heard, she exclaimed, that her son was murdered; and was never satisfied that he was alive, if she did not receive frequent visits from him. She was a decent woman; and by her frugality and industry had raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune. She had even been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntington, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatized with the name of the Brewer. Ludlow, by way of insult, mentions the great accession, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who possessed a jointure of sixty pounds a year upon his estate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

CHAP. III.

Richard acknowledged Protector.—A Parliament.—Cabal of Wallingford House.—Richard deposed.—Long Parliament or Rump restored.—Conspiracy of the Royalists.—Insurrection.—Suppressed.—Parliament expelled.—Committee of safety.—Foreign Affairs.—General Monk.—Monk declares for the Parliament.—Parliament restored.—Monk enters London.—Declares for a free Parliament.—Excluded Members restored.—Long Parliament dissolved.—New Parliament.—The Restoration.—Manners and Arts.

ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been so often practis'd, that they began to lose their effect; and his authority, instead of being confirm'd by time and success, seem'd every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the most closely connected with him, and his counsellors the most trusted, were entering into cabals against his authority; and with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any ministers, on whom he might with confidence rely. Men of strict probity and honour, he knew, would not submit to be instruments of an usurpation, violent and illegal: Those, who were free from the restraint of principle, might betray, for interest, that cause, in which, from no better motive, they had enlisted themselves. Even those, on whom he could not any way rely, never esteem'd the recompence sufficient for the services, which they made to obtain it: Whoever was refus'd any demand, justify'd his anger by the specious colours of conscience and of duty. Such difficulties surround'd the Protector, that his dying at so critical a time, is deem'd by many the most fortunate circumstance that ever attend'd him; and it was thought, that all his courage and dexterity could not so much longer have extend'd his usurped administration.

When that potent hand was removed, which concluded the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unwieldy and obnoxious state. Richard, a young man of no experience, call'd to the command, and bred for a civil life, unacquainted with the officers and usages of an army, recommend'd by no military exploits, call'd by no extraordinary conduct to be the maintainer of that authority, which his father had acquired by so many victories

on's achievements, and such signal successes. And when it was observed, that he possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so many vices; that his docility, incapacity, irresolution attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution. For some time, however, the public was disappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the succession of Richard: Fleetwood, in whose favour, it was supposed, Cromwel had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the Protectorship: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with great popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to his family, immediately proclaimed the new Protector: The army, every where, the fleet, acknowledged his title: Above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance congratulated him on his accession: Foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments: And Richard, whose moderate, unambitious character, never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept so rich a succession, which, by the consent of all mankind, seemed to be tendered to him.

It was found necessary to call a Parliament, in order to furnish supplies, both for the ordinary administration, and for fulfilling those engagements with foreign Princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late Protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence on elections, the ancient right was restored to all the small burroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their accustomed members. The House of Peers or the other House consisted of the same persons, who had been nominated by Oliver.

ALL the Commons, at first, signed without hesitation an engagement not to alter the present government. They next proceeded to examine the Humble Petition and Advice, and after great opposition and many vehement disputes, it was, at last, with much difficulty, carried by the court party to confirm it. An acknowledgement too of the authority of the other House was extorted from them; tho' it was resolved not to treat this house of Peers with any greater respect than they should return to the commons. A declaration was also made, that the establishment of the other house should no way prejudice the right of such of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the Parliament. In all transactions of the Commons, the opposition was so considerable, and the debates were so prolonged, as much retarded all business, and gave great alarms to the partizans of the young Protector.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were justly apprehended. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother

Chap. III.
1659.

gave great offence to the pretended saints. The other qualities of the Protector were laudable: He was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition. Some of his party offering to put an end to these intrigues by the death of Lambert, if he would give them authority, he declared, that he would not purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures.

22d of April.
Richard de-
posed.

THE Parliament was no less alarmed at the military cabals. They voted, that there should be no meeting or general council of officers without the Protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers hastened to Richard, and demanded of him the dissolution of the Parliament. Desborow, a man of a clownish and brutal nature, threatened him if he should refuse. The Protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist. The Parliament was dissolved; and by the same act the Protector was by every one considered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he signed his dissolution in form.

HENRY, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the same beneficent and moderate disposition as Richard; but as he enjoyed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended, that he might make resistance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his personal authority, notwithstanding his youth, was considerable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create disturbance: But being threatened by Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly resigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not resolution to execute, of proclaiming the King in Dublin*.

THUS fell, suddenly and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to possess an estate, which was very moderate, and burthened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the restoration, tho' he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced under a borrowed name to the Prince of Conti. That Prince, talking of English affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," said he, "what has become of him? How could he be such a blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from all his father's crimes and successes? Unhappily for society, men entertain so high a regard for parts and talents, even when misapplied, that the love of popular applause is rendered an additional incitement to ambition, usurpation, and civil disorder. Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. His social virtues, more
valuable

* Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 243.

Chan. III.
1652.

general, but inserted in his commission, that it should only continue during the pleasure of the House: They chose seven persons, who should nominate to such commands as became vacant: And they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be signed by him in the name of the Parliament. These precautions, the tendency of which was visible, gave great disgust to the general officers; and their discontent would have broke out into some resolution, fatal to the Parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

The bulk of the nation consisted of Royalists and Presbyterians; and to both these parties the dominion of the pretended Parliament had ever been to the last degree odious. When this Parliament was expelled by Cromwel, contempt had succeeded to hatred; and no reserve had been used in expressing the utmost derision against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. Seeing them re-asserted in authority, all orders of men felt the highest indignation; together with apprehensions lest such tyrannical rulers should exert their power in vengeance upon their enemies, by whom they had been so openly insulted. A secret reconciliation therefore, was made between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, laying aside former enmities, all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the Rump: For so they called the Parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body, the least and most ignoble. The Presbyterians, sensible from experience, that their passion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable extremes, were willing to lay aside former jealousies, and, at all hazards, to restore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry bent their most passionate endeavours to the same enterprize, by which alone they could be redeemed from slavery. And no man was so remote from party, so indifferent to public good, as not to feel the most ardent wishes, for the dissolution of that tyranny, which, whether the civil or the military part of it be considered, was equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

Conspiracy of
the Royalists.

This generous Mordaunt, who had so narrowly escaped on his trial, before the High court of Justice, seemed rather animated than daunted with past danger; and having, by his resolute behaviour, obtained the highest confidence of the royal party, he was now become the center of all their conspiracies. In many counties, a resolution was taken to rise in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Torr the first, set out to secure Lynne: General Massey engaged to seize Gloucester: Lord Newport, Fittleton, and other gentlemen conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir Edward Booth of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton of Northampton; Lord Pollock, Grenville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A design was concerted for the execution of all these enterprizes. And the King attended by the Duke of York had arrived secretly at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself

Chap. II.
1659.

THIS success hastened the ruin of the Parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no less dangerous to them than Booth. A thousand pounds, which they sent him to buy a jewel, he employed in liberalities to his officers. At his instigation they drew up a petition, and transmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honest, if sincerity in folly deserves that honourable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood should be made commander in chief, Lambert major general, Desborow lieutenant-general of the horse, Monk major-general of the foot. To which, a demand was added, that no officer should be dismissed from his command but by a court-martial.

THE Parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately cashiered Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig proposed the impeachment of Lambert for high treason. Fleetwood's commission was voided, and the command of the army was vested in seven persons, of whom that General was one. The Parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treason to levy any money without consent of Parliament.

11th of October.

Parliament expelled.

BUT these votes were feeble weapons in opposition to the swords of the soldiery. Lambert drew some troops together, in order to decide the controversy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the assistance of the Parliament, was deserted by them. Morley and Moss brought their regiments into Palace-Yard, resolute to oppose the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an easy way of disappointing them. He placed his soldiers in the streets which led to Westminster-Hall. When the speaker came in his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-Yard, finding themselves exposed to derision, peaceably retired to their quarters. A very little before this bold enterprize, a solemn fast had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the usual prelude to every signal violence which they committed.

21st of October.

Committee of Safety.

THE officers found themselves again invested with supreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the substance, however on others they might bestow the empty shadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they pretended to invest with sovereign authority; and called them a Committee of Safety. They spoke every where of summoning a Parliament, chosen by the people; but they really took some steps towards assembling a military Parliament, composed of officers, elected from every regiment in the service*. Thro'out the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre

* Ludlow.

and extermination; to the ruin of the people, of property, of industry, of those necessary relations, whose union and welfare constitute the true utility, and who, under pretext of religion, had been the instruments, if possible, of private morality, as they had already done, in the conquest of the British dominions.

During the time that England continued in this distress, the kings of several kingdoms of Europe were lending towards a common effort, to overthrow monarchy, which they had to long been a state of. The Parliament, which they saved authority, instead of following the destructive politics of Cromwell, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the prudent measures of the Dutch Commonwealth, and resolved, in conjunction with that State, to procure by force of arms an accommodation between the northern crowns. Cromwell was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him the famous Admiral Abner Denny, the famous Republican. Sidney joined the Swedes, and was employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his energy, and was so gloriously pleased that, with a Roman artopance, he could check the progress of his victories, and display in so signal a manner the superiority of his domestic troops. With the English indignation, the ambitious Prince was obliged to recur to the imperious mediation of the two Commonwealths. "He crav'd," said he, "that laws should be prescribed me by paricides and parricides." But his whole army was enclosed in an island, and might be starv'd by the land and sea squadrons of England and Holland. He was oblig'd therefore to quit his post, when he had to nearly got possession of it; and having a vessel to sail back with Denmark, retired into his own country, where he soon after died.

The wars between France and Spain were also concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. These bloody animosities had long been carried on between the two Kings, even while they were by a sister and brother, who certainly should have loved each other. But politics, which had to long prevailed over natural affection, now at last yielded to their benignity, and they exchanged their former enmity for mutual regard and complaisance. The Spanish Low Countries, it is to be regretted that Monarchy, by aiming entirely at the ruin of its enemy, had so long ruin'd its own finances, and so much fire and sword had been by this means kindled in the distressed provinces of Spain, deriv'd against the violence of her own faction. But the Queen regent, and not her son, was order'd to be his successor in his personal and her authority, with the exclusion of the younger son, who had so long seem'd to put an end to a quarrel, which had so long been carried on with victory, was at last oblig'd to give up his pretensions to the assistance of France, tho' a peace could hardly have been made, had he not been

Chap. II.
1659.

entirely occupied in the pleasures of love and gallantry, and had passively resigned the reins of the empire into the hands of his politic minister. And he remained an unconcerned spectator; while an opportunity for conquest was parted with, which, during the whole course of his active reign, he never was able fully to retrieve.

THE ministers of the two crowns, Mazarine and Don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the Isle of Pheasants, a place which was supposed to belong to neither kingdom. The negotiation being brought to an issue by frequent conferences between the ministers, the Monarchs themselves agreed to a congress; and these two splendid courts appeared in their full lustre amidst those savage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Therese, along with him; and giving her in marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tie the incompatible interests of the two monarchies. The French King made a solemn renunciation of every succession, which might accrue to him in right of his spouse; a vain formality, too weak to restrain the ungoverned ambition of Princes.

THE affairs of England were in so great disorder, that it was not possible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjust measures with a power, which was in such incessant fluctuation. The King, reduced to despair by the failure of all enterprizes for his restoration, was resolved to try the weak resource of foreign succours: and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two ministers were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility, peculiar to his nation; and expressed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give assistance to the distressed Monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the English Commonwealth, refused even to see him; and tho' it is pretended, that the King offered to marry the Cardinal's niece, he could, for the present, obtain nothing but empty professions of respect and protestations of service. The condition of that Monarch, to all the world, seemed totally desperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his service: The sea-fold had often streamed with the blood of the most active Royalists: The spirits of many were broke with tedious imprisonments: The estates of a few were harried with fines and confiscations: None durst openly avow themselves of that party: And so small did their number seem to a superficial view, that even should the nation recover its liberty, which was esteemed no way probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprizing revolution, was now paving the way for the King to mount in peace and triumph the throne of his ancestors.

Clay III.
1649.

But Cromwel, sensible of his merit, having solicited him to engage in the wars against the Irish, who were considered as rebels both by King and Parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command, which, he flattered himself, was reconcilable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once engaged with the Parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himself necessitated to fight both against the Marquess of Ormond in Ireland, and against the King himself in Scotland. Upon the reduction of this last kingdom, Monk was left with the supreme command; and by the equality and justice of his administration he was able to give contentment to that restless people, now reduced to subjection by a nation whom they hated. No less acceptable was his authority to the officers and soldiers; and for seeing, that the good will of the army under his command might some time be of great service to him, he had, with much care and success, cultivated their friendship.

Two connexions, which he had formed with Cromwel, his benefactor, preserved him faithful to Richard, who, by his father, had been enjoined to follow in every thing the directions of general Monk. When the long Parliament was restored, Monk, who was unprepared for opposition, acknowledged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been safe to attempt the dislodging him. After the army had expelled the Parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper designs, either in the King's favour or his own, were from the beginning suspected to be the motive of his actions.

Monk's
Character
and
Ambitions.

A secret war had long subsisted between him and Lambert: and every body saw the reason why he opposed himself to the advancement of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be subverted. But like friendship had ever been maintained between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it seemed no way probable, that he intended to employ his industry and spend his blood for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained designs for the King's restoration, we know not with certainty: It is likely, that, as soon as Richard was deposed, he foresaw, that, without such an expedient, it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement. His elder and younger brothers were entirely devoted to the royal cause: The Goringes, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were in the same interest: He himself was intoxicated with no fumes of enthusiasm, and had maintained no connections with any of the fanatical tribe. His only engagements had been with the King, and he had left that service without receiving any benefit from the royal party. Since he had inhibited himself with the parliament, he had been guilty of no violence or rigor, which might render

The first of these is the fact that the Commonwealth is a unitary system. This means that the central government is the only authority that can make laws for the whole country. The states and territories have their own laws, but they must not conflict with the laws of the Commonwealth. This is different from a federal system, where the central government and the states have separate powers.

The second feature is that the Commonwealth is a democracy. This means that the people have the right to elect their representatives to the government. The Commonwealth Parliament is made up of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is elected by the people, while the Senate is elected by the states and territories.

The third feature is that the Commonwealth is a constitutional monarchy. This means that the Queen is the head of state, but she does not have any real power. The real power is held by the Commonwealth Parliament and the Commonwealth Government. The Queen's role is largely ceremonial, and she acts on the advice of the Commonwealth Government.

The fourth feature is that the Commonwealth is a federation of states and territories. This means that the states and territories have their own governments and laws, but they are all part of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Government is responsible for the defence, foreign affairs, and other matters that affect the whole country.

The fifth feature is that the Commonwealth is a free market economy. This means that the government does not control the economy. The people are free to buy and sell goods and services, and the government does not interfere with the market. This has helped the Commonwealth to become one of the most prosperous countries in the world.

The sixth feature is that the Commonwealth is a multicultural society. This means that there are many different cultures and languages in the Commonwealth. The government respects the rights of all people, and it encourages people from different cultures to live together in harmony.

The seventh feature is that the Commonwealth is a peaceful country. This means that the Commonwealth does not have any nuclear weapons, and it does not engage in wars. The Commonwealth is committed to peace and stability, and it works to resolve any conflicts between its states and territories.

The eighth feature is that the Commonwealth is a country that values its environment. This means that the government takes steps to protect the environment, and it encourages people to do the same. The Commonwealth has some of the most beautiful natural scenery in the world, and it is important to preserve it for future generations.

The ninth feature is that the Commonwealth is a country that values its education system. This means that the government invests in education, and it ensures that all children have access to a good education. The Commonwealth has some of the best universities in the world, and it is important to continue to improve the education system.

The tenth feature is that the Commonwealth is a country that values its health care system. This means that the government provides a high standard of health care for all people. The Commonwealth has some of the best health care systems in the world, and it is important to continue to improve them.

Chap. III.
1659.

His conduct in all other particulars was full of the same reserve and prudence; and no less was requisite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any suspicion, he immediately cashiered: Cobbet, who had been sent by the Committee of Safety, under pretext of communicating their resolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to custody: The several scattered regiments he drew together: He summoned an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of estates in Scotland; and having communicated his resolution of marching into England, he received from them a seasonable, tho' no great supply of money.

HEARING that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk sent Cloberry and two other commissioners to London with large professions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to obtain delay, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The Committee of Safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by the commissioners; but Monk refused to ratify it, and complained that his commissioners had exceeded their powers. He desired however to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle. The Committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

November.

MEANWHILE these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into a total anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greatest necessities. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the Parliament. A party sent to suppress them, were persuaded by their commander to join in the same declaration. The city apprentices rose in a tumult, and demanded a free Parliament. Tho' they were suppressed by colonel Hewl'n, a man who from the profession of a cobbler had risen to a high rank in the army, the city still discovered symptoms of the most dangerous discontent. It even established a kind of separate government, and assumed the supreme authority within itself. Admiral Lawson with his squadron came into the river, and declared for the Parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portsmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered by the Committee of Safety, revolted again to the Parliament. Dethorow's regiment, being sent by Lambert to support his friends, no sooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the same assembly.

HILLWOOD's hand was found too weak and unstable to support this ill-founded fabric, which, every where around him, was falling into ruins. When he received intelligence of any murmurs among the soldiers, he would fall upon his

knave.

Chap. III.
1660.

man above ordinances, and by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and unrestrained by any rules, which govern inferior mortals. These whimsies, mingling with pride, had so corrupted his excellent understanding, that sometimes he thought himself the person deputed to reign on earth for a thousand years over the whole congregation of the faithful *.

MONK, tho' informed of the restoration of the Parliament, from whom he received no orders, still advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: The scattered forces in England were three times more numerous. Fairfax, who had resolved to declare for the King, not being able to make the General open his intentions, retired to his own house in Yorkshire. In all countries thro' which Monk passed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addresses, expressing their earnest desire, that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of those liberties, which by law were their birthright, but of which, during so many years, they had been fatally bereaved: And that, in order to this salutary purpose, he would prevail, either for the restoring those members, who had been secluded before the King's death, or for the election of a new Parliament, who might, legally and by general consent, again govern the nation. Tho' Monk pretended not to favour these addresses, that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and situation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy, which now equally oppressed the kingdom; the experience of past distractions, the fear of future convulsions, the indignation against military usurpation, against sanctified hypocrisy: All these motives had united every part, except the most desperate, into ardent wishes for the King's restoration, the only remedy for all these fatal evils.

Scott and Robinson were sent as deputies by the Parliament, under pretext of congratulating the General, but in reality to serve as spies upon him. The city dispatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the same time to confirm the General in his inclination to a free Parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavours. The authority of Monk could scarce secure the parliamentary deputies from those insults, which the general hatred and contempt towards their authors drew from men of every rank and denomination.

MONK continued his march with few intervals till he came to St. Albans. He there sent a message to the Parliament, desiring them to remove from London those regiments, who, tho' they now professed to return to their duty, had lately offered violence to that assembly. This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the house. Their fate, they found, must still depend on a mercenary army; and they were as distant as ever from their imaginary liberty.

* Clarendon.

Chap. III.
1652.

they gave very slow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common council of London flatly refused to submit to an assessment, required of them; and declared, that, till a free and lawful Parliament imposed taxes, they never would deem it their duty to make any payment. This resolution would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the Parliament: They were determined, therefore, upon this occasion to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their General's obedience.

10th of Febru-
ary.

MONK received orders to march into the City, to seize twelve persons the most obnoxious to the Parliament, to remove the posts and chains from all the streets, and to take down and break the portcullises and gates of the city: And very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of these violent orders. To the great surprize and consternation of all men, Monk prepared himself for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonstrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the City in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proscribed persons, whom he sent to the Tower; with all the circumstances of contempt he broke the gates and portcullises; and having exposed the City to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster.

10th of Febru-
ary.

No sooner had the General leisure to reflect, than he found, that this last measure, instead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity, which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reserve, and laying himself, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical Parliament, whose power had long been odious, as well as their persons contemptible, to all men. He resolved therefore, before it was too late, to repair the dangerous mistake, into which he had been betrayed, and to show the whole world, still more without reserve, that he meant no longer to be the minister of violence and usurpation. After complaining of the odious service, in which he had been employed; he wrote a letter to the House, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition presented by Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole Commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling their House, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new Parliament. Having dispatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his sincerity, he marched with his army into the City, and desired Allen, the mayor, to summon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity, which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; assured them of his perseverance in the measures which he had adopted; and desired that they might mutually plight their faith for a strict
union

Peelares for a
free Parlia-
ment.

Chap. III.
1660.

united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the King's restoration. The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party; and some zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of those conditions, which had been required of the late King in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion seemed to condemn all those rigorous and jealous capitulations with their sovereign. Harrassed with convulsions and disorders, men ardently longed for repose, and were terrified with the mention of negotiations or delay, which might afford opportunity to the seditious army still to breed new confusion. The passion too for liberty, having been carried to such violent extremes, and having produced such bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public were less zealous in a cause, which was become odious, on account of the ill's, which had so long attended it. After the concessions made by the late King, the constitution seemed to be sufficiently secured; and the additional conditions insisted on, as they had been framed during the greatest ardour of the contest, amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation of Monarchy. Above all, the General was averse to the mention of conditions; and resolved, that the crown, which he intended to restore, should be conferred on the King entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther scruple, therefore, or jealousy, the people gave their voice in elections for such as they knew to entertain sentiments favourable to Monarchy; and all payed court to a party, which, they foresaw, was soon to govern the nation. Tho' the Parliament had voted, that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late King; very little regard was any where payed to this ordinance. The leaders of the Presbyterians, the earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Robarts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Annesley, Lewis, were determined to atone for past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal interests; and from former merits, successes, and sufferings, they had acquired with their party the highest credit and authority.

THE affairs of Ireland were in a condition no less prosperous. As soon as Monk declared against the English army, he dispatched emissaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the same measures. Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, went so far as to enter into a correspondence with the King, and to promise their assistance for his restoration. In conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government, and excluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the Parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the Committee of Safety. They kept themselves in a readiness to serve the King; but made no declarations, till they should see the turn, which affairs took in England.

esteemed affectionate to the King's service. The great dangers, incurred during the former usurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the General, kept every one in awe; and no one dared, for some days, to make any mention of the King. The members chiefly exerted their spirit in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwel, and in execrations upon the inhuman murder of their late Sovereign. At last, the General, having sufficiently founded their inclinations, gave directions to Annisley, president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the King's, had been sent over by his Majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: The letters, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a Committee was appointed to prepare an answer: And in order to spread the same satisfaction thro'out the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The people, freed from that state of suspense in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixt effusions of joy; and displayed a social triumph, and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men who died for pleasure, when informed of this happy and surprizing event. The King's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction, inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by Parliament: It promised a liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of Parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be ordered, for the insuring that indulgence: The enquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations, it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly: And it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the same pay which they then enjoyed.

The Lords, perceiving the spirit, by which the kingdom as well as the Commons were animated, hastened to re-inflate themselves in their antient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. They found the doors of their house open; and all were admitted, even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

The two House attended; while the King was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace-Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-Bar. The Commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the King's gracious messages: A present of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the King, 10,000 pounds on the duke of Yorke, 5000 pounds on the duke of Gloucester. A committee of Lords and Commons was dispatched to invite his Majesty to return and take possession

THE COMMONWEALTH

1877

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a list of names or entries, possibly a directory or a record of some kind, organized in columns. Some words are barely discernible, but the overall structure suggests a formal list or index.]

Chap. III.
1660.
29th of May.

to the vacant throne. The King entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birth-day. The fond imaginations of Men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.



At this æra, it may be proper to stop for a moment, and take a general survey of the age, so far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and sciences. The chief use of history is, that it affords materials for disquisitions of this nature; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

Manners and
arts.

No people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners than did the English nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties exceeded any thing, which we can now imagine: Had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the antient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on palpable injustice, and was supported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and despair into such sanguinary measures; and if these furious expedients had been embraced on one side, revenge would naturally have pushed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No social intercourse was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The Royalists, tho' oppressed, harrassed, persecuted, disdained all affinity with their masters. The more they were reduced to subjection, the greater superiority did they affect above those usurpers, who by violence and injustice had acquired an ascendant over them.

The manners of the two factions were as opposite as those of the most distant nations. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," said a Parliamentarian to a Royalist, "are very dissolute and debauched." "Yes," replied the Royalist, "they have the infirmities of men: But your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride*." Riot and disorder, it is certain, notwithstanding the good example set them by Charles the first,

* Sir Philip Warwick.

Chap. III.
1160.

appear *as a sign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that cloaths were to be rejected together with other superfluities. The sufferings, which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a species of persecution not well calculated for promoting it.

JAMES NAYLOR was a Quaker, noted for blasphemy, or rather madness, in the time of the Protectorship. He fancied that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real Saviour of the world; and in consequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions related in the Evangelists. As he bore a resemblance to the common pictures of Christ; he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: He pretended to raise a person from the dead †: He entered Bristol, mounted on a horse; I suppose, from the difficulty in that place of finding an ass: His disciples spread their garments before him, and cried, "Hosanna to the highest; holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabbaoth." When carried before the magistrates, he would give no other answers to all questions than "thou hast said it." What is remarkable, the parliament thought that the matter deserved their attention. Above ten days they spent in enquiries and debates about him ‡. They condemned him to be pilloried, whipt, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored thro' with a red hot iron. All these severities he bore with the usual patience. So far his delusion supported him. But the sequel spoiled all. He was sent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, debarred from all his disciples, male and female. His illusions dissipated; and after some time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his ordinary occupations.

THE chief taxes in England, during the time of the Commonwealth, were the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land §; and commissioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounted to 120,000 pounds a month in England; the lowest was 35000. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes 10,000 pounds a month ¶; commonly 6000. Those on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat, as well as beer, ale, strong-waters, and many other commodities. After the King was subdued, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656 †. In 1650, commissioners were appointed to levy both customs and excises. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thousand pounds were then offered, both for customs and excise, a greater sum than had ever been levied by the commissioners *. The whole taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a year; a sum,

† Harleyan Miscellany, Vol. vi. p. 399.

‡ Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 708.

§ Scobel, p. 419.

¶ Thurloe, Vol. ii. p. 476.

‡ Scobel, p. 376.

* Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 423.

sum, which, tho' moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former King. Sequestrations, composition, sale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded also considerable sums, but very difficult to be estimated. Church lands are said to have been sold at a million £. None of these were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchase †. Delinquents' estates amounted to above 1,000,000 pounds a year §. Cromwell did not have two millions † † †; tho' the Parliament had left him in the treasury above 1,000,000 pounds current † † †, the value of 700,000 pounds £.

The Committee of Danger in April 1648, voted to raise the army to 100,000 men † †. The same year, the pay of the army was estimated at 1,000,000 pounds a month † †. The establishment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland 10,000 foot, 2580 horse, 360 dragons; in England, 27,000 foot, 3000 horse, 5000 dragons † †. In whole, 31,510, besides officers §§. The army in Scotland was afterwards considerably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much more than 10,000 men; so that upon the whole, the Commonwealth maintained in 1652 a standing army of more than 40,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly sum of 1,000,000 pounds † †. Afterward, the Protector reduced the establishment to 20,000 men, as appears by the Instrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprizes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of 13,258 men, in Scotland 3000, and Ireland about 10,000 men ¶¶. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling a day **†. The horse had two shillings and sixpence; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inclined in the Protector's cavalry † † †. No wonder, that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so great a protection.

At all the time of the battle of Worcester, the Parliament had only about 8,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigor of the Commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members, who had sustained the administration, never at any time appeared to relax † † †.

The whole revenue of the public during the Protectorship of Richard was estimated at 1,000,000 pounds † †. His annual expences at about 1,000,000 pounds † †. The annual revenue was managed by the Parliament † †.

The committee and council of state, by an order in council, did give the Protector the power of calling in the militia, and of commanding the same, as he should see cause. Richard was not contented with this power, but desired to have the militia wholly at his disposal. The Parliament refused to give him this power † † †.

† The sum of 1,000,000 pounds is not the value of the lands, but the value of the rents and profits thereof. The value of the lands themselves is much more. The sum of 1,000,000 pounds is not the value of the rents and profits thereof, but the value of the lands themselves. The value of the lands themselves is much more. The sum of 1,000,000 pounds is not the value of the rents and profits thereof, but the value of the lands themselves. The value of the lands themselves is much more.

Chap. III.
1660.

considerable. The English possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Seven hundred thousand pounds a year in bullion were coined in the English Mint. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey †. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions, which afterwards prevailed; tho' it soon recovered after the establishment of the Commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: The Spanish war was in an equal degree pernicious. The whole effects of the English merchants to an immense value were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants ‡; and commerce has ever since been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordonance of Parliament during the Commonwealth; but as men payed no regard to the prerogative, whence the charter of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce encreased by the encrease of liberty. Interest in 1650 was reduced to six per cent.

THE colony of New England encreased by means of the Puritans, who fled thither, in order to escape the severities exercised against them by Laud and the church party; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it is supposed to have contained 25,000 souls ¶. For a like reason, the Catholics, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

BEFORE the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taste began to prevail in the nation. The King loved pictures, sometimes handled the pencil himself, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign masters were bought up at a vast price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who was touched with the same elegant passion. Vandyke was caressed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones, an architect who never was surpassed in any age or nation, was master of the King's buildings; tho' afterwards persecuted by the Parliament on account of the part, which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying some orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houses, in order to make room for that fabric. Laws, who had not been surpassed by any musician before him, was much beloved by the King, who called him the Father of Music. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was esteemed by some more anxious with regard to purity of style than became a Monarch. Notwithstanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in such magnificence, that he possessed four and

twenty

† *Stratford's Letters*, Vol. i. p. 421, 423, 436, 467.

‡ *Clarendon*.

¶ *British Empire in*

America, Vol. i. p. 372.

Chap. III.
1630.

Even in the *Paradise Lost*, his capital performance, there are very long passages, amounting to near a third of the work, almost wholly devoid of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigour of imagination. The natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increased by the inequalities in his subject; of which some parts are of themselves the most lofty that can enter into human conception, others would have required the most laboured elegance of composition to support them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble subject, is the most wonderfully sublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Tasso not excepted. More concise than Homer, more simple than Tasso, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a latter age, and learned to polish some rudeness in his verses; had he enjoyed better fortune, and possessed leisure to watch the returns of genius in himself; he had attained the pinnacle of human perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his life-time the reputation which he deserved. His *Paradise Lost* was long neglected: Prejudices against an apologist for the regicides, and against a work not wholly purged of the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into reputation; and Tonson, in his dedication of a smaller edition, speaks of it as a work just beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he seems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke* talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obscure Whitlocke himself, tho' lord-keeper, and ambassador, and indeed a man of great ability and merit, has become in comparison of Milton.

It was not strange, that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: It was more to be admired, that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honourable in the King, and so advantageous to posterity. It is said, that he had saved Davenant's life during the Protectorship; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the restoration. Men of letters ought always to regard their sympathy of taste as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a source of animosity. It was during a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton composed his wonderful poem, which not only surpassed all the performances of his cotemporaries, but all the compositions, which had flowed from his pen, during the vigour of his age, and the height of his prosperity. This circumstance is not the least remarkable of all those which attended that great genius.

WALLER

Chap. III.
1662.

conviction on these subjects. Clearness and propriety of style are the chief excellencies of Hobbes's writings. In his own person he is represented to have been a man of virtue; a character no way surprizing, notwithstanding his libertine system of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault with which he is reproached: He lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himself to the thoughts of death. The boldness of his opinions and sentiments, form a remarkable contrast to this part of his character.

HARRINGTON's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary Republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and even in our time it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea however of a perfect and immortal Commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The style of this author wants ease and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes ample compensation.

HARVEY is intitled to the glory of having made, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital discovery in one of the most important branches of science. He had also the happiness of establishing at once his theory on the most solid and convincing proofs; and posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity. His treatise of the circulation of the blood is farther embellished by that warmth and spirit, which so naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favoured by Charles the first, who gave him the liberty of using all the deer in the royal forests for perfecting his discoveries on the generation of animals.

THIS age affords great materials for history; but did not produce any accomplished historian. Clarendon, however, will always be esteemed an entertaining author, even independant of our curiosity to know the facts, which he relates. His style is prolix and redundant, and suffocates us by the length of its periods: But it discovers imagination and sentiments, and pleases us at the same time that we disapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality: For he seems perpetually anxious to apologize for the King; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honest a man to falsify the former; his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter. An air of probity and goodness runs thro' the whole work; all these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of the author.

THESE are the chief performances, which engage the attention of posterity. Those numberless productions, with which the press then abounded; the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the subtilties of theology; all these have long ago sunk into silence and oblivion. Even a writer, such as Selden, whose learning was his chief excellency; or Chillingworth, an acute disputant against the Papists, will scarce ever be ranked among the classics of our language or country.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

G R E A T B R I T A I N .

C H A R L E S I I .

C H A P . I .

*New ministry.—Act of Indemnity.—Settlement of the revenue.—
Trial and execution of the regicides.—Dissolution of the convention
Parliament.—Prelacy restored.—Infringement of the Militia Law.
—Affairs of Scotland.—Confession at the Savoy.—Agreements for
and against a comprehension.—A new Parliament.—Bishops' debts
paid.—Coercion act.—Act of uniformity.—King's marriage.—
Treaty of Breda.—And execution.—Persecution of the Jews.—
Danish aid to the French.—Disturbance of the Jews.—Dissolution of
Garendon's credit.*

CHARLES the second, when he ascended the throne of his father, was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, a manly and generous mind, and a manly worth, yet was his countenance in the first view of his face. He was a man of a life, when there remains evidence of youth in the countenance, and a countenance that variety and a manly mind, and a manly mind, and a manly mind.

His present property, which was the result of his father's reign, was

Chap. I.
1660.

And as the sudden and surprizing revolution, which restored him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no Prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumstances, or was more blest with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects.

This popularity, the King, by his whole demeanor and behaviour, was well qualified to support and to encrease. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the most determined Republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of resentment, as well from the natural lenity as carelessness of his temper, he insured pardon to the most guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favour to his most violent opponents. From the whole tenor of his actions and discourse, he seemed desirous of losing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their Prince and their Country.

Newministry.

INTO his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: The Presbyterians, equally with the Royalists, shared this honour. Annesley was also created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis lord Hollis. The earl of Manchester was lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy seal. Calamy and Baxter, Presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the King.

ADMIRAL MONTAGUE, created earl of Sandwich, was entitled from his recent services to great favour; and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: Yet was he ever treated by the King with great marks of distinction. Charles's disposition, free from jealousy; and the prudent behaviour of the General, who never overrated his merits; prevented all those disgusts, which naturally arise in so delicate a situation. The capacity too of Albemarle, was not extensive, nor were his parts shining. Tho' he had distinguished himself in inferior stations, he was found, upon familiar acquaintance, to be unequal to those great achievements, which fortune had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a scene of life to which he had never been accustomed. Morice, his friend, was created secretary of state, and was supported more by his patron's credit than by his own ability or experience.

Chap. I.
1660.

within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves : Some were taken in their flight : Others escaped beyond sea.

THE commons seem to have been more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper house, inflamed with the ill usage, which they had received, were resolved, besides the late King's judges, to except every one, who had sat in any high court of justice. Nay, the earl of Bristol moved, that no pardon might be granted to those who had any way contributed to the King's death. So wide an exception, in which every one, who had served the Parliament, might be comprehended, gave a general alarm ; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of some court artifice or intrigue. But the King soon dissipated these fears. He came to the house of peers ; and in the most earnest terms, pressed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the necessity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promise : A promise, he said, which he would ever regard as sacred ; since to it he probably owed the satisfaction, which at present he enjoyed, of meeting his people in Parliament. This measure of the King, tho' irregular, by his taking notice of a bill which depended before the houses, was received with great applause and satisfaction.

AFTER repeated solicitations from the King, the act of indemnity passed both houses, and soon received the royal assent. Those who had an immediate hand in the King's death, were there excepted : Even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, tho' none of the king's judges, were also excepted. St. John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices. These were all the severities, which followed such furious civil wars and convulsions.

Settlement of
the revenue.

THE next business was the settlement of the King's revenue. In this work, the Parliament had regard to public freedom as well as to the support of the crown. The tentures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievance by all lovers of liberty : Several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchase this prerogative together with that of purveyance ; and 200,000 pounds a year had been offered that Prince in lieu of them. During the time of the Republic, wardships and purveyance had been utterly abolished. And even in the present Parliament, before the King arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for these revenues. A hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum, which the Parliament agreed to ; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund whence that revenue should be levied. Tho' that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard ; and it

was

was chiefly the necessity of the King's situation, which had obliged him to confer to it. No request of the Parliament, during this period, could be refused them.

Not only the power of the crown, by means of wardship, and the arrears, was very considerable: It was also unequal and pernici-ous; and consequently, of a nature un-likely to continue in a monarchy, subjected to fluctuating regulations. The con-formation, therefore, of the political firmness led to inquire the propriety of these irregular institutions; tho' it might perhaps appear unjust, that an alien prince, who had voluntarily yielded to the proprietors of land, should be purchased by an independent people, and a very inhabitant of the kingdom.

To excise and poundage and the other half of the exchequer were granted to the King during life. The Parliament even proceeded so far as to vote, that the total revenue of the crown for all charges should be 12,000,000 pounds a year, not sim-ilar to any English Monarch had ever before engaged. The King's re-venue from 1637 to the meeting of the long Parliament appeared to be at a million near 3,000,000 pounds a year; of which 2,000,000 pounds arose from branches, partly illegal, partly expired. The ministers of that Prince were now believed to have proceeded originally from the narrowness of his revenue, and from the ob-liquity of his Parliaments, who had refused him the requisite supply. And as in the Monarchs of Europe were perpetually augmenting their expenses, it became requisite that England, in order to meet the necessities of the war, should bear some proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the same system of ponties, which prevailed. According to the Chancellor's computation, a charge of 8,000,000 pounds a year, was at present required for the diet and other articles, which formerly cost the crown but eighty thousand.

The Parliament, before referring the King, insisted on any farther impositions, than those which the conditions already imposed; besides the danger of im-posing on different quarters among parties, it was of one, that their caution had become entirely superfluous. By reason of the slender and precarious revenue, the crown itself was still totally dependent. Not a penny part of this sum, which was necessary for public expenses, could be raised without consent of Parlia-ment; and any consent, had they been troubled with slavery, might even be extorted, by the commons from their distressed Prince. Thus the want of money, notwithstanding the complaint that England was rich beyond all measure, they seemed still determined not to part with their rights, or to reduce the revenues of the crown six dead hundred thousand. For they voted, that the annual tax of 2,000,000 pounds a year should be granted to the King, they would not let any funds, which could yield two thirds of that sum. And

chap. I.
1637.

Chap. I.
1660.

they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of Parliament.

IN all the temporary supplies, which they voted, they discovered the same cautious frugality. To disband the army, so formidable in itself, and so much accustomed to rebellion and changes of government, was necessary for the security both of King and Parliament; yet the Commons showed great jealousy in granting the sums, requisite for that purpose. An assessment of 70,000 pounds a month was imposed: but it was at first voted, to continue only for three months: And all the other sums, which, by a poll-bill and new assessments, they levied for that use, they still granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well assured of the fidelity of that hand, to which the money was committed. Having proceeded so far in the settlement of the nation, the Parliament adjourned themselves for some time.

Part of exp-
number.

Particulars
relation of the
Regicides.

DURING the recess of Parliament, the object, which chiefly interested the public, was the trial and condemnation of the Regicides. The general indignation, which attended the enormous crime, of which these men had been guilty, made their sufferings the subject of joy to the people: But in the peculiar circumstances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mind, seasoned with humanity, will find a plentiful source of compassion and indulgence. Can any one, without the utmost concern for human blindness and ignorance, consider the demeanor of general Harrison, who was first brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of sentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed, performed in a corner: The sound of it had gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of Heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered his addresses to the Divine Majesty; and earnestly fought for light and conviction: He had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction. That all the nations of the earth, in the eyes of their Creator, were less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgements aught but darkness compared with divine illuminations. That the frequent illapses of the divine Spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman who tread upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwel, to shake his steady resolution or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendor and dominion, he had

Chap. I.
1660.

Dissolution of
the Conven-
tion Parlia-
ment.
29th of De-
cember.

and some articles of the revenue. They granted more assessments, and some arrears for paying and disbanding the army. Business, being carried on with great unanimity, was soon dispatched: And after they had sat near two months, the King in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them.

THIS House of Commons had been chosen during the reign of the old Parliamentary party; and tho' many Royalists had crept in amongst them, yet did it chiefly consist of Presbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aside their old jealousies and principles. Lenthal, a member, having said, that those who first took arms against the King, were as guilty as those, who afterwards brought him to the scaffold, was severely reprimanded by order of the house; and the most violent efforts of the Long Parliament to secure the constitution and bring delinquents to justice, were in effect vindicated and applauded. The claim of the two Houses to the militia, the first ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an usurpation, this Parliament was never brought expressly to resign. All grants of money they made with a very sparing hand. Great arrears being due by the late Protectors to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of service; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without establishing funds sufficient for its payment. Yet notwithstanding this jealous care expressed by the Parliament, there prevails a story, that Popham, having sounded the disposition of the members, undertook to the earl of Southampton to procure, during the King's life, a grant of two millions a year, land tax; a sum, which, joined to the customs and excise, would for ever have rendered this Prince independant of his people. Southampton, it is said, merely from his affection to the King, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made sensible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that such an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is no way probable, that all the interest of the court would ever, with this House of Commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon showed his prudence, no less than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

The chancellor, from the same principles of conduct, hastened to disband the army. When the King reviewed these veterane troops, he was struck with their beauty, order, discipline, and martial appearance; and being sensible, that regular forces are most necessary implements of royalty, he expressed a desire of finding expedients still to retain them. But his wise minister set before him the dangerous spirit by which these troops were animated, their enthusiastic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the King, that till they were disbanded, he never could esteem himself securely established on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse, and 4000

667. This was the first appearance, under the Monarchy, of a regular standing army in England. The Fortification of Gloucester, Taunton, and other towns, which had been rebuilt, to the King during the civil wars, were also demolished.

Charles was not only beloved with great wisdom and justice in the office of justice, but also in the council, which he gave the best government, and the most liberty to the great and the people. Charles's custom was to give to the great nobles, and to the judgment of that fatal senate, and to the consent of his council, and for some time no minister was ever put out of office without a charge. He moderated the forward zeal of the Royal army, and temper'd their rage for revenge. With the opposite party, he endeavoured to preserve inviolate all the King's engagements: He kept an exact register of every promise which had been made for any services, and he employed all his ministry to maintain them. This good minister was now very nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Anne Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had married, as was usual, to the address of the duke of York, and had brought a marriage-bed freely adorned to her bed. Her pregnancy soon appeared, and the nobles, who had not many endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from the proposal, and to pay to his friend and minister, who had been so many the grant of some engagements, obliged his brother to marry her. Charles, who had been an object, at the honour, which he had obtained, and felt that, by being married to one who had his rank, he thence derived a more solid crown.

More circumstances of Charles's administration have not yet appeared. His conduct, which of itself is a political study, has by many been said to be the most perfect, and the most successful, that ever was seen in a monarch. Had the history of his reign been written by a man of a different opinion, it would have been a different story. The Duke of York, who had been so many the grant of some engagements, obliged his brother to marry her. Charles, who had been an object, at the honour, which he had obtained, and felt that, by being married to one who had his rank, he thence derived a more solid crown.

Cap. I.
137

Chap. I.
1650.

blood and confusion. Moved by these views, the Commons had very wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left entirely the settlement of the church to the King and to the laws.

The King at first used great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine bishops still remained alive; and these were immediately restored to their dioceses: All the ejected clergy recovered their livings: The liturgy, a form of worship very decent, and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches: But at the same time, a declaration was issued, in order to give contentment to the Presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. In that declaration, the King promised, that he should provide suffragan bishops for the larger dioceses; that the prelates should, all of them, be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of Presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy, as would render it totally unexceptionable; that in the mean time, the use of that mode of worship should not be imposed on such as were unwilling to receive it; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus should not be rigidly insisted on. This declaration the King issued as head of the church; and he plainly assumed, in many parts of it, a legislative authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the English government, tho' more exactly defined by late contests, was not, as yet, reduced, in every particular, to the strict limits of law. And if ever prerogative was justifiably employed, it seemed to be on the present occasion; when all parts of the state were torne with past convulsions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magistrate, to reduce them to their ancient order.

But tho' these appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated episcopacy only seemed to be insisted on, it was far from the intention of the ministry always to preserve like regard to the Presbyterians. The madness of the Fifth-Monarchy-men afforded them a pretext for departing from it. Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwel, having, by his zealous lecture, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, issued forth with them into the streets of London. They were to the number of sixty, completely armed, believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the same fortune, which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being questioned, he said, "He was for God and King Charles," they instantly murdered. They went triumphantly from street to street, every where proclaiming King Jesus, who, they said, was their invisible leader. At length, the magistrates, having assembled some train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themselves

Insurrection
of the Millicenians.

Chap. I.
1660.

mults and resistance. That the time would probably come, when the King, instead of desiring to see English garrisons in Scotland, would be better pleased to have Scotch garrisons in England, who, supported by English pay, would be ready to curb the seditious genius of that opulent nation : And that a people, such as the Scotch, governed by a few nobility, would more easily be reduced to submission under Monarchy, than one, like the English, who breathed nothing but the spirit of democratical equality.

1661.
25 of January.

THESE views induced the King to disband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts, which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the Parliament, which was summoned. A very compliant spirit was there discovered in all orders of men. The commissioner had even sufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling, at once, all laws, which had passed since the year 1633; under pretext of the violence, which, during that time, had been employed against the King and his father, in order to procure their assent to these statutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled concession : and, together with many pernicious limitations, overthrew some useful barriers, which had been erected to the constitution. But the tide was now running strongly towards monarchy ; and the Scotch nation plainly discovered, that their past resistance had proceeded more from the turbulency of their aristocracy and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics, than from any fixed passion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were restored, with some exorbitant branches of prerogative ; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretexts, was, in its full extent, re-established in that kingdom.

THE prelacy likewise, by the abrogating every statute, enacted in favour of Presbytery, was thereby tacitely restored ; and the King deliberated what use he should make of this concession. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a passionate zealot against episcopacy, endeavoured to persuade him, that the Scotch, if gratified in this favourite point of ecclesiastical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the King. Charles, tho' he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scotch Presbyterians, that he ever after bore them a most hearty aversion. He said to Lauderdale, that Presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion fit for a gentleman ; and he could not consent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton too and his other ministers persuaded him, that the nation in general were so disgusted with the violence and tyranny of the Ecclesiastics, that any alteration of church government would be universally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the Presbyterian sect, if legally established in Scotland, would acquire authority in England, and Ireland, se-

ceded

Chap. I.
1691.

nally affronted the King: His punishment gave surprize to no body. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston was attainted and fled; but was seized in France about two years after, brought over and executed. He had been very active, during all the late disorders; and was even suspected of a secret combination with the English Regicides.

BESIDES these instances of compliance in the Scotch Parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the King of 40,000 pounds a year, to be levied by way of excise. A small force was proposed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confusions with those to which the kingdom had been hitherto exposed. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant to be unlawful, and its obligation void and null. This was a violent shock to the bigotted prejudices of the nation.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Cavalier and Round-head were heard of no more: All men seemed to concur in submitting to the King's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of Parliament. Theological controversy alone still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of that flame, which had thrown the nation into such combustion. Besides the prospect of toleration, entertained by the Catholics, Independants, and other sectaries; Prelacy and Presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy betwixt twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, or at least under pretext, of bringing about an accommodation betwixt the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were anew canvassed; and the ignorant multitude entertained hopes, that so many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controversy: They were surprized to see them separate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. To enter into particulars would be superfluous. Disputes concerning religious forms are often, in themselves, the most frivolous of any; and merit attention only so far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil society.

THE King's declaration had promised some endeavours towards a comprehension of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all such questions seemed a very favourable circumstance for the execution of that project. The partizans of a comprehension said, that the Presbyterians as well as the Prelatists, having felt by experience the fatal effects of mutual obstinacy and violence, were now well disposed towards an amicable agreement; that the bishops, by remitting some part of their authority, and dispensing with the most exceptionable ceremonies,

Conference at
the Savoy,
25th of
March.

Arguments
for and against
a comprehen-
sion.

nicc,

Chap. I.
1661.

levying war against him, is declared, during the life-time of his present Majesty, to be high treason. To affirm him to be a Papist or Heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to alienate his subjects affections from him; these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate the person guilty from holding any employment in church or state. To maintain that the Long Parliament is not dissolved, or that either or both Houses, without the King, are possessed of legislative authority, or that the covenant is binding; whoever defended these dangerous positions was made liable to the penalty of a premunire.

The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a Commonwealth, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The people assited with great alacrity on this occasion.

The abuses of petitioning in the precedent reign had been attended with the worst consequences; and to prevent such irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands should be subscribed to any petition, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the King or either house by above ten persons. The penalty for a transgression of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months imprisonment.

The bishops, tho' restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from Parliament by the law, which the late King had passed, immediately before the commencement of the civil disorders. Great violence, both against the King and the House of Peers, had been employed in passing this law; and on that account alone, the partizans of the church were provided of a very plausible pretext for repealing it. Charles expressed much satisfaction, when he gave his assent to the act for that purpose. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was interested in restoring the prelates to their former dignity. Those who esteem every acquisition of the Prince a detriment to the people, are apt to complain of this instance of complaisance in the Parliament.

After an adjournment of five months, the Parliament was again assembled, and proceeded with the same spirit as before. They discovered no design of restoring, in its full extent, the antient prerogatives of the crown: They were only anxious to repair all those breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the sword had, in all ages, been allowed to be vested in the crown; and tho' no law conferred this prerogative, every Parliament, till the last of the preceeding reign, had willingly submitted to an authority more antient, and therefore more sacred, than that of any positive statute. It was now thought proper solemnly to relinquish the violent pretensions of

that

Bishops' seats
restored.

Chap. II.
1661.

Chap. I.
1651.

regulating the corporations, and expelling such magistrates as either had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles, dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should disclaim the obligation of the covenant, and should declare both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King, and their abhorrence of the traitorous position of taking arms by the King's authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him.

WHEN the latter part of this oath, the words, *commissioned by him*, which seem the most dangerous to the constitution, came to be debated, it was moved in the House, and earnestly pressed by Sir John Vaughan, an eminent lawyer, that the word, *lawfully*, might be added, in order to remove all difficulties. But the attorney-general, Sir Heneage Finch, answered, that it was not necessary: The very word, *commission*, imported it; since any power, not lawfully issued, to lawful persons, and for a lawful purpose, was in reality no commission: And the whole House seemed to assent to this interpretation. The same word, *lawfully*, Southampton himself, in the House of Peers, endeavoured to add; but a like answer was made by Anglesey. Southampton still insisted, that such an addition would clear all obscurities; and that many, not having heard the particular sense of the Parliament, might fancy, that, if any sort of commission was granted, it would not be lawful to resist it: But that worthy patriot could not prevail. The opinion of both parties, it is to be presumed, was the same: Tho' the fear of affording a pretext to rebellion made the Royalists rashly overlook the danger, to which liberty might be exposed by such concessions. In most human deliberations, it is difficult, if not impossible, to make a choice which is not exposed to some inconvenience. And it is but too usual for victorious parties, who had suffered under oppression, to signalize their triumph over their adversaries, by carrying matters to the extremity most opposite to that which had formerly prevailed.

1652.
An Act of the Par-
liament.

THE care of the church was no less prevalent with this Parliament than that of Monarchy: The bill of uniformity signalized the triumph of the clergy over Presbyterians. Different parties concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many severe Clauses. The Independants and other sectaries, engaged to find all their former servants by the Presbyterians, who had once been their enemies, excited themselves to disapprove that party of the favour and malignance, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the reformation, they thought themselves justly entitled. By the Presbyterians, said they, the year was raised: By them were the people first incited to tumults: By their zeal, interest, and riches were the armies supported: By their force was the King subdued: And if, in the sequel,

they

Chap. I.
1672.

all the King's promises of toleration and of indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken. 'Tis true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expressed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of Parliament: But this limitation could never reasonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his promise. It is agreed, that the King did not voluntarily concur with this violent measure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church party among the Commons, seconded by the intrigues of the Catholics, was the real cause, which extorted his consent.

The Royalists, who now predominated, were very ready to signalize their victory, by establishing those high principles of Monarchy, which their antagonists had controverted: But when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither so forward nor so liberal in their concessions as the King would gladly have wished. Tho' the Parliament passed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their sanction to this dangerous innovation. The King's debts were become intolerable; and the Commons were at last constrained to vote him an extraordinary supply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen months assessment. But besides that this supply was much inferior to the occasion, the King was obliged earnestly to solicit the Commons, before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the House of its absolute necessity, he desired them to examine strictly into all his receipts and disbursements. Finding likewise upon enquiry, that the several branches of revenue fell short of the sums expected, they at last, after much delay, voted a new imposition of two shillings on each hearth; and this tax they settled on the King during life. The whole established revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million^g; a sum confessedly too narrow for the public expences. A very rigid frugality at least, which the King wanted, would have been requisite to make it suffice for the dignity and security of the government. After all business was dispatched, the Parliament was prorogued.

19th of May.

King's marriage.

BEFORE the Parliament rose, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new Queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the King was betrothed, and who had just landed at Portsmouth. During the time, that the Protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to support the Portuguese in their revolt; and he engaged himself by treaty to supply them with 10,000 men for their defence against the Spaniards. On the King's restoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of that alliance; and in order to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese Princess, and a portion of 300,000 pounds, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa and

Dombay

^g P. L. M. Dec. 25th of July, 1661. Mr. Ralph's History, Vol. I. p. 176.

Chap. I.
162.

and after wandering some time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were discovered by Downing, the King's resident in Holland, who had formerly served the Protector and Commonwealth in the same station, and who once had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied to the States for a warrant to arrest them. It had been usual for the States to grant these warrants; tho' at the same time, they had ever been careful secretly to advertise the persons, that they might be enabled to make their escape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and dispatch of Downing. He quickly seized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coast, and sent them to England. These three men behaved with more moderation and submission than any of the other Regicides, who had suffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the King, and expressed his intention, had he lived, of submitting peaceably to the established government. He had risen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared a man of humanity and honour. In consideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given his friends to be buried.

The attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two distinguished criminals, Lambert and Vane. These men, tho' none of the immediate murderers of the King, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to prison. The Convention-Parliament, however, was so favourable to them, as to petition the King, if they should be found guilty, to suspend their execution: But this new Parliament, more zealous for Monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive disputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane comprehended not any of his actions during the war between the King and Parliament: It extended only to his behaviour after the late King's death, as member of the council of State, and secretary of the navy; where fidelity to the trust reposed in him, required his opposition to Monarchy.

VANE wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage, which was afforded him. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time established in England, and an acknowledgement of its authority were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whose innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons: That, according to these maxims, wherever an illegal authority was established by force, a total and universal destruction must ensue; while the usurpers proscribed one part of the nation for disobedience, the lawful Prince punished the other for compliance: That the legislature of England, foreseeing this violent situation, had provided for public security by the famous statute of Henry the

Chap. I.
165.

not astonished at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death but as a passage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

This man, so celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him: They treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are a totally unintelligible: No traces of eloquence, or even of common sense appear in them. A strange paradox did we not know, that men of the greatest genius, where they relinquish by principle the use of their reason, are only enabled by their vigour of mind, to work themselves the deeper into error and absurdity. It was remarkable, that, as Vane, by being the chief instrument of Strafford's death, had first opened the way for that destruction, which overwhelmed the nation; so by his own death he closed the scene of blood. He was the last that suffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, tho' condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he had experienced like lenity in the King. Lambert survived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the Isle of Guernsey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his past schemes of greatness, and entirely forgot by the nation.

Chap. II.
166.
167.
168.

However odious Vane and Lambert to the Presbyterians, that party had no leisure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the Presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription; in hopes, that the bishops would not dare at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The Catholic party at court, who desired a great rent among the Protestants, encouraged them in this obstinacy, and gave them hopes, that the King would protect them in their refusal. The King himself, by his irrelative conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made very strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the Presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures; and to the great amusement of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Fortified by facility in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than openly renounce these principles, which, on other occasions, they were so apt, from interest, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleasure of retaliation; and even pushed, as usual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the Parliamentary party, a fifth of the livings had been left to the rejected clergy; but this indulgence, tho' at first insisted on

Chap. I.
1662.

a judge of his own interests, thought that he had made a very hard bargain*; and this sum, in appearance so small, was the utmost, which he would allow his ambassador to offer.

Declaration
of Indul-
gence.
20th of De-
cember.

A NEW incident discovered such a glimpse of the King's character and principles of policy as at first the nation was somewhat at a loss how to interpret, but such as subsequent events, by degrees, rendered sufficiently plain and manifest. He issued a declaration under pretext of mitigating the rigours, contained in the act of uniformity. After expressing his firm resolution to observe the general indemnity, and to trust entirely to the affections of his subjects, not to any military power, for the support of his throne; he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he subjoined, that, "as in the first place he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, in discipline, ceremony and government, and shall ever constantly maintain it: So as for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, thro' scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline their wisdom next approaching sessions to concur with him in making some such act for that purpose, as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing, which he conceived to be inherent in him†". Here a most important prerogative was exercised by the King; but under such artificial reserves and limitations as might prevent the full discussion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his Parliament. The foundation of this measure lay much deeper, and was of the utmost consequence.

THE King, during his exile, had imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion; and according to the most probable accounts, had already been reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expressed by the parliamentary party against all Papists, had always, from a spirit of opposition, inclined the court and all the Royalists to adopt more favourable sentiments towards that sect, who, thro' the whole course of the civil wars, had strenuously supported the

the
on the other hand was jealous, lest the Parliament should acquire any such separate dominion or authority: A proof that the government was not as yet settled into that composure and mutual confidence, which is a solidly requisite for conducting it.

* 11th 3d of October, 1662. The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the English is that it was able extremely to direct their trade, when in the hands of the French: But it was Lewis the ninth who first made it a good sea-port. England can have no occasion to transport armies to the continent, but in support of some ally whose troops serve to the same purpose as Dunkirk would, if in the hands of the English.

† Kennet's Register, p. 870.

the Rights of the Sovereign. The riot, our too, which the King, during his absence in Scotland, had experienced from the Presbyterians, disposed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindness to the purry, more generous in its ground, to the Liberty of those religions. The following circumstances, which attended his mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the views which he beheld and courtly mode of worship, the hopes of a more extensive and successful cause operated powerfully, on a young Prince, whose temper and education made him incapable of adhering closely to any single denomination. But if the thoughtless, disengaged humour of Charles really had converted him to Popery, the same disposition ever prevailed in the Duke of York, that kept from taking any part of him. During his youth, that Prince, while his blood was warm and his spirits high, a contempt and dislike of the religion held possession of his mind; and he might more properly be supposed a Dissent than a Catholic. But in those revolutions of temper, when his raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent disposition was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had flights of intense indignation, and a sect, which always possessed his inclinations, was then made his judgement and opinion.

But that the King thus floated, during his whole reign, between two religions, which he more openly professed, and Popery, to which he retained a secret aversion, his brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow understanding made him a thorough convert, without any reserve from interest, or doubts from inquiry and enquiry. By his application to business, he had acquired a great acquaintance with the King, who, tho' possessed of much more discernment, was equally ignorant of the burden of affairs on the duke, of whom he conceived a just and necessary apprehension of easing the Protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan of introducing a general toleration, and giving the Catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private, and in the company of their own brothers saw so numerous and popular a body, who were ready to be converted, and it was hoped, that, under shelter of numbers, the Catholics might meet with favour and protection.

While the King pladd his early professed religion, and was supported by all the other plausible topics, the Parliament was so much engaged in the business of the day, that they could by no means be prevailed upon to take any notice of the Duke's petition of enlarging the Dissenters, and the King's petition of extending the toleration to the Catholics. It was not till the 22^d of May, 1672, that they were brought to their consideration.

Chap. I.
1663.

by the King's ministers themselves, particularly the chancellor. The House of Commons represented to the King, that his declaration of Breda contained no promise to the Presbyterians and other Dissenters, but only an expression of his intentions, upon the supposition of the Parliament's concurrence; that even if the Nonconformists had been entitled to plead a promise, they had entrusted this claim as well as all their other rights and privileges, to the House of Commons, who were their representatives, and who now freed the King from that obligation; that it was not to be supposed, that his Majesty and the Houses were so bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws, which might be contrary to it; that even at the King's restoration, there were laws of uniformity in force, which could not be dispensed with but by act of Parliament; and that the indulgence proposed would prove most pernicious both to Church and State, would open the door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature. The King did not think proper, after this remonstrance, to insist any farther at present on the project of indulgence.

In order to deprive the Catholics of all hopes, the two Houses concurred in a remonstrance against them. The King gave a very gracious answer; tho' he scrupled not to profess his gratitude towards many of that persuasion, on account of their faithful services in his father's cause and in his own. A proclamation, for form's sake, was soon after issued against Jesuits and Romish priests: But care was taken, by the very terms of it, to render it ineffectual. The Parliament had allowed, that all the foreign priests, belonging to the two Queens, should be excepted, and that a permission for them to remain in England should still be granted. In the proclamation, the word *foreign*, was purposely omitted; and the Queens were thereby authorized to give protection to as many English priests as they should think proper.

THAT the King might reap some advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the Commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he said, much inferior to the public charges. Notwithstanding the price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained, amounted to a considerable sum; and to satisfy the Commons, that the money formerly granted him, had not been prodigally expended, he offered to lay before them the whole account of his disbursements. It is however agreed on all hands, that the King, tho' during his banishment, he had managed his small and precarious income with great order and oeconomy, had now much abated of these virtues, and was unable to make his royal revenues suffice for his expences. The Commons, without entering into too nice a disquisition,

would

Chap. I.
1663.

'Till the King's conduct had hitherto, since his restoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to observe, that those virtues, by which he had, at first, so much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great show, but not equal solidity. His good understanding lost much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the result of a certain facility of disposition than of any generosity of character; his social humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleasure was not attended with proper sentiment and decency; and while he seemed to bear a goodwill to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of sincere friendship, and he had secretly entertained a very bad opinion and distrust of mankind. But above all, what sullied his character in the eyes of good judges was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whose zeal and sufferings for the royal cause had known no bounds. This conduct however in the King may, from the circumstances of his situation and temper, admit of some excuse; at least, of some alleviation. As he had been restored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his antient friends, the former pretended a title to share his favour; and being from practice, acquainted with public business, they were better qualified to execute any trust committed to them. The King's revenues were far from ample; and his mistresses, and the companions of his mirth and pleasures, gained by sollicitation every request from his easy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous Royalists had reduced themselves, by rendering them insignificant, made them unfit to support the King's measures, and caused him to regard them as a useless incumbrance. And as many false and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averse to a strict discussion or enquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The Parliament took some notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thousand pounds were at one time distributed among them: Mrs. Lane also and the Penderells had handsome presents and pensions from the King. But the greatest part of the Royalists still remained in poverty and distress; aggravated by the cruel disappointment of their sanguine hopes, and by seeing favour and preferment bestowed upon their most inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they universally said, that it was an act of indemnity to the King's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

C H A P. II.

James's flight.—Rapture with Holland.—Arrival in France.—Victory of Lens.—Treaty of Breda.—Rapture with France.—Rapture with Denmark.—New Treaty.—Sea-fight of Jan de Vliet.—Victory of the English.—Fire of London.—Advances toward peace.—Difference at Clarendon.—Peace of Breda.—Clarendon's fall, and banishment.—Seizure of Clarendon.—Character of Lewis XIV.—French invasion of the United Provinces.—Negotiations.—Triple League.—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Affairs of Scotland, and of Ireland.

THE next session of Parliament discovered a continuance of the same principles, which had actuated all the foregoing. Moderately and the church itself were the objects of tender affection. During no period of the present reign, did the spirit pass more evidently the bounds of reason and moderation.

The King in his speech to the Parliament, had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial act; and he even went so far as to declare, that, notwithstanding the law, he never would allow any Parliament to be interrupted by the method prescribed in that famous statute. The Parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, rejected the law; and in lieu of all the tedious securities provided in the former act, gave, in a general clause, "that Parliaments should not be dissolved or prorogued, or adjourned, more than three years at the most." As the English Parliament had no manner of right to be a regular check and controul upon royal power; but evidently that they ought still to have preserved a regular locality for their meetings, and to have retained a right to the good-will of the King, who, if ambitious or capricious, had no other reason to be quarrelled with these assertions. Before the close of Charles's reign, the nation had occasion to feel very terribly the lawfulness of this repeal.

In the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who should officiate without being presented to the altar, was punished by fines and imprisonment. But this security was not thought sufficient for the church. It was, therefore, enacted, that, when five persons above hope of the same benefice held a vicarage, or a college, as convents, every one of them was liable, for the full offence, to be imprisoned three

Chap. II.
1701.

months or pay five pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be transported seven years or pay one hundred pounds. The Parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the sectaries: They should have carried their attention farther, to the cause of that malignity, the former restraint and hardships, which they had undergone.

THE Commons likewise passed a vote, that the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities, offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade: And they promised to assist the King with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition whatsoever. This was the first open step towards a Dutch war. We must explain the causes and motives of this measure.

Republic with
Holland.

THAT close union and confederacy, which, during a course of near seventy years, has subsisted, without interruption or jealousy, betwixt England and Holland, is not so much founded on the natural unalterable interests of these States, as on their terror of the growing power of France, who, without their combination, it is apprehended would soon extend her dominion over Europe. In the first years of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of the French Monarch had not, as yet, displayed itself; and when the mighty force of his people was, in a great measure, unknown even to themselves; the rivalship of commerce, not checked by any other jealousy or apprehension, had naturally in England begot a violent enmity against the neighbouring Republic.

TRADE was beginning, among the English, to be a matter of very general concern; but notwithstanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce seemed hitherto to stand upon a footing, which was somewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by industry and frugality, were enabled to undersell them in every market, retained possession of the most lucrative branches of commerce; and the English merchants had the mortification to find, that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loss and dishonour. Their indignation encreased, when they considered the superior naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and seamen, her favourable situation by which she was enabled to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the prospect of these advantages, they were strongly prompted from motives less just than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to ravish from them by force, what they could not obtain, or could obtain but slowly, by superior skill and industry.

THE careless, unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming so vast a project as that of engrossing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether insensible to such obvious and such tempting prospects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, inclined him

Chap. II. hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of state between
1664. the two nations, not a concern of private persons*. These circumstances give us no favourable idea of the justice of the English pretensions.

CHARLES confined not himself to memorials and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions: He likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the Isle of Goeree, together with several ships trading on that coast. And having failed to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a territory, which James the first had given by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of these hostile measures, the King, unwilling to avow what he could not well justify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewise confined Holmes to the Tower; but some time after restored him to his liberty.

THE Dutch, finding that their applications for redress were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with some precipitation, an act of vigor, which hastened on the rupture. Sir John Lawfon and de Ruyter had been sent with combined squadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chastise the piratical States on the coast of Barbary; and the time of their separation and return was now approaching. The States secretly dispatched orders to de Ruyter, that he should take in provisions at Cadiz; and sailing towards the coast of Guinea, should retaliate on the English, and put the Dutch in possession of those settlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a considerable force on board, met with no opposition in Guinea. All the new acquisitions of the English, except Cape Corse, were recovered from them. They were even dispossessed of some old settlements. Such of their ships as fell into his hands were seized by de Ruyter. That admiral sailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hostilities on Long Island.

MEANWHILE, the English preparations for war were advancing with vigor and industry. The King had received no supplies from Parliament; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet: The City of London lent him 100,000 pounds: The spirit of the nation seconded his armaments: He himself went from port to port, inspecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: And in a little time the English navy was put into a very formidable condition. Eight hundred thousand pounds are said to have been expended on this armament.

When

* Temple, Vol. ii. p. 42.

Chap. II.
1661.

was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

1664.
22d of February.

As soon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprizes, Charles declared war against the States. His fleet, consisting of 114 sail, besides fireships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the gallant earl of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral, killed during the Protectorship, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

3d of June.
Victory of the English.

It is affirmed, and with great appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered much more compleat, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Broucker, one of the Duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his master. The Duke disclaimed the orders; but Broucker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity*. It is allowed, however, that the Duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly disposition, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits to sink within him, and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose face he had not been afraid to encounter.

This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation, and determined de Wir, who was the soul of all their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he soon remedied all those disorders, which had been occasioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even improved some parts of pilotage and sailing, beyond what men expert in those arts had ever been able to attain.

THE

* Turmet sufficiently account for Broucker's impunity, by informing us, that he was a favourite of the dutches of Cleveland, the king's favourite mistress.

The real fortune of the Dutch, Spanish, and English, was not in the
 support. The King of France was not to be deceived, and he was
 better advised than all France was yet in his own mind, that he
 should not continue the war with the Dutch, till he had seen
 Charles ready to mediate a peace betwixt the two parties, and to
 accompany him to London, which returned with an entire supply of
 money to the King, and a flourish at Paris, endeavoured to draw over
 England; and his master's name made him the most terrible
 antagonist to abandon all the Spanish Low Countries to the French, and
 pretending to a foot of ground for himself; provided Louis would
 pursue his advantages against the Dutch*. But the French Ministry
 thought the conquest of that valuable territory was the chief object
 of his ambition, and the offer as contrary to his interest: He
 therefore thought fit to let the Dutch know, that he would
 still retain an uncontrollable dominion over the Low Countries, and
 would soon be able to render his acquisition a very complete one. M. de
 Lionne, the French Secretary, advised Van Burgh, one of the Dutch
 States, that this offer had been proffered on no more than the terms
 of "I will readily believe," replied the Dutch Minister, "I am sensible
 that it is the interest of England."

Such were the established notions at that time with regard to the
 Princes. It must however be allowed, that the politics of Charles in making
 this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakness of Spain
 rendered the French conquests easy and inevitable: But the vigour of the
 Dutch, it might be foreseen, would be the wreck of the English nation's
 precautions. And even were the Dutch to be totally annihilated, the
 acquisition of the Spanish provinces to be made, and the result on a certain
 conference, might be such, that it would not be long before they
 would be ready to attack one another, and some of them very
 difficult to be defended.

Tho' the King of Denmark was not a party in the contest, in that
 contest, in which the great contest was between the French and
 the Dutch, the time in which the contest was carried on, and the
 objects of the contest, were such, that it was not possible for the
 King of Denmark to be a party in the contest, and the contest
 between the French and the Dutch, was such, that it was not
 extraordinary. He made a great deal of money, and he made
 it in his hand, and he made it in his hand, and he made it in
 his hand, in excess of the usual amount, and he made it in his
 hand, he invited the Dutch to fight, and he made it in his hand,

* D. Hall, 17th Dec. 1672.

† See the next page.

Chap. II.
1655.

3d of August

the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the English navy (the Duke having gone ashore) dispatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but whether from the King of Denmark's delay in sending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engross the whole booty, the English admiral, tho' he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpose. The Danish governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a very gallant resistance.

Rupture with
Denmark.

THE King of Denmark, seemingly ashamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the States; and at the very same time, his resident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England. To this last alliance he adhered, probably from jealousy of the growing power of this island; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. This was a very sensible check to the advantages, which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a great blow was given to the English commerce: The King of Denmark's naval force was considerable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That Prince stipulated to assist his allies with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of 1,500,000 crowns; of which 300,000 were payed by France.

THE King endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had dispatched Sir Richard Fanshawe into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That Monarchy was sunk into a great degree of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a cordial friendship with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these offences sunk so deep into the mind of the Spanish Monarch, that no motive of interest was sufficient to outweigh them.

THE bishop of Munster was the only ally that Charles could acquire. That prelate, a man of restless enterprize and ambition, had entertained a violent animosity against the States; and he was easily engaged, by the promise of subsidies from England, to make an incursion on that Republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000 men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak resistance. The land forces of the States were as feeble and ill governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after committing great ravages in several of the provinces, the warlike prelate found, that a stop was put to his progress. He had not military skill sufficient to improve the advantages, which fortune had offered him. The King of France sent a body of 6000 men to oppose him: Subsidies were not regularly remitted from England; and many of his troops deserted for want of pay:

The

ence. Had not the spirit of the nation undergone a change, these violences were preludes to the most furious persecution.

HOWEVER prevalent the hierarchy, this law passed not without opposition. Besides several peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himself, tho' Clarendon's great friend, expressed his disapprobation of these measures. But the church party, not discouraged with this opposition, introduced into the House of Commons a bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. The Parliament, after a very short session, was prorogued.

1666. AFTER France had declared war, England was evidently over-matched in force. Yet she possessed this advantage by her situation, that she divided the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by speedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their conjunction. But such was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or such the want of intelligence in her ministers, that this circumstance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon; and the French Squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail*, was now commonly supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six, was at sea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the Protectorship, had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach Prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, protested against the temerity of this resolution: But Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who, seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle, which ensued, is one of the most memorable, which we read of in story; whether we consider its duration, or the desperate courage, with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some atonement by his valour for the rashness of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the summit of honours. We shall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be sufficient to ment on the chief events of each day's engagement.

1666 June. On the first day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the snare of the enemy, was over-powered, and his ship taken. He himself

was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The English had the most of the enemy; but as the wind blew so high, that they could not get a shot or a single damage advantage in the sea, they were obliged to retire on the bay on the 11th and 12th, and on the 13th were again engaged, but that was all that was done. The Dutch and English were again engaged on the 14th, but the Dutch were again defeated, and on the 15th the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, was killed in the action, and the Dutch fleet was dispersed.

The English were now in the advantage, and the Dutch admiral was obliged to retire. The English now took the advantage of the Dutch fleet, and upon the superiority of numbers, a general action was fought, and who so it decisive in courage. De Ruyter and Van Horn, who were the two admirals of the Dutch, exerted themselves in the most gallant manner, and the advantage of changing and flying in the hands of the English, and was in the end manifest. The Dutch fleet was dispersed, and the Dutch admiral was killed. And the English were victorious in the battle, they were reduced to twenty eight, and the Dutch admiral was killed in the own sea. The Dutch admiral was killed in the battle, when a calm, which came a few days after, prevented the engagement.

Now in 1666, the English were obliged to continue their retreats, and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were sent to the Dutch, and sixteen of the most entire followed them, in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Although the Dutch held the rear, and kept a watchful eye on the English, they did not attack them. The order of the day, that the Dutch admiral gave, was, that he would not attack the English, but that he would keep them in awe, and that he would not let them pass the English. On the 10th of June, the Dutch admiral was killed, and the Dutch fleet was dispersed.

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Clap. II.
1666.

reap the consolation of perishing gloriously, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireships to attack him, and he was obliged to strike. The English sailors, seeing the necessity, with the utmost indignation surrendered themselves prisoners.

ALBEMARLE and Prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning, the battle began afresh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a more close combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

Tho' the English, by their obstinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is somewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ships; and having some appearances of advantage, expressed their satisfaction by all the signs of triumph and rejoicing. But as the English fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to sea more formidable than ever, together with many of those ships, which the Dutch had boasted to have burned or destroyed; all Europe saw that those two brave nations were engaged in a contest, which was never likely, on either side, to prove decisive.

25th of July.
Victory of the
English.

It was the conjunction of the French alone, which could give the superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired the fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English under Prince Rupert and Albemarle were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, whom he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with great conduct and valour, maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and tho' overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit was obliged to submit to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to him as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however for yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" One de Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a
brave

Comp. II.
126.

had again the good fortune to pass the English. One ship alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

3d of Sep-
tember.
Fire of Lon-
don.

WHILE the war continued without any decisive success on either side, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great consternation. A fire, breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The King and Duke used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames; but all their industry was fruitless. About four hundred streets, and thirteen thousand houses were reduced to ashes.

THE causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of timber, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction, that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the Republicans, others to the Catholics; tho' it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either party. As the Papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof however, or even presumption, after the strictest enquiry by a committee of Parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription, engraved by authority on the monument, ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. This clause was erased by order of King James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing, which flatters their prevailing passion.

THE fire of London, tho' at that time a great calamity, has proved in the issue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before. A discretionary power was assumed by the King to regulate the distribution of the buildings, and to forbid the use of lath and timber, the materials, of which the houses were formerly composed. The necessity was so urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that no exceptions were made to an exercise of authority, which otherwise might have been esteemed illegal. Had the King,

It is said, that he carry'd his power full father, and not the house, because he was
 person, regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had no other object than to re-
 cover the city, as well as embellishment of the city. On that point, however,
 he was directed from the alterations; though it carried to the full, the London
 is now much more healthy after the fire. The plague, was said to break out
 only once or twice every century, and indeed was always but a small
 number of the city, has not once discovered in it since that calamity.

The Parliament met soon after, and gave the function of law to those regula-
 tions made by royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners for dealing with
 the partitions of property, which might arise from the fire. They likewise
 voted a supply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-tax, and partly
 in assessments. Tho' their enquiry brought out no profits, which could be sent to
 the king, the burning of London, the general assize, and a small that was made, the
 various and complaints were made, probably with great truth, that the
 king's progress. Charles, at the desire of the Commons, issued a proclamation
 for the banishment of all priests and jesuits; but this had execution, only,
 as to those of former order, destroy'd all confidence in his professed piety, which he
 profess'd that he did not towards the Catholic religion. Whether this was the
 cause, which diminished the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears that the
 people were not so much later than Charles expected, or even than they were
 expected to repair. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, a man
 who wanted only readiness to render him extremely dangerous, had in all
 end mislead the measures of the court. And this was the first time that the
 king's people had been ready to complain of a monarch, and to demand his
 removal. The king's progress, had he carried it to the end, would have
 been a most successful attempt to gain a popular opinion, and to give the
 king a more solid and lasting support, than a parliament could give him.

Commissions were sent to be holden throughout the kingdom, to enquire
 into the state of the law, and to provide for the better execution of the same. The
 king's progress, had he carried it to the end, would have been a most
 successful attempt to gain a popular opinion, and to give the king a more
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chap. II
1672.

The first advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the King sent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he insinuated to the States his desire of peace on reasonable terms; and their answer corresponded in the same amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority, still insisted, that the States should treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment so far as concerned themselves: But being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. On a sudden, the King went so far on the other side as to offer the sending ambassadors to the Hague; but this proposal, which seemed honourable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and distract them, by affording the English an opportunity to carry on cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the Queen mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made very equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they stood before the war; or that both parties should continue in possession of their present acquisitions. Charles accepted the latter proposal; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the isle of Poperone. This island lies in the East Indies, and was formerly valuable for its product of spices. The English had been masters of it; but were dispossessed at the time when the violences had been committed against them at Amboyna. Cromwel had stipulated to have it restored; and the Hollanders, having first entirely destroyed all the spice trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the English had been anew expelled during the course of the war. Charles renewed his pretensions to this island; and as the reasons on both sides began to multiply, and seemed to require a long discussion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

LORD Hollis and Henry Coventry were the English ambassadors. They immediately desired, that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims should be adjusted: But this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected by the interest of de Wit. That penetrating and active minister, thorowly acquainted with the characters of Princes and the situation of affairs, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and everly revenge those injuries, which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English.

WHATEVER projects might have been formed by Charles for secreting the money granted him by Parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expen-

Chap. II.
1667.

the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide advance up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: Platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery: The train bands were called out; and every place was full of the utmost disorder. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt: They met with no better success at Plymouth: They insulted Harwich: They sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities. His interest required, that a balance should be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontroled superiority should be given to either.

GREAT indignation prevailed amongst the English, to see an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now of a sudden ride undisputed masters of the ocean, burn their ships in their very harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the capital itself. But tho' the cause of all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor the misbehaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries, who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that supposition had been treated with such severity*.

In the present distress, two expedients were embraced: An army of 12,000 men was suddenly levied; and the Parliament, tho' it lay under prorogation, was summoned to meet. The Houses were very thin; and the only vote, which the Commons passed, was an address for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expression of a jealousy not ill-grounded, shewed the court what they might expect from that assembly; and it was thought most prudent to prorogue them till next winter.

But the signing the treaty at Breda, extricated the King from his present difficulties. The English ambassadors received orders to recede from those demands, which, however frivolous in themselves, could not now be yielded, without acknowledging a superiority in the enemy. Polorone remained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships, Bonaventure and Good-hope, the pretended grounds of

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* Some Nonconformists however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correspondence with the States, and had entertained projects for insurrection; but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them. *Brit. trade*, 1374 of October, 1667.

14th of July.
Peace of Bre-
da.

Chap. II.
1667.

marriage. He was farther stimulated by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter to a Scotch gentleman; a lady of great beauty, and whose virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: But Clarendon, apprehensive of the consequences attending a disputed title, and perhaps anxious for the succession of his grandchildren, engaged the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the King's hopes. It is pretended, that Charles never forgave this disappointment.

WHEN politics, therefore, and inclination both concurred to make the King sacrifice Clarendon to popular prejudices, the memory of his past services was not able any longer to delay his fall. The seals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. Southampton the treasurer was now dead, who had persevered to the utmost in his attachments to the chancellor. The last time he appeared at the council-board, he exerted his friendship with a vigour, which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," said he, speaking of Clarendon, "is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman; and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the consequences of his removal."

BUT the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: His total ruin was resolved on. The duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. Both Prince and people united in promoting that violent measure; and no means were thought so proper for ingratiating the court with a Parliament, which had so long been governed by that very minister, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

SOME popular acts paved the way for the session; and the Parliament, in their first address, gave the King thanks for these instances of his goodness, and among the rest, they took care to mention his dismissal of Clarendon. The King, in reply, assured the Houses, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatsoever. Immediately, the charge against him was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, and consisted of seventeen articles. The house, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles * we know to be either false or frivolous; and

* The articles were, that he had advised the King to govern by military power without Parliaments, that he had affirmed the King to be a Papist or popishly affected, that he had received great sums of money for procuring the Canary patent and other illegal patents, that he had advised and procured divers of his Majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remote islands and garrisons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law, that he had procured the customs to be farmed at under-rates, that he had received great sums from the Vintners' Company, for allowing them to enhance the price of Wines, that he had in a short time gained a greater estate than could have been supposed to arise from the profits of his office, that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his Majesty's plantations,

10th of October.

Chap. II.
1667.

Clarendon's
banishment.

THIS paper the Lords transmitted to the Commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both Houses, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. They next proceeded to exert their legislative power against Clarendon, and passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, which received the royal assent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He survived his banishment six years; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does great honour to his memory; and, except Whitelocke's Memorials, is the most candid account of those times, composed by any cotemporary author.

CLARENDON was always a friend to the liberty and the constitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late King's service, and was honoured with a great share in the esteem and friendship of that Monarch: He was pursued with unrelenting animosity by the Long Parliament: He had shared all the fortunes and directed all the councils of the present King during his exile: He had been advanced to the highest trust and offices after the restoration: Yet all these circumstances, which might naturally operate with such force, either on resentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is said, that when he first engaged in the study of the law, his father exhorted him with great earnestness to shun the practice too common in that profession, of straining every point in favour of prerogative, and perverting so useful a science to the oppression of liberty: And in the midst of these rational and virtuous councils, which he re-iterated, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, and expired in his son's presence. This circumstance gave additional weight to the principles, which he inculcated.

THE combination of King and subject to oppress so good a minister affords, to men of opposite dispositions, an equal occasion of inveighing against the ingratitude of Princes or ignorance of the people. Charles seems never to have mitigated his resentment against Clarendon; and the national prejudices pursued him to his retreat in France. Even some years after, a company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, and would have proceeded to the last extremity, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interposed.

1663.

THE next expedient, which the King embraced, in order to acquire popularity, is much more deserving of praise; and, had it been steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory glorious. It is the Triple Alliance of which I speak; a measure, which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish Monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of all the neighbouring nations. The insolent and turbulent spirit of the nobility were tamed: The popular dissensions of the Parliament restrained: The Huguenot party reduced to obedience: The fertile and fertile country, possessed of every advantage both of soil and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants. And the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for the most enterprising, it was tamed to an entire submission under the will of the Sovereign.

The Sovereign, who now filled the throne, was well adapted, by his perfect character, both to create and to avail himself of these mighty advantages. Louis, the fourteenth, endowed with every quality, which could enchant the people, possessed many which merit the approbation of the wise. The majestic beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air. The dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the highest affability and politeness. Eloquent without ostentation, and directed to pleasure without neglecting business, decent in his very vices, and unwielded in the use of arbitrary power; he surpassed all contemporary Monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory.

His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, had carefully provided every means of conquest; and before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely ensured himself of success. His finances were brought into order: An naval power created: His armies increased and disciplined: Magazines and military stores provided. And that the magnificence of his court was supported, and all terms extorted, to support what the ceremony demanded, and to weight it and the people, which was checked by arts and commerce, submit to multiplied taxes: that his military force might extend what in any preceding age had ever been enjoyed by any European Monarch.

The public peace and tranquillity of the Spanish Monarchy, opened a way for him to every advantage, which he could possibly procure, in any one of his several conquests. The crown nation of France, still in a state of weakness, was divided by the intrigues and interests of her many provinces, and all of them were ready to wage long wars, as the only resource, which could secure them from the attacks, with which they were continually threatened.

The monarchs, which had antiently inhabited the island of Great Britain, possessed a power, which had been justly supposed to be inviolable, and which was supported by ancient laws, begun to revive, and to exert themselves. The kings of France, the kings of Spain, a plan, which had been conceived, and had already begun to

Chap. II.
1038.

the ambition of England; and the whole people were eager to provide for their own future security, by opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had contributed, among other reasons, to render the peace of Breda so universally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip the fourth, King of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and some very slender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis espoused the Spanish Princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish Monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the most accurate and most precise terms, which language could afford. But on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended, that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles the second of Spain; but as the Queen of France was of a former marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish Monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother. By the customs of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his Queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important dutchy.

French invasion of the Low Countries.

A CLAIM of this nature was more properly supported by military force than by argument and reasoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with a numerous army of 40,000 men, commanded by the best generals of the age, and provided of every thing requisite for action. The Spaniards, tho' they might have foreseen this measure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, without fortifications, without garisons, fell into the hands of the French King, as soon as he presented himself before them. Athe, Lisle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche were immediately taken: And it was visible, that no force in the Low Countries was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms.

This measure, executed with such celerity and success, gave great alarm to almost every court in Europe. It had been observed with what dignity or even haughtiness, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever supported all his rights and pretensions. D'Estades, the French ambassador, and Watteville, the Spanish, having quarrelled in London, on account of their pretensions for precedence, the French Monarch was not satisfied, till Spain sent to Paris a solemn embassy, and promised never more to revive such contests. Crequi, his ambassador in Rome, had met with an affront from the Pope's guards. The Pope, Alexander the seventh, had been obliged to break his guards, to dispatch his nephew to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his

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Chap. II.
1668.

commodation, the Dutch apprehended lest these, either from the obstinacy of the Spaniards or the ambition of the French, would never be carried into execution.

CHARLES resolved with great prudence to take the first step towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of saving the Netherlands. This man, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, sincere, superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: And meeting in de Wit with a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his master's intention, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was from the first negotiated between these two statesmen with the same cordiality, as if it were a private affair, transacted between two intimate companions. Esteeming the interests of their country the same, they gave full scope to that sympathy of character, which disposed them to an intire reliance on each others professions and engagements. And tho' the jealousy against the House of Orange might inspire de Wit with an aversion to a strict union with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service.

TEMPLE pressed an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests: But de Wit told him, that this measure was too bold and precipitant to be agreed to by the States. He said, that the French were the old and constant allies of the Republic; and till matters came to extremity, she never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendship so well established, and rely entirely on a treaty with England, which had lately waged so cruel a war against her: That ever since the reign of Elizabeth, there had been such a fluctuation in the English councils, that it was not possible, for two years together, to take any certain measures with that kingdom: That tho' the present ministry, having entered into views so conformable to national interest, promised greater firmness and constancy, it might still be unsafe, in a business of such consequence, to put entire confidence in them: That the French Monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremities rather than submit: That it was sufficient, if he could be constrained to adhere to the offer, which he had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby saved from the danger, with which they were at present threatened: And that the other powers, in Germany and the North, whose assistance they might expect, would be satisfied with putting a stop to the French conquests, without pretending to recover the places, which were already lost.

Chap. II.
1668.

treaty, he had prescribed so short a time for the acceptance of that offer, that he still expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find some opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid showed equal displeasure. To be obliged to give up any part of the Spanish provinces, in lieu of claims, so apparently unjust, and these urged with such violence and haughtiness, inspired the highest disgust. Often did they threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries rather than submit to so cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous measures for their support. But Temple and de Wit were better acquainted with the views and interests of Spain. They knew, that she must still retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other European powers, who alone, if her young Monarch should happen to die without issue, could ensure her independancy against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in case of refusal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix la Chapelle. Temp'e was minister for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D'Hona for Sweden.

Spain at last, pressed on all hands, made choice of the alternative offered, but in her very compliance, she gave strong symptoms of ill-humour and discontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spanish monarchy, had been anxious only for their own security; and provided they could remove Lewis to a distance from their frontiers, were more indifferent what progress he made in all other places. Sensible of these views, the Queen-regent of Spain resolved still to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at present to enter into. Franche-comté, by a vigorous and well concerted plan of the French King, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous season, and in the midst of winter. She chose therefore to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish provinces.

Treaty of
Aix-la-Chapelle.

But notwithstanding the advantages of his situation, the French Monarch could entertain small hopes of ever extending his conquests on that quarter, which lay the most exposed to his ambition, and where his acquisitions were of most importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the Emperor and other powers of Germany, whose interests seemed to be strongly concerned, were invited to enter into the same confederacy. Spain herself, having about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour in opposition to her haughty

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Chap. II.
1688.

as a maxim, that the assigning a punishment was a limitation of the crown : Whereas a law, forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that case, they determined, that the punishment was arbitrary ; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commissioner passed this act ; tho' he had no instructions for that purpose.

AN act of indemnity passed : but at the same time it was voted, that all those who had offended during the late disorders, should be subjected to fines ; and a committee of Parliament was appointed for imposing them. These proceeded without any regard to some equitable rules, which the King had prescribed to them *. The most obnoxious compounded secretly. No consideration was had, either of men's estates, or of the degrees of their guilt : No proofs were produced : Enquiries were not so much as made : But as fast as men were delated, they were marked down for a particular fine : And all was transacted in a secret committee. When the list was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to many : Some had been under age during the civil wars ; some had been abroad. But it was still replied, that a proper time would come, when every man should be heard in his own defence. The only intention, it was said, of setting the fine was, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they payed the sum demanded : Every one that chose to stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril, It was well known, that no one would dare so far to set at defiance so arbitrary an administration. The King wrote to the council, ordering them to supersede the levying those fines : But Middleton found means, during some time, to elude those orders †. And at last, the King obliged his ministers to compound for half the sums, which had been imposed.

BUT the chief circumstance, whence were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders in Scotland, was the rigorous execution of the laws for the establishment of Episcopacy, to which a great part of the nation had entertained the most unfurmountable aversion. The right of patrons had for some years been abolished ; and the power of electing ministers had been vested in the church-session, and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, should receive a presentation from the patron, and should be instituted anew by the bishop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid Presbyterians concerted measures among themselves, and refused obedience : They imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty parishes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The western counties chiefly were obstinate in this particular. New ministers were sought for all over
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* Bunet. p. 147.

† Id. p. 101.

Chap. II.
1666.

terwards retired to Muscovy, where they had encreased the native cruelty of their disposition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scotch ministry. Representations were made to the King against these enormities. He seemed touched with the state of the country; and besides giving orders, that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued, he signified his opinion, that another way of proceeding was necessary to his service*.

This lenity of the King's came too late to remedy the disorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were instigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They surprized Turner in Dumfries, and resolved to have put him to death; but finding, that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they spared his life. At Lanerick, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and set out their manifesto; where they professed all submission to the King: They desired only the restoration of Presbytery and of their former ministers. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on suspicion; Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had served, but in no high rank, were entrusted with the command. Their force exceeded not two thousand men; and tho' the whole country bore them great favour, men's spirits were so subdued, that the rebels could expect no farther accession of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose their motions. Their number was now diminished to 800; and these, having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the west by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the King's forces†. Finding that they could not escape, they stopped their march. Their ministers endeavoured to infuse courage into them. After singing some psalms, they turned on the enemy; and being assisted by the advantage of the ground, they received the first charge very resolutely. But that was all the action: Immediately, they lost order, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty taken prisoners. The rest, favoured by the night, and by the weariness, and even by the pity of the King's troops, made their escape.

The oppression which these people had suffered, the delusions under which they laboured, and their inoffensive behaviour during the insurrection, made them the objects of compassion: Yet were the King's ministers, particularly Sharp, resolute to take severe vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty-five before their own doors in different places. These criminals might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the King put a stop to them. He said, that blood enough had already been shed; and he wrote a letter, where he ordered, that such of the

prisoners.

* Burnet. p. 213.

† 28th of November. 1666.

Chap. II.
1663.

could not be dispossessed, because they were the most powerful and only armed part of Ireland; because it was requisite to favour them, in order to support the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom; and because they had generally, with a seeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the King's restoration. The King, therefore, issued a proclamation; where he promised to maintain their settlement, and at the same time engaged to give redress to the innocent sufferers. There was a large quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and some other funds, it was thought possible for the King to fulfill both these engagements.

A COURT OF CLAIMS was erected, consisting altogether of English commissioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties, into which Ireland was divided. Before these, were laid four thousand claims of persons desiring restitution on account of their innocence; and the commissioners had found leisure to examine only six hundred. It already appeared, that, if all these were to be restored, the funds, whence the adventurers and soldiers must get reprisals, would fall extremely short of giving them any tolerable satisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety seized all ranks of men: The hopes and fears of every party were excited: These eagerly grasped at recovering their paternal inheritance: Those were resolute to maintain their new acquisitions.

THE duke of Ormond was created lord-lieutenant, being the only person, whose prudence and justice could compose such jarring interests. A Parliament was assembled at Dublin; and as the Lower House was almost entirely chosen by the soldiers and adventurers, who still kept possession, it was extremely favourable to that interest. The House of Peers showed greater impartiality.

AN insurrection was projected, together with a surprizal of the castle of Dublin, by some of the disbanded soldiers; but this design was happily defeated by the vigilance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were punished. Blood, the most desperate of them, escaped into England.

BUT affairs could not long remain in the confusion and uncertainty, in which they were placed. All parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to attain some stability; and Ormond interposed his authority to that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a third part of their possessions; and as they had purchased their lands at very low prices, they had reason to think themselves extremely favoured by this composition. All the persons, forfeited on account of their adherence to the King, were restored; and some of the innocent Irish. It was a hard situation, that a man was obliged to prove himself innocent, in order to recover possession of the estate, which he and his ancestor had ever enjoyed: But the hardship was augmented, by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the person had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels,

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Chap. II.
1668.

he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law, so full of injustice and bad policy. The Lords expunged the word; but as the King was sensible, that no supply would be given by the Commons, unless they were gratified in all their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his interest with the peers for making the bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not, however, forbear expressing his displeasure at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention, which the Commons discovered of retrenching his prerogative.

THIS law brought great distress for some time upon Ireland; but it has occasioned their applying with greater industry to manufactures, and has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom.

C H A P. III.

A Parliament.—The Cabal.—Their characters.—Their councils.—Alliance with France.—A Parliament.—Coventry act.—Blood's crimes.—Duke declares himself Catholic.—Exchequer shut.—Declaration of indulgence.—Attack of the Smyrna fleet.—War declared with Holland.—Weakness of the States.—Battle of Solebay.—Sandwich killed.—Progress of the French.—Conferment of the Dutch.—Prince of Orange Stadtholder.—Massacre of the de Witts.—Good conduct of the Prince.—A Parliament.—Declaration of indulgence recalled.—Sea-fight.—Another sea-fight.—Another sea-fight.—Congress of Cologne.—A Parliament.—Peace with Holland.

1668.

SINCE the restoration, England was in a condition, which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which seemed the only one, that could fully ensure her happiness and her liberty: The King was in continual want of support from the Parliament; and he seemed willing to accommodate himself to that dependent situation. Instead of reviving those claims of prerogative, so strenuously insisted on by his father and grandfather, he had strictly confined himself within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of his subjects. Even the severities, however blameable, which he had

had been forced to exert against Nonconformists, are to be considered as experiments, by which he strove to ingratiate himself with the party which predominated in Parliament. But notwithstanding this profligate expatriation, there were many excellent measures, which kept the government from sinking totally to the bottom, on which it was placed. The Crown having had almost all its annual revenues supplied voluntarily by the people, and the Commons, in consequence of this new situation, were not disposed to supply what still remained of the necessities of the Crown. To ymagine that strictly the example of the republicans in a rigid frugality of public money, and in their reluctance to augment the magnificence of the Prince, nor the general state of Europe, where every nation, by its exorbitance both of magnificence and force, had multiplied its additions to all public expences. Some considerable sums, indeed, were borrowed on credit, and the patriots of that age, tenacious of ancient maxims, hardly upheld the Commons with prodigality: But if we may judge by the example of a later period, when the government has become more regular, and the harmony of the parties has been more happily adjusted, the Parliaments of this reign seem rather to have merited a contrary reproach.

The natural consequence of the poverty of the Crown was, besides its ineffectual transactions in foreign affairs, a continual uncertainty in its domestic administration. No-one could answer with any tolerable assurance for the measures of the House of Commons. Few of the members were attached to the Court by any other band than that of inclination. Royalists indeed in their principles, but unexperienced in business, they lay exposed to every rumour or insinuation, and were driven by momentary passions or currents, no less than the popular multitude, in the attempt to make to gain an attendant on their offices, and to be distinguished by titles and pensions, were apt to operate in a manner, which, if not altogether contrary to the interests of the nation, were at least very far from being salutary to the members. The novelty of the practice, and the great number of persons, who, alarmed with the first notice, the parliament, the court, and the nation, were very liberal and generous.

The character of Charles was ill adapted to the situation, in which he was placed. He acted in the same manner, as if he had been a private gentleman, rather than a monarch, and was more conversant with the pleasures of the court, than with the duties of the crown. He was not conversant with the business of the Parliament. He expiated the faults of his reign, by the same means, which he had used to prevent the discovery of them. He was not conversant with the business of the Parliament. He expiated the faults of his reign, by the same means, which he had used to prevent the discovery of them.

Chap. III.
1668.
8th of Febru-
ary.
A Parliament.

THE Parliament met after a long adjournment; and the King promised himself every thing from the attachment of the Commons. All his late measures had been calculated to acquire the goodwill of his people; and above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the impressions left by the unhappy conclusion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a very laudable one too, lost him, for a time, the effect of all these endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favour with the King, and carried on many intrigues among the Commons, had also endeavoured to support connexions with the Nonconformists; and he now formed a scheme, together with the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Mathew Hale, chief justice, two worthy patriots, to put an end to those severities, under which these religionists had so long laboured. It was proposed to reconcile the Presbyterians by a comprehension, and to grant a toleration to the Independants and other sectaries. Favour seems not, by this scheme, as by others embraced during the present reign, to have been intended the Catholics: Yet were the zealous Commons so disgusted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the King thanks for the triple league, however laudable that measure was then, and has ever since been esteemed. They immediately voted an address for a proclamation against conventicles. Their request was complied with; but as the King still dropped some hints of his desire to reconcile his protestant subjects, the Commons passed a very unusual vote, that no man should bring into the House any bill of that nature. The King in vain re-iterated his solicitations for supply, represented the necessity of equipping a fleet, and even offered, that the money which they should grant, should be collected and issued for that purpose by commissioners appointed by the House. Instead of compliance, the Commons voted an enquiry into all the miscarriages during the late war; the slackening sail after the Duke's victory from false orders delivered by Brounker, the miscarriage at Berghen, the division of the fleet under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, the disgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the House, and ordered to be impeached. Commissioner Pet, who had neglected orders for the security of Chatham, met with the same fate. These impeachments were never prosecuted. The House at last, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the King three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wine and other liquors; after which 11th of May, they were adjourned.

BESIDES the ill humour of the Commons against the tolerating maxims of the Court, public business was somewhat retarded this session by a quarrel betwixt the two Houses. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having received some injuries from the East India Company, laid the matter by petition before the House of Lords, by whom he was relieved in costs and damages to the amount of five thousand pounds.

Chap. III.
1667.

lye and falshood. He must have had some reasons, and perhaps not unplaussible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time very competent judges*.

THE method which all Parliaments had hitherto followed, was to vote a particular sum for the supply, without any distinction or appropriation for particular services. So long as the demands of the Crown were only small and casual, no great inconveniencies arose from this practice. But as the whole measures of government were now changed, it must be confessed, that, if the King made a just application of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by exposing him to suspicions, was very prejudicial to him. If he was inclined to act otherwise, it was equally hurtful to the people. For these reasons, a contrary practice, during all the late reigns, has constantly been followed by the Commons.

1670.
24th of February.

WHEN the Parliament met after the prorogation, they entered anew upon the business of the supply, and granted the King an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spanish wine, eight on each tun of French. A law was also passed empowering him to sell the fee farm rents; the last remains of the demesnes by which the ancient Kings of England had been supported. By this expedient he obtained some supply for his present necessities, but left the Crown, if possible, still more dependant than before. How much money might be raised by these sales is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thousand pounds, the sum assigned by some writers †.

THE act against conventicles passed, and received the royal assent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former persecuting laws; but if we may judge by the spirit, which had broke out almost every session during this Parliament, it was not intended

* The abstract of the report of the Brook-house committee (so that committee was called) was first published by Mr. Ralph, vol. i. p. 177, from Lord Halifax's Collections, to which I refer. If we peruse their apology, which we find in the subsequent page of the same author, we shall find, that they acted with some malignity towards the King. They would take notice of no services performed before the 1st of September, 1664. But all the King's preparations preceded that date, and, as chancellor Clarendon told the Parliament, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds; and the computation is very probable. This sum, therefore, must be added. The committee likewise charged seven hundred thousand pounds to the King on account of the winter and summer guards, saved during two years and ten months that the war lasted. But this seems iniquitous. For tho' that was an usual burthen on the revenue, which was then saved; would not the diminution of the customs during the war be an equivalent to it? besides, near three hundred and forty thousand pound are charged for prize-money, which perhaps the King thought he ought not to account for. These sums exceed the million and a half.

† Mr. Carte, in his Vindication of the Answer to the Bylander, p. 99, says, that the sale of the fee farm rents would not yield above one hundred thousand pounds; and his reasons appear well founded.

Chap. III.
1670.

lessened the influence of the good, it also diminished the effect of the bad measures, which he embraced.

It was generally remarked, that the committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that Prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and lord keeper Bridgeman, men in whose honour the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole secret was entrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale. These men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. This incident served with the people to propagate and perpetuate that appellation. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious councils.

The Cabal.

Their Charac-
ters.

LORD ASHLEY, soon after known by the name of earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the most remarkable characters of the age, and the chief spring of all the succeeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late King's party; but being disgusted with some measures of Prince Maurice, he soon deserted to the Parliament. He insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great influence on the Presbyterians, he was serviceable in supporting the authority of that usurper. He employed the same credit to promote the restoration; and on that account both deserved and acquired great favour with the King. In all his changes, he still maintained the character of never betraying those friends whom he deserted; and which ever party he joined, his great capacity and singular talents soon gained him their confidence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. Restless, turbulent, factious; no station could satisfy his ambition, no fatigues were insuperable to his industry. Well-acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he surmounted all sense of shame: And relying on the subtilty of his contrivances, he was not startled with enterprizes, the most hazardous and most criminal. His talents, both of public speaking and private insinuation, shone out in an eminent degree; and amidst all his furious passions, he possessed a sound judgment of business, and still more of men. Tho' fitted by nature for beginning and pushing the greatest undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent abilities, by reason of his insatiable desires, were equally dangerous to himself, to the Prince, and to the people.

The duke of Buckingham possessed all the advantages, which a graceful person, a high rank, a splendid fortune, and a lively wit could bestow; but by his wild conduct, unrestrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himself in the end odious and even insignificant. The least interest could make him abound in his honour; the smallest pleasure could seduce him from his interest; the most frivolous caprice was sufficient to counterbalance his pleasure. By the want of

secrecy

Chap. III.
1672.

so many ages, had peaceably enjoyed : That the great error or misfortune of his father was the not having formed any close connexion with foreign Princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their interest in supporting him : That the present alliances, being entered into with so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the King's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less augment, the royal authority : That the French Monarch alone, so generous a Prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the King, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cause of Kings against usurping subjects : That a war, undertaken against Holland by the united force of two such mighty potentates, would prove an easy enterprise, and would serve all the purposes which were aimed at : That under pretext of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the King would vainly expect to defend his prerogative : That his naval power might be maintained, partly by the supplies, which, on other pretexts, would previously be obtained from Parliament ; partly by subsidies from France ; partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic : That in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the Crown would be attended with success ; nor would any dare to resist a Prince, fortified by so powerful an alliance ; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause : And that by subduing the States, a great step would be taken towards advancing a reformation of the government ; since it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious subjects, their attachment to what they vainly called their civil and religious liberties.

THESE suggestions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the King ; his desire of more extensive authority, his propensity to the Catholic religion, his avidity for money. He seems likewise, from the very beginning of his reign, to have entertained great jealousy of his own subjects, and, on that account, a desire of fortifying himself by an intimate alliance with France. So early as 1664, he had offered the French Monarch to allow him without opposition to conquer Flanders, provided that Prince would engage to furnish him with ten thousand infantry, and a suitable number of cavalry, in case of any rebellion in England*. As no dangerous symptoms at that time discovered themselves, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious disposition of his people.

EVEN during the time, when the triple alliance was most zealously cultivated, the King never seems to have been entirely cordial in those salutary measures, but still to have cast a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had

much

* D'Elmsted. 21st of July, 1667.

Chap. III.
1671.
Alliance with
France.

engagements with Lewis for the destruction of Holland. No particular articles seem here to have been signed, or even agreed upon. Neither of the Princes had the least claims on that republic; and they could therefore regulate their pretensions only by the future success of their arms. And as to the scheme, which Charles is with so good reason supposed to have entertained, of employing the French power, or at least the terror of it, for enlarging his authority at home; it was of such a nature as must depend upon incidents, and, for the present, it sufficed, if he conjoined his interests intimately with France, and obtained general assurances of support, in case of any opposition or insurrection.

BUT Lewis well knew Charles's character, and the usual fluctuation of his councils. In order to fix him in the French interests, he resolved to bind him by the ties of pleasure, the only ones which with him were irresistible; and he made him a present of a French mistress, by whose means, he hoped, for the future, to govern him. The dutchess of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Querouaille, whom the King carried to London, and soon after created dutchess of Portsmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole course of his life; and she proved a great means of supporting his connexions with her native country. 'Tis impossible but his quick discernment must have perceived the scope of all these artifices; but he was too much a slave to pleasure ever to defend himself against its present allurements.

THE satisfaction, which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his sister, and still more by those melancholy circumstances which attended it. Her death was sudden, after a few days illness; and she was seized with the malady upon drinking a glass of succory water. Strong suspicions of poison arose in the court of France, and spread all over Europe; and as her husband had discovered many symptoms of jealousy and discontent on account of her conduct, he was universally believed to be the author of that crime. Charles himself, during some time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the attestation of physicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was or pretended to be satisfied. The duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumstance of his life, betray such dispositions as might lead him to so criminal an action; and a lady, it is said, drank the remains of the same glass, without feeling any inconvenience. The sudden death of Princes is commonly accompanied with these dismal surmises; and therefore less weight is in this case to be laid on the suspicions of the public.

Charles, instead of breaking with France upon this incident, took advantage of it to send over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in real ty to concert farther measures for the projected war. - Never ambassador received

Chap. III.
1679.

secrets of the Cabal, must have observed so many grounds of suspicion, as should have kept him from giving sanction to that deceit, which was intended to be put upon the Parliament.

The artifice succeeded. The House of Commons, entirely satisfied with the King's measures, voted him considerable supplies. A land tax for a year was imposed of a shilling a pound; two shillings a pound on two thirds of the salaries of offices; fifteen shillings on every hundred pound of bankers' money and stock; an additional excise upon beer for six years, and certain impositions upon law proceedings for nine years. The Parliament had never before been in a more liberal disposition; and never surely was it less merited by the councils of the King and of his ministers.

1671.
22d of April.

The Commons passed another bill for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch salt, glasses, and some other commodities. Against this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the House of Lords. The Lords entered into their reasons, and began to make amendments on the bill sent up by the Commons. This attempt was highly resented by the lower House, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to possess alone, of granting money to the Crown. Many remonstrances passed between the two Houses; and by their altercations the King was obliged to prorogue the Parliament; and he thereby lost the money which was intended him. This is the last time, that the Peers have revived any pretensions of that nature. Ever since, the privilege of the Commons, in all other places except the House of Peers, has passed for undisputed.

THERE was a private affair, which during this session disgusted the House of Commons, and required some pains to accommodate it. The usual method of those who opposed the Court in the money bills, was, if they failed in the main vote as to the extent of the supply, to levy the money from such funds as they expected would be unacceptable or would prove deficient. It was proposed to lay an imposition upon playhouses: The courtiers objected, that the players were the King's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, asked, "whether the King's pleasure lay among the male or the female players?" This stroke of satire was aimed at Charles, who, besides his mistress of higher quality, entertained at that time two actresses, Davis and Nell Gwin. The King received not the railery with that good humour, which might have been expected. It was said, that this being the first time, when respect to Majesty had been publicly violated, it was necessary, by some severe chastisement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footsteps. Sands, Obrian, and some others of the guards were ordered to way-lay him, and to set a mark upon him. He defended himself with great bravery, and after wounding

Chap. III.
1671.

boldness of the enterprize as by the views of profit. He was very near succeeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel office; and had got out of the Tower with his prey, but was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When asked, he frankly avowed the enterprize; but refused to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "would never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the King was moved by an idle curiosity to see and speak with a person so noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon; and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a design to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where his Majesty often went to bathe: That the cause of this resolution was the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies: That when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of Majesty; and not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their purpose: That he had long ago brought himself to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for lost; yet could he not forbear warning the King of the danger which might attend his execution: That his associates had bound themselves together by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any of their confederacy: And that no precaution nor power could secure any one from the effects of their desperate resolutions.

Whether these considerations excited fear or admiration in the King, they confirmed his resolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a requisite point of decency first to obtain the duke of Ormond's consent. Arlington came to Ormond in the King's name, and desired that he would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was commanded to give him. The duke gallantly replied, that his Majesty's commands were the only reason, that could be given, and being sufficient, he might therefore spare the rest. Charles carried his kindness to Blood still farther: He granted him an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his person; he showed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretensions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the Crown and Regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deserved only to be stared at and detested as a monster, became a species of favourite.

Chap. III.
1672.

THIS incident however furnished Downing with a new article to encrease those vain pretences, on which it was proposed to ground the intended quarrel. The English court delayed several months before they complained; lest, if they had demanded satisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was bound by his instructions not to accept of any satisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays absolutely unavoidable. An answer, however, tho' refused by Downing, was sent over to London; with an ambassador extraordinary, who had orders to use every expedient, which might give satisfaction to the court of England. That Court replied, that the answer of the Hollanders was dark and obscure; but they would not specify the articles or expressions, which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambassador desired the English ministry to draw the answer in what terms they pleased; and he engaged to sign it: The English ministry replied, that it was not their business to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambassador brought them the draught of an article, and asked them whether it was satisfactory: The English answered, that, when he had signed and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman resolved to sign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new conference, an hour was appointed for that purpose. But when he attended, the English refused to enter upon business, and told him, that the season for negotiating was now past*.

LONG and frequent prorogations were made of the Parliament; lest the Houses should declare themselves with vigour against councils, so opposite to the inclination as well as interests of the public. Could we suppose, that Charles, in his alliance against Holland, really meant the good of his people, that measure must pass for an extraordinary, nay, romantic, strain of heroism, which could lead him, in spite of all difficulties, and even in spite of themselves, to seek the happiness of the nation. But every step, which he took in this affair, became a proof to all men of penetration, that the present war was intended against the liberties of his own subjects, even more than against the Dutch themselves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an absolute Monarch, and was never more to lie under the controul of national assemblies.

THE long prorogation of Parliament, if it freed the King from their importunate advices and remonstrances, was however attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations against Holland. Under pretext of maintaining the triple league, which, at that very time, he had firmly resolved to break, Charles had obtained a large supply from the Commons;

but

* England's Appeal, p. 22.

Chap. III.
1672.

years after the restoration; but Charles expected that the Parliament, whenever it should meet, would now be tamed to greater submission, and would no longer dare to controul his measures. Meanwhile, the Dissenters, the most inveterate enemies to the Court, were mollified by these indulgent maxims: And the Catholics, under their shelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

At the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by royal will and pleasure: A measure, which, tho' a stretch of prerogative, seemed useful to commerce, while all the seamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like suspension had been granted, during the time of the first Dutch war, and was not much remarked; because men had, at that time, entertained less jealousy of the crown. A proclamation was also issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing: Another full of menaces against those who presumed to speak undutifully of his Majesty's measures, and even those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time upon the offenders: Another against importing or vending any sorts of painted earthen ware, "except those of China, upon pain of being grievously fined and suffering the utmost punishment, which might be lawfully inflicted upon contraveners of his Majesty's royal authority." A new army had been levied; and it was found, that discipline could not be enforced without the exercise of martial law, which was therefore established by order of council, tho' contrary to the petition of right. All these acts of power, however little important in themselves, favoured strongly of arbitrary government, and were no way suitable to that legal administration, which the Parliament, after such violent convulsions and civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

It may be worth remarking, that the lord-keeper refused to affix the seals to the declaration for suspending the penal laws; and was for that reason, tho' under other pretexts, removed from his office. Shaftesbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his councils.

Foreign transactions kept pace with these domestic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by Sir Robert Holmes. That fleet consisted of seventy sail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of seizing so rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the present war, and he had considered that capture as a principal resource for supporting his military enterprizes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go in search of this fleet; and he passed Sprague in the Channel, who was returning home with a squadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a desire of engrossing all the honour and profit of the enterprize, kept the secret of his orders, the conjunction of these squadrons had rendered the success infallible.

When

Chap. III.
1672.

and had acquired great honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the insult itself had so long been forgiven, the picture of it should draw such severe vengeance upon his country. The conclusion of this manifesto, where the King still professed his attachment to the triple alliance, was of a piece with all the rest of it.

THE French King's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undisguised violence and injustice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been such, that it did not consist with his glory any longer to bear it. That Monarch's preparations were in great forwardness; and his ambition was flattered with the most promising views of success. Sweden was detached from the triple league: The bishop of Munster was engaged by the payment of subsidies to take part with France: The elector of Cologne had entered into the same alliance; and having consigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter, that France proposed to invade the United Provinces. The standing force of that Kingdom amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand men; and with more than the half of this great army was the King now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, oeconomy, industry of Colbert, subservient equally to the ambition of the Prince and happiness of the people, furnished unexhausted treasures: These, employed by the unrelenting vigilance of Louvois, supplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterprizes of the army: Condé, Turenne, seconded by Luxembourg, Crequi, and the most renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inspired courage into every one. The Monarch himself, surrounded with a gallant nobility, animated his troops, by the prospect of reward, or, what was more valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety: Its dangers furnished matter for glory: And in no enterprize did the genius of that gallant and polite people ever break out with more distinguished lustre.

Tho' de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domestic administration, he had, long before, received many firmizes of this fatal confederacy; but he prepared not for defence, so early or with such industry, as the danger required. An union of England with France was evidently, he saw, destructive to the interests of the former kingdom; and therefore, overlooking or ignorant of the humours and secret views of Charles, he concluded it impossible, that such pernicious projects could ever really be carried into execution. Secure in this fallacious reasoning, he allowed the Republic to remain too long in that defenceless situation, into which many concurring accidents had united to throw it.

By a continued and successful application to commerce, the people were become very unwarlike and careless of their defence, and that necessary army, which they maintained. After the treaty of Westphalia, the States resolving to disengage with Spain, and their alliance with France, had raised a great part of the army, and supported not with sufficient vigilance the discipline of the troops, which remained. When the aristocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to dismiss many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the Orange party, and their place was supplied by raw youths, the sons or kindred of the Orange party, by whose interest the party was supported. These new officers, many of the one or it of their friends and family, neglected their military duty, and some of them, it is said, were even allowed to serve by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of the nation had been disbanded: Lewis's invasion of Flanders, followed by the triple league, occasioned the dismissal of the French regiments: And the plague, which had ever had a chief share in the disorder and ruin of all the wars in the Low Countries, had not been supplied by any new levies.

Dr Witt, sensible of this dangerous situation, and alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, he desired to supply those defects, to which it was not easy of a sudden to provide a suitable remedy. But every proposal, which he could make, met with opposition from the Orange party, which was now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontroul'd administration of this Statesman had begot envy: The present incidents rous'd up his enemies and opponents, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the bad situation of the Commonwealth: And above all, the popular affection to the young Prince, which had before long been held in violent constraint, and had thence required new accessions of force, began to stir by itself, and to threaten the Commonwealth with some great commotion. While in this kind, Prince of Orange was now in the twentieth year of his age, and gave strong indications of all these great qualities, by which he was afterwards so much distinguished. Dr Witt himself, by giving him an excellent education, and instructing him in all the principles of government and sound politics, had generously contributed to make his rival formidable. In contrary the peculiar situation of his own party, he was always resolv'd, both by conveying to him the knowledge of all secrets, to render the Prince capable of managing his country in every future emergency should thro' the administration of the States. The conduct of the young Prince had hitherto been extremely admirable: Notwithstanding his powerful alliances with England and Britain, he had ever declar'd his resolution of depending entirely on the States for the maintenance of the whole tenor of his law, which suited extremely the genius of our people, great and

Chap. III.
1702.

thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a sound and steady understanding; much firmness in what he once resolved or once denied; great application to business, little to pleasure: By these virtues, he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, sensible, that they owed their liberty, and very existence, to his family, and remembering, that his great uncle, Maurice, had been able, even in more early youth, to protect them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising this Prince to all the authority of his ancestors, and hoped, from his valour and conduct alone, to receive protection against those imminent dangers, with which they were at present threatened.

While these two powerful factions struggled for superiority, every scheme for defence was opposed, every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty, was executed without vigour. Levies indeed were made, and the army completed to seventy thousand men*: The Prince was appointed both general and admiral of the Commonwealth, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But new troops could not of a sudden acquire discipline and experience: And the partizans of the Prince were still unsatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, so it was called, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the Stadtholdership, and from all share in the civil administration.

It had always been the maxim of de Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care, and to give the fleet a visible preference above the army, which they represented as the object of an unreasonable partiality in the Princes of Orange. The two violent wars, which had of late been waged with England, had exercised the valour, and improved the skill of the sailors. And above all, de Ruyter, the greatest sea commander of the age, was closely connected with the Louvestein party; and every one, with confidence and alacrity, was disposed to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore hastened by de Wit; in hopes, that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might inspire courage into the dismayed States, and support his own declining authority. He seems too, to have been, in a peculiar manner, enraged against the English, and resolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, his country had such reason to complain. By the offer of a close alliance and confederacy of mutual defence, they had seduced the Republic to quit the alliance of France; but no sooner had she embraced these measures, than they formed leagues for her destruction, with that very power, which they had treacherously engaged her to offend. In the midst of full peace, nay, during an intimate union, they had dishonourably attacked her commerce, the only means of her subsistence, and, moved by shameful rapacity, had invaded that property, which, relying on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceless.

* Temple, Vol. i. p. 75.

Class. III.
1672.

tered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His squadron was overpowered with numbers; till Sir Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded to Sandwich's command, came to his assistance; and the fight, being more equally ballanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss, sustained by the fleets of the two maritime powers, was nearly equal; if it did not rather fall more heavy on the English. The French suffered very little, because they had scarce been engaged in the action; and as this backwardness is not their national character, it was concluded, that they had received orders to spare their ships, while the Dutch and English should weaken themselves by their mutual animosity. Almost all the other actions during the present war tended to confirm this suspicion.

It brought great honour to the Dutch to have fought with some advantage the combined fleets of two such powerful nations; but nothing less than a complete victory could serve the purpose of de Wit, or save his country from those calamities, which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected, that the French would make their attack on the side of Maestricht, which was well fortified and provided of a good garrison; but Lewis, taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, resolved to invade the enemy from that quarter, which he knew to be more feeble and defenceless. The armies of that Elector and those of Munster appeared on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. The Dutch troops, too weak to defend so extensive a frontier, were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body remained in the field; and a strong garrison was hardly to be found in any fortrefs. Lewis passed the Meuse at Viset; and laying siege to Orfoi, a town of the Elector of Brandenburg, but garrisoned by the Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and invested at once Burik, Wesel, Emerik, and Rhimberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided of troops: In four days, all these places were surrendered. A general astonishment had seized the Hollanders, from the combination of such powerful Princes against the Republic; and no where was resistance made, suitable to the ancient glory or present greatness of the State. Governors without experience commanded troops without discipline; and despair had universally extinguished that sense of honour, by which alone men, in such dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence.

14th of May.

Progress of
the French

2d of June.

Lewis advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to pass. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the season, by which the greatest rivers were much diminished, and in some places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their Prince, full of impatient courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themselves into the river:

The

Chap. III.
1672.

had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garrisons, put himself in a condition of pushing his conquests. Louvois, hoping that the other provinces, weak and dismayed, would prove an easy prey, advised him to keep possession of places, which might afterwards serve to retain the people in subjection: His council was followed; tho' it was found soon after to have been the most impolitic.

Confederation
of the Dutch.

MEANWHILE the people, thro'out all the Republic, instead of collecting a noble indignation against the haughty conqueror, discharged their rage upon their own unhappy minister, on whose prudence and integrity every one formerly bestowed the merited applause. The bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: The ill choice of governors was ascribed to his partiality: As instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected; and his former connections with France being remembered, the populace believed, that he and his partizans had now combined to betray them to their most mortal enemy. The Prince of Orange, notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, was looked on as the only saviour of the State; and men were violently drove by their fears into his party, to which they had always been led by favour and inclination.

THE town of Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuse spirit into the other cities. The magistrates obliged the burgeses to keep a strict watch: The populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the defence of the public. Some ships, which lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and stationed to guard the city: And the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the great damage sustained, was laid under water. All the province followed this example, and scrupled not in this extremity to restore to the sea those fertile fields, which with infinite art and expence had been won from it.

THE States of Holland met to consider, whether any means were left to save the remains of their lately flourishing, and now distressed Commonwealth. Tho' they were surrounded with waters, which barred all access to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone suggest measures, proper to extricate them from their present difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and sovereignty could be saved, every thing else should without scruple be sacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the same sentiments. Amsterdam singly declared against all treaty with insolent and triumphant enemies: But notwithstanding that opposition, ambassadors were dispatched to implore the pity of the two combined Monarchs. It was resolved to sacrifice to Lewis Maestricht and all the frontier towns, which

lay

Chap. III.
1672.

view, the United Provinces, the real barrier of England, must be abandoned to the most dangerous enemy of England; and by an universal combination of tyranny against laws and liberty, all mankind, who have retained, in any degree, their precious, tho' hitherto precarious, birthrights, are for ever to submit to slavery and injustice.

Tho' the fear of giving offence to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambassadors with such rigour, he was not altogether without uneasiness, on account of the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he saw, must become an accession to France; the Spanish Low Countries must soon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his interest to support him against his discontented subjects. Charles, tho' he never stretched his attention to very distant consequences, could not but foresee these obvious events; and tho' incapable of envy or jealousy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while such vigorous resistance was made to his own. He soon dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, lest they should cabal among his subjects, who bore them great favour: But he sent over Buckingham and Arlington, and soon after lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French King, in the present prosperous situation of that Monarch's affairs.

These ministers passed thro' Holland; and as they were supposed to bring peace to the distressed Republic, they were received every where with the loudest acclamations. "God bless the King of England! God bless the Prince of Orange! Confusion to the States!" This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambassadors had several conferences with the States and the Prince of Orange; but made no reasonable advances towards an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed, that neither of the Kings should ever make peace with Holland but by common consent. They next gave in their pretensions, of which the following are the principal articles; that the Dutch should give up the honour of the flag without the least reserve or limitation, nor should whilse vessels, even on the coast of Holland, refuse to strike and lower their topsails to the smallest ship, carrying the British flag; that all persons, guilty of treason against the King or of writing seditious libels, should on complaint be banished for ever the dominions of the States; that the Dutch should pay the King a million sterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thousand pounds a year for permission to fish on the British seas; that they should share the Indian trade with the English; that the Prince of Orange and his descendants should enjoy the sovereignty of the United Provinces; at least that they should be invested with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral, and General, in as ample a manner as had ever

Chap. III.
1672.

brave de Ruyter, the sole resource of the distressed Commonwealth, was surrounded by the enraged populace, and his wife and children were for some time exposed to the most imminent danger.

ONE Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accused Cornelius de Wit of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the design of poisoning the Prince of Orange. The accusation, tho' attended with the most improbable and even absurd circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the same prejudices, or not daring to oppose the popular torrent, condemned him to suffer the question. This man, who had bravely served his country in war, and who had been invested with the highest dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torne in pieces by the most inhuman torments. Amidst the severe agonies, which he endured, he still protested his innocence; and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained sentiments, suited to his deplorable condition.

*Iustum & tenacem propositi virum, &c.**

THE judges, however, condemned him to lose his offices, and to be banished the Commonwealth. The pensionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother and faithful friend during this prosecution, resolved not to desert him on account of the unmerited infamy, which was endeavoured to be thrown

* Which may be thus translated.

The man, whose mind on virtue bent,
Pursues some greatly good intent,
With undiverted aim,
Serene beholds the angry crowd;
Nor can their clamours, fierce and loud,
His stubborn honour tame.

Not the proud tyrant's fiercest threat,
Nor storms, that from their dark retreat
The lawless furies wake,
Nor Jove's dread bolt that shakes the pole,
The firmer purpose of his soul
With all its power can shake.

Should Nature's frame in ruins fall,
And chaos o'er the sinking ball
Resume primæval sway,
His courage chace and fate defies
Nor feels the wreck of earth and skies
Obstruct its destin'd way.

This translation was executed, at the author's desire, by his friend, Mr. Blacklock, whose elegant collection of poems was lately published by Mr. Doddsley. The poems are worthy of attention on account of their own merit, but may be regarded as very extraordinary, when we consider what force of imagination is there displayed by an author born blind.

Chap. III.
1672.

terminated to resist the haughty victor, and to defend those last remains of their native soil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife; but flying to their settlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in those remote regions, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted measures for executing this extraordinary resolution; and found, that the vessels, contained in their harbours, could transport above two hundred thousand inhabitants to the East Indies.

THE combined Princes, finding at last some appearance of opposition, bent all their efforts to seduce the Prince of Orange, on whose valour and conduct the fate of the Commonwealth entirely depended. The sovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him; and the protection of England and France, to insure him, as well against the invasion of foreign enemies, as the insurrection of his subjects. All proposals were generously rejected; and the Prince declared his resolution to retire into Germany, and to pass his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country, or betray the trust reposed in him. When Buckingham urged the inevitable destruction, which hung over the United Provinces, and asked him, whether he did not see, that the Commonwealth was ruined; *There is one certain means*, replied the Prince, *by which I can be secure never to see my country's ruin: I will die in the last ditch.*

THE people in Holland had been much incited to espouse the Prince's party, by the hopes, that the King of England, pleased with his nephew's advancement, would abandon those dangerous engagements, into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the distressed Republic. But all these hopes were soon found to be fallacious. Charles still persisted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an English army on board, commanded by Count Schomberg. It is pretended, that an unusual tyde carried them off the coast, and that Providence thus interposed in an extraordinary manner to save the Republic, from the imminent danger, to which it was exposed. Very tempestuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the rest of the season; and the combined fleets either were blown to a distance, or dared not to approach a shore, which might prove fatal to them. Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progress was likely for the present to attend his arms, had retired to Versailles.

THE other nations of Europe regarded the subjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own slavery, and retained no hopes of defending themselves, should such a mighty accession be made to the already exorbitant power of France. The Emperor,

Emperor, tho' distant and slow in his undertakings, began to put himself in motion; Brandenburg shewed a disposition to take party with the States; Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and by the present efforts of the Prince of Orange and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groninghen was the first place which stopped the progress of the enemy: The bishop of Munster was repulsed from that town, and oblig'd to raise the siege with loss and dishonour. Namur was attempt'd by the Prince of Orange; but Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a sudden irruption, oblig'd him to abandon the enterprize.

There was no ally on whom the Dutch more relied for assistance than the Parliament of England, which the King's necessities at last oblig'd him to assemble. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fix'd on this assembly, which met after prorogations continued for near two years. It was not without reason that the King dreaded the assembling his Parliament; and the disorders universally excited by the bold measures enter'd into both in foreign and domestic administration, had given but too just foundation for his apprehensions.

The King, however, in his speech, address'd them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He said, that he would have assembled them sooner, had he not been desirous to allow them leisure for attending their private affairs, as well as to give his people respite from taxes and impositions: That since their last meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only just but necessary, necessary both for the honour and interest of the nation: That in order to have peace at home while he had war abroad, he had issued his declaration of indulgence to Dissenters, and had found many good effects to result from that measure: That he heard of some exceptions which had been taken to this exercise of power; but he would treat them plainly, that he was resolv'd to stick to his declaration, and would be much offended at any contradiction: And that tho' a rumour had been spread, as if the new levied army had been intended to controul by arms the liberties of the subject, as to frivolous, that he was resolv'd to support his subjects in their property, and did not doubt but they would consider the necessity of their own defence. The rest of the business he left to the chancellor.

The chancellor enlarg'd on the timesoples, and added many more observations of his own. He told them, that the English were now the most powerful nation in all Europe, especially that of England, that she was the most powerful in sea and naval power, and the sole absolute mistress of the ocean, and the most extensive as that of ancient Rome: That she was now the most powerful nation in Europe, they were so intoxicated with the greatness of their power, that they

Chap. III.
1673.

treaty, nay to refuse all cessation of hostilities : That the King, in entering on this war, did no more than prosecute those maxim's, which had engaged the Parliament to advise and approve of the last ; and he might therefore safely say, that *it was their war* : That the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by interest and inclination, the Parliament had wisely judged it necessary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda est Carthago*, this hostile government by all means is to be subverted : And that tho' the Dutch pretended to have assurances, that the Parliament would furnish no supplies to the King, he was confident, that this hope, in which they extremely trusted, would soon fail them.

BEFORE the Commons entred upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the King ; and the Measures, taken upon it, proved, that the house was not at present in a disposition to submit to them. It had been the constant undisputed practice, ever since the Parliament in 1604, for the house, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections ; and the chancellor, who, before that time, had had some precedents in his favour, had ever afterwards abstained from all exercise of that authority. This indeed was one of the first steps, which the Commons had taken in establishing and guarding their privileges ; and nothing could be more requisite than this precaution, in order to prevent the clandestine issuing of writs, and to ensure a fair and free election. No one but so desperate a minister as Shaftesbury, who had entered into a regular plan for reducing the people to subjection, could have entertained thoughts of breaking in upon a practice so reasonable and so well established, or could have hoped to succeed in so bold an enterprize. Several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor ; but the house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against them ; and the members themselves had the modesty to withdraw. Their election was declared null ; and new writs, in the usual form, were issued by the speaker.

THE next step taken by the Commons had the appearance of some more compliance ; but in reality proceeded from the same spirit of liberty and independence. They resolved, in order to supply his Majesty's extraordinary occasions, for that was the expression they used, to grant eighteen months assessment, at the rate of 70 000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Tho' unwilling to come to a violent breach with the King, they would not express the least approbation of the war ; and they gave him the prospect of this supply, only that they might have permission to proceed peaceably in the redress of some other grievances, of which they had such reason to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the secret views from which it proceeded, and the consequences which might attend it, than the declaration

Chap. III.
1673.

willingly pass any law, offered him, which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

SHAFTESBURY, when he saw the King recede at once from so capital a point, which he had publicly declared his resolution to maintain, concluded, that all the schemes for enlarging royal authority were vanished, and that Charles was utterly incapable of pursuing such difficult and such dangerous measures. The Parliament, he foresaw, might push their enquiries into those councils, which were so generally odious; and the King, from the same facility of disposition, might abandon his ministers to their vengeance. He was resolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party, which was likely to predominate; and to atone for all his violences in favour of monarchy, by like violences in opposition to it. Never turn was more sudden, or less calculated to save appearances. Immediately he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and discovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary councils of the court, in which he himself had had so deep a share. He was received with open arms by that party, who stood in need of so able a leader; and no questions were asked with regard to his late apostacy. The various factions, into which the nation had been divided, and the many sudden revolutions to which the public had been exposed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to destroy the sense of honour and decorum in their public conduct.

BUT the parliament, tho' satisfied with the King's compliance, had not lost all those apprehensions, to which the measures of the court had given so much foundation. A law passed for imposing a *test* on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament in the established church; they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the Dissenters had seconded the efforts of the Commons against the King's declaration of indulgence, and seemed resolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, they had acquired great favour with the Parliament, and a project was adopted to unite the whole Protestant interest against the common enemy, who now began to appear formidable. A bill passed the Commons for the ease and relief of the Protestant nonconformists; but met with some difficulties, at least delays, in the House of Peers.

THE resolution for supply was carried into a law; as a recompence to the King for his concessions. A general pardon likewise and indemnity was passed, which screened the ministers from all farther enquiry. The Parliament probably thought that the best method of reclaiming the criminals, was to shew them, that their case was not desperate. Even the remonstrance, which the Commons voted of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for the time, appeased. None of the capital points are touched on; the breach of the triple league,

league, the French alliance, the shutting up the exchequer. The sole grievances mentioned are an arbitrary imposition on coals for providing convoys, the exercise of military law, the quart ring and pressing of soldiers; and they prayed, that, after the conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The King gave them a gracious, tho' evasive answer. When business was finished, the two Houses adjourned themselves. (Chap. III. 1673.)

Tho' the King had, for the time, receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquish'd the suspending power, he was still resolv'd, notwithstanding his bad success both at home and abroad, to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and consequently in all those secret views, whatever they were, which depended on those fatal measures. The money, granted by Parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, of which Prince Rupert was declared admiral; For the Duke was set aside by the test. Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Ormonde commanded under the Prince. The French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Entrecasteaux. The combined fleets set sail towards the coast of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the sands at Schenvelt. The sea is a natural contest attending sea fights, even beyond other military transactions; derived from the pernicious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that relations of these battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when compos'd by writers of the hostile nations, who take pleasure in exalting their own advantages, and suppressing those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle, is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may therefore say, that this action was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their own harbours. In a week, they were re-embark'd, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensu'd, not more decisive than the former. It was not fought with great obstinacy on either side; but whether the Dutch or the allies sh'd retreat, seems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loss in the former of these actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the English, distrustful of their intentions, took care to place, many of them, under their own guns, and thereby expos'd them to all the fire of the enemy. There it may not to have been a ship sunk on either side in the second engagement.

It was sufficient glory to de Rupert, that with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and Holland, he could fight with success, and with advantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could retreat to the port of a safe retreat in Zealand, which, had it not been for the French alliance, he might have been oblig'd to have overtaken the Dutch command, even if Prince Rupert also was oblig'd not to favour the King's projects of recovering Holland, or enlarging

Chap. III.
1703.

his authority at home; and from these motives, he was thought not to have pressed so hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour might naturally have prompted him. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, tho' the English with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, tho' often over-borne by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the most heroic courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. But they were disgusted with the present measures, which they esteemed pernicious to their country; they were not satisfy'd in the justice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would with much more pleasure have destroyed than even the enemy themselves.

11th of August.
The other fleet
left.

If Prince Rupert was not favourable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at least from the Duke, who, tho' he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the Admiralty. The Prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might repair the fleet, and supply its numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted; and he again put to sea. The hostile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the last battle, which, during a course of so many years, these neighbouring maritime powers have disputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: For the Prince of Orange had reconciled these two gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animosity, except that emulation, which made them exert themselves with more distinguished bravery against the enemies of their country. Brankert was opposed to D' Etrées, de Ruyter to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is remarkable, that in all actions these brave admirals last mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy each others valour; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean betwixt death and victory.

D' Etrées and all the French squadron, except rear admiral Martel, kept at a distance; and Brankert, instead of pressing on them, bore down to the assistance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with Prince Rupert. On no occasion did the Prince acquire more deserved honour: His conduct, as well as valour, shone out with signal lustre. Having disengag'd his squadron from the numerous enemies, with which he was every where surrounded, and having joined Sir John Couchey, his rear admiral, who had been separated from him, he made haste to the relief of Sprague, who was very hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist

his

Clay III.
173

his flag on board the *St. George*; while Tromp was for a like reason obliged to quit his ship, the *Golden Lion*, and go on board the *Comet*. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by their valorous rivals, and by the rear admiral's, their fellows. Olfry, rear admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he fell from the *St. George* terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Sprague was leaving it to Olfry to hoist his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge; when a Dutch vessel which had passed thro' the *St. George*, took his boat, and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself, who bestowed on his vessel the name of *de verdedigingsboot*.

Porter's Report found affairs in this dangerous situation, and saw most of the ships in Sprague's squadron disabled from fight. The engagement was renewed, and became very close and bloody. The Prince threw the enemy into great confusion. To increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, a total victory must have ensued. But the Prince, when he saw that they neglected his signal, and observed that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, wisely provided for their safety by making easy sail towards the English coast. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the present war.

The turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The prince of Orange besieged and took Naerden; and from this success gave his country reason to hope for still more prosperous enterprizes. Montecuccoli, who commanded the Imperialists on the upper Rhine, deceived, by the most artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turmeau, and making a sudden march, laid down before Bonne. The Prince of Orange's conduct was not so uniformly successful as the French generals, and leaving them behind him, found his army to the Imperialists. Bonne was taken in a few days. Several other places of the ecclesiastical territory of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies. At this conjuncture, which brought the great schism between France and the United Provinces to a crisis, was obliged to recall his forces, and to abandon all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had at first made them. The taking of Montecuccoli was the only advantage, which the general carried his campaign.

A congress was opened at Cambray, in the month of September, 1692, in which the full hopes of success on the desertion of the allies were raised, and the success of the Hollanders to pursue their victory. The congress was opened by the States-General, the King of France, and the Emperor, who were all invited by the allies, as if it was expected, that the peace would be concluded between the Emperor and the States-General, and that the Emperor would be obliged to give up the Netherlands to the States-General. The congress was opened on the 11th of September, 1692, and continued till the 11th of October, 1692.

Chap. III. Prince William of Furstenburg by the Imperialists, afforded the French and English a good pretext for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambassadors in their memorials expressed all the haughtiness and disdain, so natural to a free State, which had met with such unmerited ill usage.

1673. The Parliament of England was now assembled, and discovered much greater symptoms of ill humour, than had appeared in their last meeting. They had seen for some time a negotiation of marriage carried on between the Duke of York, and the Archduchess of Infpruc, a catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that intention failed, and the Duke applied to a Princess of the house of Modena, then in close conjunction with France; this circumstance, joined to so many other grounds of discontent, raised the Commons into a flame; and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The King told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army to be a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable attacks, the King resolved to prorogue the Parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the House of Peers, and sent the usher to summon the Commons. It happened, that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the House; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, *To the chair, to the chair*: While others cried, *The black-rod is at the door*. The speaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were instantly made: That the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the King are a grievance; that the Duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employed. There was a general cry, *To the question, to the question*: But the usher knocking violently at the door, the speaker leapt from the chair, and the House rose in great confusion.

During the interval, Shaftesbury, whose intrigues with the malecontent party were now become notorious, was dismissed from the office of chancellor; and the seals were given to Sir Henrage Finch, under the title of lord keeper. The robe had been capitulated to Clifford; and the white staff was conferred on Sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created Earl of Danby, a minister of ability, who had risen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and soon after died.

The Parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the Duke leisure to consummate his marriage; but the King's necessities soon obliged him again to assemble them, and by force popular acts he paved the way for the sessions. But all his efforts

Chap. III.
1674.

ensue with that nation. The prospect of this loss contributed very much to encrease the national aversion to the present war, and to enliven the general joy for its conclusion.

THERE was in the French service a large body of English to the number of 10,000 men, which had acquired great honour in every action, and had contributed greatly to the successes of Lewis. These troops, Charles said he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himself to the States by a secret article not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a strict execution of this article.

C H A P. IV.

Propositorious schemes of the cabal.—Remonstrances of Sir William Temple.—Campaign of 1674.—A Parliament.—Passive obedience.—A Parliament.—Campaign of 1675.—Congress of Nimeguen.—Campaign of 1676.—Uncertain conduct of the King.—A Parliament.—Campaign of 1677.—Parliament's distrust of the King.—Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary.—Plan of peace.—Negotiations.—Campaign of 1678.—Negotiations.—Peace of Nimeguen.—State of affairs in Scotland.

1674.
Propositorious
schemes of
the cabal.

IF we consider the projects of the famous Cabal, it will be hard to determine, whether the end, which they proposed, was more blameable and pernicious, or the means, by which they were to effect it, more impolitic and imprudent. Tho' they might talk only of recovering or fixing the King's authority; their intention could be no other than that of making him wholly absolute: Since it was not possible to regain or maintain, in opposition to the people, any of those powers of the crown, abolished by late law or custom, without subduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative entirely uncontrollable. Against such a scheme, they might foresee, that every party of the nation would declare themselves, not only the old parliamentary party, which, tho' they kept not in a body, were still very numerous; but even the greatest Royalists, who were indeed attached to Monarchy, but desired to see it limited and restrained by law. It had appeared, that the present Parliament, tho' elected during the greatest prevalence of the royal party, were yet very tenacious of popular privileges, and retained a considerable jealousy of the

Crown.

Crown, even before they had received any full ground of information. The garrisons, therefore, together with a small army, newly levied, and undisciplined, and composed mostly of Irishmen, were almost the only domestic resource, which the King could depend on in the prosecution of these dangerous counsels.

The ambition of France was, no doubt, elevated by the Cabal to a considerable degree, the political engine, which they were training: But it is not easily conceived, that they could imagine themselves capable of managing and containing her. They might justly to have suspected, that it would be Lewis's sole intention, and his primary was his interest, to raise insupportable jealousies between the King and his people; and that he saw how much a steady uniform government in this island, whether free or absolute, would form invincible barriers to him, and that he should his assistance be demanded; if he sent a small supply, it would serve only to enrage the people, and render the breach altogether irreparable; if he furnished a great force, sufficient to subdue the nation, there was little reason to trust his generosity with regard to the use, which he would make of this advantage.

In all its other parts, the scheme of the Cabal, it must be confessed, appears equally absurd and incongruous. If the war with Holland was attended with great success, such an accession of force must fall to Lewis, not to Charles: And what hopes, it regards of refusing by the greatest unanimity to assist a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous to depend upon his assistance against the disaffected? If the Dutch, by their own vigour, and the assistance of France, were able to defend themselves, and could bring the war to an equality, the French arms would be so employed abroad, that no considerable reinforcements could be sent to assist the King's enterprises in England. And notwithstanding the profusion of money, and the raising the people be debauched, orarchical, and many other, which in the appearance of a military state, they were designed to maintain, the great calamity would still be increased.

What ever views like were might be entertained of supporting the throne, in a manner, which is dangerous; they could not be supported in the manner, which is necessary, and which is attended with a total suspension of the ordinary business of the nation, and a total neglect of the duties of a monarch. It was necessary, however, that the King should be engaged in some military activity in England, which would have necessitated an army, and a government.

It is not possible, however, to see how the King could have been supported in a manner, which is necessary, and which is attended with a total suspension of the ordinary business of the nation, and a total neglect of the duties of a monarch. It was necessary, however, that the King should be engaged in some military activity in England, which would have necessitated an army, and a government.

CHAP. IV.
1774

of calumny and faction. But the utter impossibility of accounting by any other hypothesis for those strange measures embraced by the court, as well as for the numerous circumstances, which accompanied them, obliges us to acknowledge (tho' there remains no direct evidence of it*) that a formal plan was laid for subverting the constitution, and that the King and the Ministry were in reality conspirators against the people. What is most probable in human affairs is not always true; and a very minute circumstance, overlooked in our speculations, serves often to explain events, which may seem the most surprizing and unaccountable. Tho' the King possessed penetration and a sound judgment, his capacity was chiefly fitted for smaller matters †, and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he application enough to carry his view to distant consequences, or to digest and adjust any plan of political operations. As he scarce ever thought twice on any one subject, every appearance of advantage was apt to seduce him; and when he found his way obstructed by unlooked-for difficulties, he readily turned aside into the first path, where he expected more to gratify the natural indolence of his disposition. To this versatility or pliancy of genius, he himself was inclined to trust; and he thought, that, after trying an experiment for enlarging his authority, he could easily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But the suspicions of the people, tho' they burst not forth at once, were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable; and the more they reflected on the circumstances, attending it, the more resentment and jealousy were they apt to entertain. They observed, that the King never had any favourite: that he was never governed by his ministers, scarce

* This treaty, to this purpose with France ever appeared; and indeed, it is probable for the reasons here set out above, that no such treaty was ever formally entered into: The King thought it sufficient, that he shared his interest with that of the French Monarch, and he believed that this circumstance alone would enable him to depend on that Prince's assistance in case of necessity. The secret Treaty indeed published at Paris the terms of a treaty to this purpose: But there are so many difficulties attending its execution, that it can have little weight with us: He spoke only by conjecture, or if he was supplied by the French Ministers with materials, it was so much the interest of that court to enshroud the King with this story, that their account is very much to be suspected. He says too, that it was expressly intended to divide the United Provinces, to give the Inland Provinces to Lewis, the Sea to the British, and to the Prince of Orange. But this is very improbable on many accounts, particularly on account of the appearance of such a scheme in the French journals at Utrecht. A more plausibly story is, that there was no concerted plan betwixt the two Kings, and that they governed themselves entirely by chance. Father Orleans, who, it is said, wrote from materials given him by St. James, is the most authentic testimony of the absolute designs of the court; and there is no doubt of the truth of his narrative in this particular. But his history in other respects is so false and superficial, that were it not supported by other argument, it would in this respect have small weight with us. But after St. James's Article sent William Temple to the King, on a mission, which that Monarch does not oppose, a next time evidence of the, the best proof of the King's intention.

* See *Journal of the Parliament*, ch. 1. c. 1. of R. Charles II.

Chap. IV.
1674.

on that head; because they considered, that nothing but force of arms could subdue the reluctance of the people against popery; after which, they knew, there could be no security for civil liberty: That in France every circumstance had long been adjusted to that system of government, and tended to its establishment and support: That the commonalty, being poor and dispirited, were of no account; the nobility, engaged by the prospect or possession of numerous offices, civil and military, were entirely attached to the court; the ecclesiastics, retained by like motives, added the sanction of religion to the principles of civil policy: That in England a great part of the landed property belonged to the yeomanry or middling gentry; the King had few offices to bestow; and could not himself even subsist, much less maintain an army, except by the voluntary supplies of his Parliament: That if he had an army on foot, yet, if composed of English, they would never be prevailed on to promote ends, which the people so much feared and hated: That the Roman Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland, not the two hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense to hope, by one part, to govern ninety nine, who were of contrary sentiments and dispositions: And that foreign troops, if few, would tend only to inflame hatred and discontent; and how to raise and bring over at once, or to maintain many, it was very difficult to imagine. To these reasonings Temple added the sentiments of Gourville, a Frenchman, for whom, he knew, the King had entertained a great esteem. "A King of England," said Gourville, "who will be *the man of his people*, is the greatest King in the world: But if he will be any thing more, he is nothing at all." The King heard at first this discourse with some impatience; but being a very dextrous dissembler, he seemed moved at last, and laying his hand on Temple's, said with an appearing cordiality, "And I will be the man of my people."

TEMPLE when he went abroad, soon found, that the scheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove quite abortive. The allies, besides their jealousy of the King's mediation, were extremely bent upon the continuance of the war. Spain had stipulated with Holland never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were restored to the condition, in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The Emperor had very high pretensions in Alsace; and as the greatest part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped, that France, by such an overmatch of force, would soon be obliged to submit to the terms demanded of her. The States indeed, oppressed by exorbitant taxes, as well as checked in their commerce, were desirous of peace, and had few or no claims of their own to retard it: But they could not in gratitude, nor even in good policy, abandon allies, to whose protection they had been so lately indebted for their safety. The Prince of Orange likewise, who had great influence in their councils, was all on fire for military fame,

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and was pleas'd to be at the head of armies, from which such mighty successes (Chap. IV.
 were expected. Under various pretences, he eluded, during the whole campaign, 1674
 the meeting with Temple, and after the troops were sent into winter quarters, he
 found that number, in his first conference, that the greater impression was made on
 France, than the terms could not be hoped for, and it was therefore vain to re-
 gret it.

The success of the campaign had not a favored expectation. The prince of
 Orange, with a smaller army, was oppos'd in Holland at the presence of Count de
 Saxe, and oblig'd to penetrate into France by that quarter, where the winter was
 the worst season. After long endeavoring, thro' in vain, to bring Count de Saxe
 to a battle, he rally exposted, at Senlis, a wing of his army; and that he was oblig'd
 not to strive to see and seize the advantage. But this impudence or contempt
 of Orange was amply compensated by his behaviour in that obstinate and bloody
 action which ensued. He rallied his dismay'd troops; held the front to the charge;
 he pushed the veteran and martial troops of France; and he oblig'd the prince of
 Condé, notwithstanding his age and character, to exert greater efforts, and to
 risk his person more, than in any action where, even during the heat of youth,
 he had ever commanded. After ten days the action was continued by the light of
 the moon, and it was dark at last, not the warmness of the combats, which
 pertained to the combat, and left the victory undecided. "The prince of Orange,"
 said Count de Saxe, with great candour and gallantry, "has a mind in every thing like an
 stout captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier." Oudenarde was
 afterwards invested by the prince of Orange; but he was oblig'd by the Imperial
 and Spanish generals to raise the siege on the approach of their camp. He afterwards
 was oblig'd to take Grave; and at the beginning of winter the affairs broke
 up, with great discontent and complaint on all sides.

The allies were not made so churlish in other parts. Howbeit, it was not so
 compass'd France could be. In Alsace, Furenne employ'd his power to assemble
 a camp, all that military skill, which by long experience, practice, and study, and
 great genius, he had brought to a perfection. By a sudden assault he surpris'd and
 attack'd and beat at Sultzheim, the count of Terrin, and Cap. Saxe, and the
 Imperialists. Seventy thousand Germans put into winter quarters in that
 province. For those who had retired into the mountains, he press'd
 principally upon them. He attack'd and destroy'd a body of the count of Mirbad's
 troops. He gain'd a new advantage, that Fetzke, who was the general of the
 allies, oblig'd them to repair the Rhine, to the great number of
 cannon, and kill more, of anger and envy, than of rage and death.

Chap. IV.
1674.

IN England, all these events were considered by the people with great anxiety and concern; tho' the King and his ministers affected great indifference with regard to them. Considerable alterations were about this time made in the English ministry. Buckingham was disgraced, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humour, possessed the King's favour. The chief ministers were Arlington, now lord chamberlain, and Danby the treasurer. Great hatred and jealousy took place between these ministers; and the King's affairs were somewhat disturbed by their quarrels. But Danby gained ground every day with the King, and Arlington declined in the same proportion. Danby was a frugal minister; and by his application and industry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured so to conduct himself as to give offence to no party; and the consequence was, that he was able entirely to please none. He was always a declared enemy to the French interest; but never possessed authority enough to overcome the attachments of the King and the Duke. It must be ascribed to the prevalence of that interest, that the Parliament was assembled so late this year; lest they should attempt to engage the King in measures against France, during the ensuing campaign. They met not till the approach of summer.

1675.
15th of April.

A Parliament.

EVERY step taken by the Commons discovered that ill humour and jealousy, to which the late open measures of the King, and his present secret attachments gave such just foundation. They drew up a new bill against popery, and resolved to insert in it many severe clauses for the detection and prosecution of priests: They addressed a second time against Lauderdale; and when the King's answer was not satisfactory, they seemed still determined to persevere in their applications: An accusation was moved against Danby; but upon examining the several articles, it was not found to contain any just reasons of a prosecution; and was therefore dropped: They applied to the King for recalling his troops from the French service; and as he only promised, that they should not be recruited, they appeared to be much dissatisfied with his answer: A bill was brought in, making it treason to levy money without authority of Parliament: Another vacating the seats of such members as accepted of offices: Another to secure the personal liberty of the subject, and prevent the sending men prisoners beyond sea.

Pass'd by the
House.

THAT the court party might not be idle, during these attacks, a bill for a new test was introduced into the House of Peers by the earl of Lindsey. All members of either house, and all who possessed any office, were by this bill required to swear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretext whatsoever, to take arms against the King: that they abhorred that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the protestant religion or of the established government either in church or state.

FURIOUS

Ferocious opposition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the present disposition of the public. During seventeen days, the debate was carried on with great zeal; and all the reason and learning of both parties were displayed on this memorable occasion. The question, indeed, with regard to resistance, was a point, which entered into the controversies of the old parties, cavalier and round-head; as it made an essential part of the present disputes betwixt court and country. Few neutrals were found in the nation: But among such as could maintain a calm indifference, there prevailed sentiments very wide of those adopted by either party. Such persons thought, that all public declarations of the legislature, either for or against resistance, were equally impolitic, and could serve to no other purpose, than to signalize in their turn the triumph of one faction over another: That the simplicity retained in the ancient laws of England, as well as in the laws of every other nation, ought still to be supported, and was best calculated to prevent the extremes on either side: That the absolute exclusion of resistance, in all possible cases, was founded on *false* principles; its express admission might be attended with *dangerous* consequence; and there was no necessity of exposing the public to either inconvenience: That if a choice must necessarily be made in the case, the preference of utility to truth in public institution was a party error; could the supposition of resistance, beforehand and in general terms, be fully admitted in any government: That even in mixt monarchies, where that supposition formed in it requisite, it was yet entirely superfluous; since, in case of the approach of extraordinary necessity, could be at a loss, tho' not directed by legal declarations, to find the proper remedy: That even those, who rely on a scholastic and in-fidelastic reasoning, exclude all resistance, would yet break in to the voice of nature; when evident ruin, both to themselves and to the public, would attend a strict adherence to their pretended principles: That the question, as it ought thus to be entirely excluded from all determinations of the legislature, was even among private reasoners, little better than a dispute of words: That the one party could not pretend, that resistance ought ever to be considered as a final remedy; the other would finally have recourse to it in great extremities: And that the preference could only turn on the degrees of danger or expense, which would be attendant this regular remedy; a difference, which could not be finally settled, if not possibly, by any language, precisely to fix or determine.

There were many other affidities in this debate, which were not necessary to state the controversy either in clearness or in order. The chief business of the bill was to alter the manner of electing members of parliament, and to require a third of the electors to be freeholders, and to be qualified by a certain amount of property. This was a bill of great importance to the crown and the government. The bill was passed on the 12th of February 1689.

Chap. IV.
1675.

bill, that it was carried only by two voices in the House of Peers. All the popish Lords, headed by the earl of Bristol, voted against it. It was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was likely to meet with a scrutiny still more severe.

BUT a quarrel, which ensued betwixt the two Houses, prevented the passing all the bills, projected during the present session. One Dr. Shirley, being cast in Chancery in a law-suit against Sir John Fag, a member of the House of Commons, preferred a petition of appeal before the House of Peers. The Lords received it, and summoned Fag to appear before them. He complains to the lower House, who espouse his cause. They not only maintain, that no member of their House can be summoned before the Peers; and for this claim they could plead precedent: They also assert, that the upper House can receive no appeals from any court of equity; a pretension, which extremely retrenched the jurisdiction of the Peers, and which was contrary to the practice that had prevailed during this whole century. The Commons send Shirley to prison: the Lords assert their powers. Conferences are tried; but no accommodation ensues. Four lawyers are sent to the Tower by the Commons, for transgressing the order of the House, and pleading in this cause before the Peers. The Peers denominate this arbitrary commitment a breach of the great charter, and order the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners: He refuses obedience: They apply to the King, and desire him to punish the lieutenant for his contempt. The King summons both Houses; exhorts them to unanimity; and informs them, that the present quarrel had arisen from the contrivance of his and their enemies, who proposed by that means to force a dissolution of the Parliament. His advice has no effect: The Commons continue as violent as ever; and the King, finding that no business could be finished, at last prorogued the Parliament.

8th of June.

13th of October.
A Parliament.

WHEN the Parliament were again assembled, there appeared not in any respect a change of the dispositions of either house. The King desired supplies, as well for the building of ships as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even confessed, that he had not been altogether so frugal as he might have been, and as he resolved to be for the future: Tho' he asserted, that to his great satisfaction he had found his expences by no means so exorbitant as some had represented them. The Commons took into consideration the subject of supply. They voted 300,000 pounds for the building of ships; but they appropriated the sum by very strict clauses. They passed a resolution not to grant any supply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue*. This vote was carried in

* Several historians have affirmed, that the Commons found, this session, upon enquiry, that the King's revenue was 1,600,000 pounds a year, and that the necessary expence was but 700,000 pounds; and have appealed to the Journals for a proof. But there is not the least appearance of this in the Journals; and the fact is impossible.

Chap. IV.
1675.

was willing, without a visible advantage, to hazard a general battle, which might be attended either with the entire loss of Flanders on the one hand, or the invasion of France on the other. Lewis tired of so unactive a campaign, returned to Versailles; and the whole summer passed in Flanders without any memorable event.

TURENNE commanded on the upper Rhine, in opposition to his great rival, Montecuculi, general of the Imperialists. The object of the latter was to pass the Rhine, to penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy, and to fix his quarters in these provinces: The aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to disappoint all the schemes of his enemy. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides; and if any superiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was ascribed chiefly to his greater vigour of body, by which he was enabled to inspect all the posts in person, and could on the spot take the justest measures for the execution of his designs. By posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuculi from passing that river: He had also laid his plan in so masterly a manner, that in a few days he must have obliged the Germans to decamp, and have gained a considerable advantage over them; when a period was put to his illustrious life, by a random shot, which struck him on the breast, as he was taking a view of the enemy. The news excited sorrow in King, court, and people, equalled by nothing which we meet with in history, but the lamentations of the Roman people for the death of Germanicus. The consternation of the army was inexpressible. The French troops, who, a moment before, were assured of victory, now considered themselves as totally vanquished; and the Germans, who would have been glad to compound for a safe retreat, expected no less than the total destruction of the enemy. But de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, succeeded him in the command, and possessed a great share of the genius and capacity of his predecessor. By his skilful operations, the French were enabled to repass the Rhine, without considerable loss; and this retreat was esteemed equally glorious with the greatest victory. The desperate valour of the English troops, who were placed in the rear, contributed greatly to save the French army. They had been seized with equal passion as the native troops of France, for their brave general, and fought with ardour to revenge his death on the Germans. The duke of Marlborough, then captain Churchill, here learned the rudiments of that art, which he afterwards practised with such fatal success against France.

The prince of Condé left the army in Flanders under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying with him a considerable reinforcement, succeeded to Turenne's command. He defended Alsace from the Germans, who had passed the Rhine, and invaded that province. He obliged them first to raise the siege of Hagenau, then that of Saverre. He eluded all their attempts to bring him to a battle. And having dextrously kept them from establishing themselves in Alsace, he forced them,

Chap. IV:
1675.

notwithstanding their superiority of number, to repass the Rhine, and take up the winter quarters in their own country.

After the death of Farnese, a detachment of the German army was sent to the siege of Brisach. An surprize, in which the Imperialists, the Spaniards, the Palatines, the Duke of Lorraine, and many other princes passionately concurred. The project was well concerted, and executed with vigour. Marshal Crequi, on the other hand, collected in all haste a detachment to guard their lines, and under the command of the Duke of Zulu and Ofenbrugh, marched in quest of the enemy. At several points they met unexpectedly, and with superior numbers on Crequi's side put him to rout. He fled with four attendants only; and thro' a plain betwixt Tull and Rappoltz, by a vigorous defence to make amends for his former error or mistake. His conduct was brave, but not abandoned to that total despair by which the rest of his army was affected. They marched against his obliquity, capturing several of his pieces, and because he refused to sign the capitulation, they delivered his baggage into the hands of the enemy.

It is remarkable that this rout of Crequi is almost the only land battle lost by the French since their return to Bienheim, during the course of above sixty years; and that the most bloody was against potent and martial enemies. How many victories were gained in the number of years during that period. Such was the vigour and power of that Monarchy! And such too were the resources and supplies of the European nations, by which they were enabled to repair their wounds, and to confine that mighty power nearly within its ancient limits. A number of great victories would have sufficed in another period to have given to France the empire of Europe.

The Swedes had been engaged, by the payment of large subsidies, to take part with the French in the battle, and to march to the relief of the beleaguered city in Pomerania. That object, however, being frustrated, some of the bravest of them with great bravery and success. They took the town of Stralsund, and the country, and pursued them to the ocean. He had a great number of prisoners of Denmark, who was obliged to give up the province of Rügen, and to consent to decline war against Sweden, and to pay a large sum of money for the recovery of the vicinity.

To all these misfortunes, and to the loss of the province of Rügen, the precipitation of the common people, who were not sensible of the danger, and who only envied the loss, and attended to the recovery of the province, was added. The French was at last obliged to raise the siege, and to march back to Metz. Where he was obliged to support the siege, and to receive a considerable

Chap. IV.
1675.

dron to assist the Spaniards. A battle ensued, where de Ruyter was killed. This event alone was thought equivalent to a victory.

THE French, who, twelve years before, had scarce a ship of war in any of their harbours, had raised themselves, by means of perseverance and policy, to be, in their present force, tho' not in their resources, the first maritime power in Europe. The Dutch, while in alliance with them against England, had supplied them with several vessels, and had taught them the rudiments of the difficult art of ship building. The English next, when in alliance with them against Holland, instructed them in the method of fighting their ships, and of preserving order in naval engagements. Lewis availed himself of every opportunity to aggrandize his people, while Charles, sunk in indolence and pleasure, neglected all the noble arts of government; or if, at any time, he roused himself from his lethargy, his industry, by reason of the unhappy projects which he embraced, was often more pernicious to the public than his inactivity itself. He was as anxious to promote the naval power of France, as if the safety of his crown had depended on it; and many of the plans executed in that kingdom, were first, 'tis said*, digested and corrected by him.

1676.

THE successes of the allies had been considerable the last campaign; but the Spaniards and Imperialists well knew, that France was not yet sufficiently broke so as to submit to the terms which they resolved to impose upon her. Tho' they could not refuse the King's mediation, and Nimeguen, after many difficulties, was at last fixed on as the place of congress; yet under one pretext or other, they still delayed sending their ambassadors, and no progress was made in the negotiation. Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were the English ambassadors at Nimeguen. The Dutch, who were impatient for peace, soon appeared: Lewis, who hoped to divide the allies, and who knew, that he himself could neither be seduced nor forced into a disadvantageous peace, sent ambassadors: The Swedes, who hoped to recover by treaty, what they had lost by arms, were also forward to negotiate. But as these powers could not proceed of themselves to settle terms, the congress, as yet, served merely as an amusement to the public.

Congress of
Nimeguen.

Campaign of
1676.

IT was by the events of the campaign, not the conferences of negotiators, that the articles of peace were to be determined. The Spanish towns, ill fortified and worse defended, made but a feeble resistance to Lewis, who, by laying up magazines during the winter, was able to take the field early in the spring, before the forage could be found in the open country. In the month of April he laid siege to Condé, and took it by storm in four days. Having sent the duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchaine, a small but important fortress, he posted himself so advantageously

ously

* Welwood, Burnet, Coke.

Chap. IV.
1677.

THE Spaniards, not to mention the other incurable weakneſſes, into which their monarchy was fallen, were distracted with domeſtic diſſenſions betwixt the parties of the Queen Regent and of Don John, natural brother to their young ſovereign. Tho' unable of themſelves to defend Flanders, they were reſolute not to conclude a peace, which would leave it expoſed to every aſſault or inroad; and while they made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the States; their real truſt was in the protection of England. They ſaw, that, if that ſmall but important territory was once ſubdued by France, the Hollanders, expoſed to ſo terrible a power, would fall into dependance, and would endeavour, by ſubmiſſions, to ward off that deſtruction, to which a war in the heart of their State muſt neceſſarily expoſe them. They believed, that Lewis, ſenſible how much greater advantages he would reap from the alliance than from the ſubjection of the Republic, which muſt ſcatter its people and commerce, would be contented with very moderate conditions, and would turn his enterpriſes againſt his other neighbours. They thought it impoſſible but the people and Parliament of England, foreſeeing theſe obvious conſequences, muſt at laſt force the King to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their intereſts were ſo deeply concern'd. And they truſted, that even the King himſelf, on the approach of ſo great a danger, muſt open his eyes, and ſacrifice his prejudices, in favour of France, to the ſafety of his own kingdoms.

Particular
conſult of the
King.

But Charles here found himſelf entangled in ſuch oppoſite motives and engagements, as he had not reſolution enough to break, nor patience to unravel. On the one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as a ſure reſſource in caſe of any commotions among his own ſubjects; and whatever ſchemes he might have form'd for enlarging his authority, or altering the eſtabliſhed religion, it was from that quarter alone he could expect aſſiſtance. He had actually in ſecret fold his neutrality to France, and he received remittances of a million of livres a year, which was afterwards increaſed to two millions; a conſiderable ſupply in the preſent embarras'd ſtate of his revenue. And he dreaded, leſt the Parliament ſhould treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and make him purchaſe ſupplies by ſacrificing his prerogative, and abandoning his miniſters.

On the other hand, the cries of his people and Parliament, ſeconded by Danby, Arlington, and moſt of his miniſters, incited him to take part with the allies, and to correct the unequal balance of power in Europe. He might apprehend danger from oppoſing ſuch earnest deſires: He might hope for large ſupplies, if he concur'd with them: And however inglorious and indolent his diſpoſition, the renown of a king as a biter of Europe, would probably at intervals rouze him from his lethargy, and move him to ſupport the high character, with which he was inveſted:

Chap. IV.
1677.

Wharton made submissions, and were soon after released. But Shaftesbury, more obstinate in his temper, and desirous of distinguishing himself by his adherence to liberty, fought the remedy of law; and being rejected by the judges, he was at last, after a twelvemonth's imprisonment, obliged to make the same submissions; upon which he was also released.

THE Commons at first seemed to proceed with temper. They granted the sum of 586,000 pounds, for building thirty ships; tho' they strictly appropriated the money to that service. Estimates were given in of the expence; but it was afterwards found that they fell short near 100,000 pounds. They also voted, agreeably to the King's request, the continuance of the additional excise for three years. This excise had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and an easy session.

Campaign of
1677.

BUT the Parliament was soon roused from this tranquillity by the news received from abroad. The French King had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid siege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by storm. He next invested both Cambray and St. Omer. The prince of Orange, alarmed with this progress, hastily assembled an army, and marched to the relief of St. Omer. He was encountered by the French, under the duke of Orleans and marshal Luxembourg. The prince possessed great talents for war; courage, activity, vigilance, patience; but still he was inferior in genius to those consummate generals, opposed to him by Lewis; and tho' he always found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against the victors, he was during his whole life unsuccessful. By a masterly movement of Luxembourg, he was here beat, and obliged to retreat to Ypres. During the battle, he made the utmost efforts, by exhortation and example, to rally his dismayed soldiers: One of the runaways he struck with his sword cross the face, "Rascal," said he, "I will set a mark on you at present, that I may hang you afterwards." Cambray and St. Omer were soon surrendered to Lewis.

THIS success, derived from such exorbitant power and such wise conduct, struck a just terror into the English Parliament. They addressed the King, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France, and desiring, that his Majesty, by such alliances as he should think fit, would both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The King, desirous of eluding this application, which he considered as a kind of attack on his measures, replied in general terms, that he would use all means for the preservation of Flanders, consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdoms. This answer was an evasion, or rather a real denial. The Commons, therefore, thought proper to be more particular. They entreated

him

Chap. IV.
1677.

had given no foundation for such suspicions, and were so far from pursuing any sinister ends, that they had granted supplies for the first Dutch war; for maintaining the triple league, tho' concluded without their advice; even for carrying on the second Dutch war, which was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the manifest interests of the nation. That on the other hand, the King had, by former measures, engendered very reasonable jealousies in his people, and did with a bad grace require at present their trust and confidence. That he had not scrupled to demand supplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting measures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpose the supplies, which he had obtained by those delusive pretensions. That his union with France, during the war against Holland, must have been founded on projects the most dangerous to his people; and as the same union was still secretly maintained, it might justly be feared, that the same projects were not as yet entirely abandoned. That the King could not seriously intend to prosecute vigorous measures against France; since he had so long remained entirely unconcerned during such obvious dangers, and, till prompted by his Parliament, whose proper business it was not to take the lead in those parts of administration, had suspended all his activity. That if he seriously intended to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the first step, and have endeavoured, by putting trust in them, to restore that confidence, which he himself, by his rash councils, had first violated. That it was vain to ask so small a sum as 600,000 pounds, in order to secure him against the future attempts of the Parliament; since that sum must soon be exhausted by a war with France, and he must again fall into that dependance, which was become in some degree essential to the constitution. That if he would form the necessary alliances, that sum or a greater would instantly be voted; nor could there be any reason to dread, that the parliament would immediately desert measures, in which they were engaged by their honour, their inclination, and their interest. That the real ground, therefore, of the King's refusal was neither apprehension of danger from foreign enemies, nor jealousy of parliamentary encroachments; but a desire of obtaining the money, which he intended, notwithstanding his royal word, to employ to other purposes. And that by using such dishonourable means to so ignoble an end, he rendered himself still more unworthy the confidence of his people.

The House of Commons were now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Of the court party, some were engaged by offices, nay a few by bribes secretly given them; a scandalous practice first begun by Clifford, a pernicious minister: But great numbers were attached merely by inclination; so

Chap. IV.
1677.

NEGOTIATIONS meanwhile were carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were adjusted, provided they could afterwards satisfy their allies on both sides. But this work, tho' in appearance difficult, seemed extremely to be forwarded, by farther bad successes on the side of the confederates, and by the great impatience of the Hollanders; when a new event happened, which promised a more prosperous issue to the quarrel with France, and revived extremely the hopes of all the English, who understood the interests of their country.

THE King saw, with regret, the violent discontents, which prevailed in the nation, and which seemed every day to augment upon him. Strongly desirous by his natural temper to be easy himself, and to make every body else easy, he sought expedients to appease those complaints, which, as they were very disagreeable for the present, might in their consequences prove extremely dangerous. He knew, that, during the late war with Holland, the malecontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued still to neglect the prince's interests, and to thwart the inclinations of his people, he apprehended lest their common grievances should cement a lasting union between them. He saw, that the religion of the Duke inspired the nation with very dismal apprehensions; and tho' he had obliged his brother to allow the young princesses to be educated in the protestant faith, something farther, he thought, was requisite, in order to satisfy the nation. He entertained therefore proposals for marrying the prince to the lady Mary, the eldest princess, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had no male issue.) And he hoped, by so tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his interests. A peace he proposed to make; such as would satisfy France, and still preserve his connections with that crown: And he intended to sanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and respected thro'out all Europe. All the reasons for this alliance were seconded by the solicitations of Danby, and also of Temple, who was at that time in England: And Charles at last granted permission to the prince, when the campaign should be over, to pay him a visit.

10th of Octo-
ber.

THE King very graciously received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon business; but the prince desired first to be acquainted with the lady Mary: And he declared, that, contrary to the usual sentiments of persons of his rank, he placed a great part of happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. He was introduced to the princess, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her person and her humour. The King now thought, that he had a double eye upon him, and might safely

make

Class. IV.
117.

make account of his compliance with every proposal: He was surprized to find the prince doth all discourse of business, and refuse to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage should be finished. He well foreknew, he said, from the disposition of affairs, that his allies were likely to be a hard bargain, and they would reproach him self to the reproach of having sacrificed their interests to promote his own purposes. Charles still believed, notwithstanding the coldness and reserve of the prince, that he would abate of this rigid posture of honour and integrity, and the time, he thought by his own insinuation and address, would be the instruments of love and ambition, to win him to compliance. One day, he sought found the prince in very bad humour, repeating, that he had come here to England, and resolve in a few days to leave it: But before he went, the king, he said, must chuse the terms, on which they should hereafter live together. He was sure it must be like the great divisions or the great interdicts. And he desired Temple to inform his Master next morning of these intentions. Charles was struck with this menace, and soon saw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He resolved, therefore, immediately to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's loyalty, he told Temple, that the prince's views were a late, and desired him to inform the Duke of Beaufort, that he would be obliged on. The duke seemed surprized; but yielded a prompt consent, which, he said, was his constant maxim to whatever he found to be the King's pleasure. No measure during this reign gave such general satisfaction. All parties strove who should most applaud it. And even Arleton, who had been kept out of the secret, told the prince, "That something, good in themselves, were spoiled by the manner of doing them, as some things had were made by us; but it would come, that this was a thing, which, in itself, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it."

This marriage was a great surprise to Lewis, who, being a counsellor to govern every thing in the French Court, now found to himself that a step taken, not only without his consent, but without his knowledge or participation. The connection of England with the alliance, and a vigorous war, were the fruits of his ambition, were the consequences immediately to be expected from an alliance. But to check these sanguine expectations, the King a few days after the marriage, proclaimed the adjournment of the Parliament, till the 1st of April, 1670. The term was not only a great disappointment to the parliament, but was, and could be clearly by the king, a great disappointment to the nation, and a great disappointment to the nation.

The king, however, continued to be a great disappointment to the nation, and a great disappointment to the nation. The king, however, continued to be a great disappointment to the nation, and a great disappointment to the nation.

Chap. IV.
1677.

France. After some debate, it was agreed, that France should restore Lorraine to the Duke; with Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, Aeth, Charleroi, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Binche to Spain, in order to form a good frontier for Flanders. The prince insisted much, that Franche-comté should likewise be restored; and Charles thought, that because he had patrimonial estates of great value in that province, and esteemed his property more secure in the hands of Spain, he was engaged by such views to be obstinate in that point: But the prince very generously declared, that to procure but one good town to the Spaniards in Flanders, he would willingly abandon all those possessions. As the King still insisted on the impossibility of wresting Franche-comté from Lewis, the prince was obliged to submit.

NOTWITHSTANDING this concession to France, the projected peace was favourable to the allies; and it was a sufficient indication of vigour in the King, that he had given his assent to it. He farther agreed to send over a minister instantly to Paris, in order to propose these terms. This minister was to enter into no treaty: Two days alone he was to allow for the acceptance or refusal of the terms: Upon the expiration of that short period, he was immediately to return: And in case of refusal, the King promised immediately to enter into the confederacy. To carry so imperious a message, and so unexpected from the English Court, Temple was the person pitched on, whose declared aversion to the French interest was not likely to make him fail of vigour and promptitude in the execution of his commission.

But Charles next day felt a relenting in this assumed vigour. Instead of Temple, he dispatched the earl of Beversham, a creature of the Duke's, and a Frenchman by birth: And he said, that the message being harsh in itself, it was needless to aggravate it by a disagreeable messenger. The prince left London; and the King, at his departure, assured him, that he never would abate in the least point of the scheme concerted, and would enter into war with Lewis, if he refused it.

Lewis received the message with seeming gentleness and complacency. He said to Beversham, that the King of England well knew, that he might always be master of the peace; but some of the towns in Flanders, it seemed very hard to demand, especially Tournay, upon whose fortifications such immense sums had been expended: He would therefore take some short time to consider of an answer. Beversham said, that he was limited to two days stay: But when that time was elapsed, he was prevailed with to stay some few days longer; and he came away without any positive answer. Lewis said, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: And with regard to the peace, he would send orders to his ambassador at London, to treat with the King himself.

Charles

Chap. IV.
1678.

mons did not forbear to insert in their reply several very harsh and even unreasonable clauses. Upon his reproving them, they seemed penitent, and voted, that they would assist his Majesty in the prosecution of the war. A fleet of ninety sail, an army of thirty thousand men, and a million of money were also voted. Great difficulties were made by the Commons with regard to the army, which the House, judging by past measures, believed to be intended more against the liberties of England than against the progress of the French Monarch. To this perilous situation had the King reduced both himself and the nation. In all debates, severe speeches were made, and were received with a seeming approbation: The Duke and the treasurer began to be apprehensive of impeachments: Many motions against the King's ministers were lost by a very small majority: The Commons appointed a day to consider the state of the kingdom with regard to popery: And they even went so far as to vote, that, how urgent soever the occasion, they would lay no farther charge on the people, till secured against the prevalence of the catholic party. In short, the Parliament were impatient for war, whenever the King seemed averse to it; but grew suspicious of some sinister design so soon as he complied with their requests, and seemed to enter into their measures.

The King was enraged at this last vote: He reproached Temple with his popular notions, as he termed them; and asked him how he thought the House of Commons could be trusted for carrying on the war, should it be entered on, when in the very commencement they made such declarations. The uncertainties indeed of Charles's conduct were so multiplied, and the jealousies on both sides so incurable, that even those who approached nearest the scene of action could not determine, whether the King ever seriously meant to enter into war, or whether, if he did, the House of Commons would not have taken advantage of his necessities, and made him purchase supplies by a great sacrifice of his authority*.

The King of France knew how to avail himself of all the advantages, which these distractions afforded him. By his emissaries, he represented to the Dutch the uncertainty of their dependance on England; where an indolent King, averse to all war, especially with France, and irresolute in his measures, was actuated only by the uncertain breath of a tedious Parliament. To the aristocratic faction, he remarked the danger of the Prince's alliance with the Royal Family of England, and revived their apprehensions, lest, in imitation of his father, who had been honoured with the same alliance, he should violently attempt to enlarge his authority, and enslave his native country. In order to second these motives with some farther terror, he himself took the field very early in the spring; and after threatening Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, he sat down suddenly before Ghent and Ypres, and in

* Temple, vol. I. p. 461.

a few weeks made himself master of both places. The Dutch, who were bound to the Hollanders, who were no way inclin'd to war with us, were oblig'd to comply with the English, a treaty lately concluded by our Ministers, obliging them to march towards us, in resolution.

Thus, not long after the Parliament had voted that money, the King rais'd an army of above 15,000 men, to the utmost of his power, and march'd towards Oylend. Three thousand men, under the command of the Duke of York, were sent to secure Oylend: Some regiments were retain'd in the frontiers of the West, and a fleet was fitted out with great diligence: And a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the Empire.

But these vigorous measures rais'd a sudden damp from a gallantry of the lower House; where they pass'd a bill for a petition, which was presented to the King, desir'd to be declar'd null and void, and that the King should be oblig'd to dissolve his evil council, as a punishment for their insolent behaviour, in whose removal they desired to be assist'd. The King, in answer, declar'd that he was to entertain no such petition, and that he would not be oblig'd to dissolve his council, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd.

Thus, the petition being rejected, the King declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he would not be oblig'd to receive any petition, which he declar'd.

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Chap. IV.
1673.

Ypres, Conde, Valenciennes, and Tournay, in which consisted the chief strength of their frontier, were to remain with France.

GREAT murmurs arose in England, when it was known, that Flanders was to be left in so defenceless a condition. The chief complaints were levelled against the King, who, by his concurrence at first, by his favour afterwards, and by his delays at last, had raised up the power of France to such an enormous height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneasy under these imputations, dreading the consequence of losing the affections of his subjects, and perhaps dissuaded with the secret article proposed by France, began to wish heartily for war, which, he hoped, would have restored him to his antient popularity.

An opportunity very unexpectedly offered itself for his displaying these new dispositions. While the ambassadors at Nimeguen were concerting the terms of a general treaty, the marquis de Balaces, the Spanish ambassador, asked the ambassadors of France, at what time France intended to restore the six towns in Flanders. They made no difficulty of declaring, that the King, their master, being obliged to see an entire restitution made to the Swedes of all they had lost in the war, could not evacuate these towns, till that Crown had received satisfaction; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the Princes of the North to accept of the peace.

The States immediately gave the King intelligence of a pretension, which might be attended with such dangerous consequences. The King was both surprized and angry. He immediately dispatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous measures for opposing France. Temple in six days concluded a treaty, by which Lewis was obliged to declare within sixteen after the date, that he would presently evacuate the towns: And in case of his refusal, Holland was engaged to continue the war, and England immediately to declare against France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

All these warlike measures were so little seconded by the Parliament, where even the French ministers were suspected of carrying on some intrigues, that the Commons renewed their former jealousies against the King, and voted the army immediately to be disbanded. The King by a message represented the danger of disarming before peace was concluded; and he recommended to their consideration, whether he could honourably recall his forces from those towns in Flanders, which had put themselves under his protection, and which had at present no other means of safety. The Commons agreed to prolong the term with regard to these forces. Every thing indeed in Europe wore the appearance of war. France had positively declared, that she would not evacuate the towns before the requisite cession was made

CHAP. IV. 1676
 between eleven and twelve a clock at night. By this treaty, France secured the possession of Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Cassel, &c. and restored to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenard, Arthe, Ghent, and Limbourg.

Next day Temple received an express from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, with orders immediately to proceed to the exchange of them. Charles was now returned to his former inclinations for war with France.

VAN BEVERNING was loudly exclaimed against by the ambassadors of the allies at Nimeguen, especially those of Brandenburg and Denmark, whose masters were obliged by the treaty to restore all their acquisitions. The ministers of Spain and the Emperor were sullen and disgusted; and all men hoped, that the States, importuned and encouraged by continual solicitations from England, would disavow their ambassador, and renew the war. The Prince of Orange even took a very extraordinary step, in order to engage them to that measure; or perhaps to give vent to his own spleen and resentment. The day after signing the peace at Nimeguen, he attacked the French army at St. Dennis near Mons; and gained some advantage over Luxembourg, who rested secure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war to be finished. The Prince knew, at least had reason to believe, that the peace was signed, tho' it had not been formally notified to him; and he here sacrificed, not only, without a proper motive, the lives of many brave men on both sides, who fell in this sharp and well contested action.

HYDE was sent over with a view of perswading the States to disavow Van Beverning; and the King promised, that England, if she might depend on Holland, would immediately declare war, and would pursue it, till France was reduced to reasonable conditions. Charles at present went farther than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his army for Flanders, and all his preparations wore a hostile appearance. But the States had been too often deceived to trust him any longer. They ratified the treaty signed at Nimeguen; and all the other Powers of Europe were at last, after much clamour and many disgusts, obliged to accept of the terms prescribed to them.

LEWIS had now reached the height of that glory, which ambition can afford. His ministers and negotiators appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A successful war had been carried on against an alliance, composed of the greatest Potentates in Europe. Considerable conquests had been made, and his territories enlarged on every side. An advantageous peace was at last concluded, where he had given the law. The allies were so enraged against each other, that they were not likely

likely to cement soon in any new confederacy. And thus he had, during some years, a real and near prospect of attaining the Monarchy of Europe, and of exceeding the Empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equaling that of ancient Rome. Had he lived continued much longer in the same condition, and under the same government, it is not easy to conceive, that he could have had a better success.

In proportion as these circumstances exalted the French, they exalted him into an enemy to the English, whose animosity, roused by terror, amounted to a great height against that rival Nation. Instead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, and of being, therefore, the chief, contrary to his own honour and interest, acted a part entirely subservient to the common enemy, and in all his measures had either no prospect at all, or such as was highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain held her ancient Empire, the Princes of Germany called aloud on England to contribute to victory and to liberty, and conjured to raise her to a station more glorious than she had ever before attained; her King, from mean pecuniary views, had twice refused his alliance to Lewis, and was bribed into an interest contrary to that of his people. His active schemes in conjunction with France were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the almost refractory behaviour of the Parliament, tho' in itself dangerous, was the only remedy for so many great miseries, which the public, from the misguided councils of the King, was to nearly be attended. Such were the dispositions of men's minds at the conclusion of the peace of Nimwegen: And these dispositions very naturally prepared the way for the events which followed.

We must now return to the affairs of Scotland, which were in some disorder after the suppression of the insurrection in 1696. The King, who at that time was desirous to render himself popular in Great Britain, had adopted the same measures which he had pursued in the government of Ireland, to the neglect of his English Subjects. He had granted the government wholly into the hands of the Whigs, and had refused to receive any man of quality or merit into his Council, who was not of the same political complexion to combat the Religion of our Ancestors, with a view to the introduction of any modernisation, but tho' the Dissenters were not so numerous in Great Britain as in Scotland, and refusal had had in Scotland a more immediate effect, yet in this Kingdom when it was proposed to stir up party, they were ready to stand up in defence of their Religion, and to give a negative upon the Ecclesiastical and Civil Dissenters, who were not so ready to give up the precedence a right to the Whigs. But the Whigs were not so ready to give up their mind this scheme. They remonstrated, that it was not a fair and equal representation of the King's will, would to have directed the people to the Whigs, and that it was not a fair and equal representation of the King's will, would to have directed the people to the Whigs, and that it was not a fair and equal representation of the King's will, would to have directed the people to the Whigs.

Clay IV.
1670

handle not; this cry went out amongst them: And the King's ministers at last perceived, that they would prostitute the dignity of government, by making advances, to which the malecontents were determined not to correspond.

The next project adopted was that of *indulgence*. The most popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of submission to the established religion, were settled in vacant churches; and small salaries of about twenty-pounds a year were offered to the rest, till they should otherwise be provided for. These last retained the King's bounty, which they considered as the wages of a criminal silence. Even the former soon repented their compliance. The people, who had been accustomed to hear them rail against their superiors, and preach to the times, as they called it, deemed their sermons languid and spiritless, when deprived of these ornaments. Their usual gifts, they thought, had left them, on account of their submission, which was stigmatized as *crassianism*. They gave them the appellation, not of ministers of Christ, but of *the King's curates*; as the clergy of the established church were commonly denominated the *bishops curates*. The preachers themselves returned in a little time to their former practices, by which they hoped to regain their former dominion over the minds of men; a superiority, which no one, who has ever possessed it, will willingly, by any consideration, be prevailed on to relinquish. The conventicles multiplied daily in the West: The clergy of the established church were insulted: The laws were neglected: The Covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worship: And tho' they usually dispersed themselves after religious service, yet the government took a just alarm at seeing men, who were so entirely governed by their seditious teachers, dare to set authority at defiance, and during a time of full peace, to put themselves in a military posture.

There was here, it is apparent, in the political body, a disease very dangerous and inveterate; and the government had tried every remedy, but the true one, to allay and correct it. An unlimited toleration, after sects have diffused themselves and are strongly rooted, is the only expedient, which can allay their fervour, and make the civil union acquire a superiority above religious distinctions. But as the operations of this regimen are commonly very gradual, and at first imperceptible, vulgar politicians are apt, for that reason, to have recourse to more busy and more dangerous remedies. It is of terrible too, that these non-conformists in Scotland neither offered nor demanded toleration; but laid claim to an entire superiority, and to the exercise of extreme rigour against their adversaries. The Covenant, which they idolized, was a persecuting, as well as a seditious band of confederacy: And the government, instead of treating them like madmen, who should be soothed, and lulled, and delivered into tranquillity, thought themselves intitled to a rigid obedi-

Chap. IV.
1678.

IN a subsequent session of the same Parliament *, a severe law was enacted against conventicles. Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houses; but upon field conventicles, the penalty of death and confiscation of goods was imposed: Four hundred marks Scotch were offered as a reward to any who should seize these criminals; and they were indemnified for any slaughter, which they should commit in the execution of such an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence against these conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that, whoever, being required by the Council, refused to give information upon oath, should be punished by arbitrary fines, by imprisonment, or by banishment to the plantations. Thus all persecution naturally, or rather necessarily, adopts the iniquities, as well as rigors, of the inquisition. What a considerable part of the society consider as their duty and honour, and the others are apt to regard with compassion and indulgence, can by no other expedient be subjected to such severe penalties as the natural sentiments of mankind appropriate only to the blackest crimes.

THO' Lauderdale found this ready compliance in the Parliament, a party was formed against him, of which duke Hamilton was the head. Next session †, this party had become considerable: And many were disgusted, as well with Lauderdale's insolence, as with the grievances, under which the public laboured. The first Parliament of this reign had acknowledged, that the regulation of all foreign trade was an inherent branch of royal prerogative. In consequence of this important concession, the King, by an act of council, had prohibited the importation of brandy and all spirits; and the execution of this edict was committed to lord Elphinstone, a relation of Lauderdale's. Elphinstone made no other use of this power than to sell licences to the merchants, by which expedient he gained great sums to himself, tho' to the loss of the revenue, as well as of the kingdom. A monopoly of salt had also been granted to lord Kincardine; and a new imposition on tobacco had been bestowed in gift upon Sir John Nicolson, for the benefit of himself and some friends of Lauderdale. When these grievances were complained of, the commissioner, who was desirous to prevent all parliamentary enquiry, chose rather to redress them in council; and he accordingly cancelled the three patents complained of. But as farther grievances were mentioned, and a general representation of the state of the kingdom was proposed to be made by Parliament; Lauderdale opposed, as a barrier, the Lords of Articles, without whose consent, he said, no motion could be received. Men were now convinced of their imprudence in restoring that institution, which rendered all national assemblies in a manner useless for the redress of grievances.

* 28th of July, 1670.

† 11th of June, 1672.

HAMILTON, Tweeddale, and others went to London, and applied to the King, who was alone able to correct the abuses of Lauderdale's administration. But even their complaints to him might be dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the Throne were barred by the ridiculous law against leading-malicious; a law, which seems to have been extorted by the ancient nobles, in order to protect their own tyranny, oppression, and injustice. Great precautions, therefore, were used by the Scotch malecontents in their representations to the king; but no redress was obtained. Charles loaded them with careſſes, and continued Lauderdale in his authority.

A VERY bad, at least a severe use was made of this authority. The Privy Council dispossessed twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houses; and by an act, which would have been deemed extremely arbitrary in any part of Europe, and even tyrannical in Asia, these houses were converted into so many prisons, established for the suppression of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was rising, on account of these religious assemblies, in a state of war; and by the ancient law, the King, in such an emergence, was empowered to place a garrison in any house, where he should judge it expedient.

It were endless to recount every act of violence and arbitrary authority exercised during Lauderdale's administration. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay, banished by the King's order twelve miles from Edinburgh, and by that means the whole justice of the kingdom was suspended for a year; till these lawyers were brought to declare it as their opinion, that all appeals to Parliament were illegal. A letter was procured from the King, for turning out twelve of the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public offices; tho' such only crime had been want of compliance with Lauderdale. The burroughs of Scotland have a privilege of meeting once a year by their deputies, in order to consider the state of trade, and make bye-laws for its regulation: In this convention, a petition was voted, complaining of some bye-laws, which obstructed commerce, and praying the King, that he would empower his commissioner, in the next session of Parliament, to give his assent to the repealing them. For this preſumption, as it was called, several of the members were fined and imprisoned. One Mackay, a member of Parliament, having moved in the house, that in violation of the privilege of Parliament, no bill should pass, except a three months' notice was first presented, the offence immediately fell to be taken by the court.

The private department of Lauderdale was a scene of confusion, as his public administration was violent and tyrannical. Justice itself was an everyday

Chap. IV.
1678.

perverted by faction and interest: And from the great rapacity of that duke, and still more of his dutchefs, all offices and favours were openly put to sale. No-one was allowed to approach the Throne who was not dependant on him; and no remedy could be hoped for or obtained against his manifold oppressions. The case of Mitchel shew, that this minister was as much devoid of truth and honour as of lenity and justice.

This unhappy man, Mitchel, was a desperate fanatic, and had entertained a resolution of assassinating Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, who, by his former apostacy and subsequent rigour, had rendered himself extremely odious to all men, especially to the Covenanters. In the year 1668, Mitchel fired a pistol at the primate, as he was sitting in his coach; but the bishop of Orkney, stepping into the coach, happened to stretch out his arm, which intercepted the ball, and was much shattered by it. This happened in the principal street of the city; but so generally was the archbishop detested, that the assassin was allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a street or two, and thrown off a wig, which disguised him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unsuspected. Some years afterwards, Sharpe remarked a man, who seemed to eye him very eagerly; and being still anxious, lest an attempt of assassination should be renewed, he ordered him to be seized and examined. Two pistols were found upon him very deep loaded; and as he was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promised, that, if he would confess his guilt, he should be dismissed without any punishment. Mitchel was so credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithless primate. The council, having no proof against him, but hoping to involve the whole body of Covenanters in this odious crime, very solemnly renewed the promise of pardon, if he would make a full discovery; and it was a great disappointment to them, when they found, upon his confession, that only one person, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody resolutions. Mitchel was next cited before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confession; but being apprehensive, that, tho' a pardon for life had been promised him, other corporal punishments might still be inflicted, he refused compliance; and was sent back to prison. He was next examined before the council, under pretext of his being concerned in the insurrection at Pentland; and tho' no proof appeared against him, he was put to the question, and contrary to the most obvious principles of equity, was urged to accuse himself. He endured the torture with singular resolution, and continued obstinate in the denial of a crime, of which, it is believed, he really was not guilty. Instead of obtaining his liberty, he was sent to the B. J., a very high rock, surrounded by the sea; at this time converted into a state prison, and full of the unhappy

Cove

Chap. IV. 1678. ticles without reserve; and the gentry, tho' they themselves commonly abstained from these illegal places of worship, connived at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to engage the former on the side of the persecutors, a bond or contract was by order of the Privy Council tendered to the landlords in the West, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in case any tenant frequented a conventicle, they were to subject themselves to the same fine as could by law be exacted from the delinquent. It was ridiculous to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts: It was iniquitous to make one man answerable for another's conduct: It was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon men, who had no way offended. For these reasons, the greatest part of the gentry refused to sign those bonds; and Lauderdale, enraged at this opposition, endeavoured to break their spirit by expedients, which were still more unusual and more arbitrary.

THE law enacted against conventicles, had called them seminaries of rebellion. This expression, which was nothing but a flourish of rhetoric, Lauderdale and the Privy Council were willing to understand in a literal sense; and because the western counties abounded in conventicles, tho' otherwise in the most profound peace, they pretended, that these counties were in a state of actual war and rebellion. They made therefore an agreement with some highland chieftains to call out their clans to the number of 8000 men: to these they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus: And they sent the whole to live on free quarter upon the lands of such as had refused the bonds illegally required of them. The obnoxious counties were the most populous and most industrious in Scotland: The highlanders were the people the most disorderly and least civilized. It is easy to imagine the havoc and destruction, which ensued. A multitude, not accustomed to military discipline, averse to the restraint of laws, trained up in rapine and violence, were let loose amidst those whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their Prince and to their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: By hardships, and sometimes by tortures, men were obliged to discover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence afforded protection: And the gentry, finding that even those who had been most compliant, and who had subscribed the bonds, were alike exposed to the rapacity of those barbarians, confirmed themselves still more in the obstinate resolution of refusing them. The voice of the nation was raised against this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the highlanders were at last sent back to their hills, loaded with the spoils and execrations of the West.

THOSE who had been engaged to subscribe the bonds, could find no security but by turning out such tenants as they suspected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their estates. To increase the misery of these unhappy tenants the council enacted, that none should be received any where, or allowed a habitation, who

Chap. IV.
1682.

It is reported*, that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scotch affairs, said, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest." A sentiment most unworthy of a Sovereign!

During the absence of Hamilton and the other discontented Lords, the King allowed Lauderdale to summon a convention of estates at Edinburgh. This convention, besides granting some money, bestowed applauses on all Lauderdale's administration, and in their addresses to the King, expressed the highest contentment and satisfaction. But these instances of complaisance had the contrary effect in England from what was expected by the contrivers of them. All men there concluded that in Scotland the very voice of liberty was totally suppressed; and that, by the prevalence of tyranny, grievances were so rivetted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, or complain to the Prince, who alone was capable of redressing them. From the slavery of the neighbouring kingdom, they inferred the arbitrary dispositions of the King; and from the violence, with which sovereign power was there exercised, they apprehended the miseries, which might ensue to themselves, upon their loss of liberty. If persecution by a protestant church could be carried to such extremities, what might be dreaded from the prevalence of popery, which had ever, in all ages, made open profession of exterminating by fire and sword every opposite sect or communion? And if the first approaches towards unlimited authority were so tyrannical, how dismal its final establishment; when all dread of opposition shall at last be removed by mercenary armies, and all sense of shame by long and inveterate habit?

* Burnet.

“mies have a design upon your life; and you may be shot in this very walk.” Being asked the reason of these strange speeches, he said, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot the King, and Sir George Wake-man, the Queen’s physician, to poyson him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his Majesty. Tongue was a divine of the church of England; a man active, restless, full of projects, devoid of understanding. He brought papers to the King, which contained information of a plot, and were digested into forty-three articles. The King not having leisure to peruse them, sent them to the lord treasurer, Danby, and ordered the two informers to lay the business before that minister. Tongue confessed to Danby, that he himself had not drawn the papers, that they had secretly been thrust under his door, and that, tho’ he suspected, he did not certainly know who was the author. After a few days, he returned, and told the treasurer, that his suspicions, he found, were just; that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the street, had acknowledged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular account of the conspiracy, but desired, that his name might be concealed, being apprehensive lest the papists should murder him.

This information was renewed with regard to Grove’s and Pickering’s intentions of shooting the King; and Tongue even pretended, that, at a particular time, they were to set out for Windsor with that intention. Orders were given for arresting them, so soon as they should appear in that place: But tho’ this alarm was more than once renewed, some frivolous reasons were still found by Tongue for delaying the journey. And the King concluded, both from these evasions, and from the mysterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was a fiction.

Toxson came next to the treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, wrote by [] was concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-horse for Windsor, directed to Bedingfield, a jesuit, confessor to the Duke. When this intelligence was conveyed to the King, he replied, that the packet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the Duke by Bedingfield; who said, that he suspected some bad design upon him, that the letters seemed to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the hand-writing of any person whose names were subscribed to them. This incident still farther confirmed the King in his incredulity.

That a matter had probably slept in this posture for ever, had it not been the ambition of the Duke, who, knowing that priests and jesuits and even his own confessor had been accused, was desirous, that a thorough enquiry should be made by

Chap. V.
1653.

was willing to go the length of six thousand pounds: The Dominicans approved of the action; but pleaded poverty. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, who demanded fifteen thousand, as a reward for so great a service: His demand was complied with; and five thousand had been paid him by advance. Lest this means should fail, four Irish rustlers had been employed by the jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to stab the King at Windsor; and Coleman, lately secretary to the Dutchess of York, had given the messenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the King with silver bullets: The former was to receive the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thousand masses, which, estimating masses at a shilling a-piece, amounted to a like value. Pickering had executed his purpose, had not the flint one time dropt out of his pistol, another time the priming. Coniers, the jesuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten shillings, which, he thought, was not dear, considering the purpose for which he intended it, to wit, stabbing the King. Letters of subscription were circulated among the catholics all over England to raise a sum for the same purpose. No less than fifty jesuits had met in May last, at the White-horse tavern, where it was unanimously agreed to put the King to death. This synod did afterwards, for more convenience, divide themselves into many less cabals or companies; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the same end of murdering the King. He even carried about a paper, in which they formally expressed their resolution of executing that deed; and it was regularly subscribed by all of them. A wager of an hundred pounds was laid, and stakes made, that the King should eat no more Christmas pyes. In short, it was determined, to use the expression of a jesuit, that if he would not become R. C. (Roman catholic) he should no longer be C. R. (Charles rex). The great fire of London had been the work of the jesuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-six persons for that purpose, and had expended seven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their charges; for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the value of fourteen thousand pounds: The jesuits had also raised another fire on St. Margaret's Hill, where they had stolen goods to the value of two thousand pounds: Another at Southwark: and it was determined in like manner to burn all the chief cities in England. A paper model was already framed for the sifting of London; the stations were regularly marked out, where the several fires were to commence; and the whole plan of operations was so concerted, that particular care was taken by the jesuits to vary their measures, according to the variations of the wind. Fire balls were familiarly called among them Teuxbiny

inward-

ment of this usage, he was induced, in combination with Tongue, to contrive that plot, of which he accused the Catholics.

This abandoned man, when examined before the council, betrayed his impostures in such a manner, as would have utterly discredited the most consistent story, and the most reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The King asked him, what sort of man Don John was: He answered, a tall, lean man; directly contrary to truth, as the King well knew*. He totally mistook the situation of the jesuit's college at Paris †. Tho' he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad in candle-light ‡. He fell into like mistakes with regard to Wakeman.

NOTWITHSTANDING these objections, great attention was paid to Oates's evidence, and the plot became very soon the subject of conversation, and even the object of terror to the people. The violent animosity, which had been excited against the Catholics in general, made the public swallow the grossest absurdities, when they accompanied an accusation of those religionists: And the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suite: the tremendous idea entertained of a jesuit. Danby likewise, who stood in opposition to the French and catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story, which might serve to discredit that party. By his suggestion, when a warrant was signed for arresting Coleman, there was inserted a clause for seizing his papers; a circumstance attended with the most important consequences.

COLEMAN, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the Duke, had been engaged in a correspondence with father la Chaife, with the Pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with other Catholics abroad; and being himself a fiery zealot, busy and sanguine, the expressions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiscretion. His correspondence during the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676, was seized, and contained many extraordinary passages. In particular, he said to la Chaife, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were never such hopes of success, since the days of Queen Mary, as now in our days. God has given us a Prince," meaning the Duke, "who is become (may I say a miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to

" be

* Burnet, North.

† North.

‡ Burnet, North, Trials.

“ be great : So that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can.” In another letter he said, “ I can scarce believe myself awake, or the thing real, when I think
 “ of a Prince in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and
 “ piety, as not to regard any thing in the world in comparison of God Almighty’s
 “ glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom.”
 In other passages, the interests of the Crown of England, those of the French King, and those of the catholic religion are spoke of as inseparable. The Duke is also said to have connected his interests unalterably with those of Lewis. The King himself, he affirms, is always inclined to favour the Catholics, when he may do it without hazard. “ Money,” Coleman adds, “ cannot fail of persuading the King
 “ to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever so much
 “ to his prejudice. It has such an absolute power over him, that he cannot resist
 “ it. Logic in our court built upon money, has more powerful charms than any
 “ other sort of argument.” For these reasons, he proposes to father la Chaise, that the French King should remit the sum of 500,000 pounds, on condition that the Parliament be dissolved; a measure, to which, he says, the King was, of himself, sufficiently inclined, were it not for the hopes of obtaining money from that assembly. The Parliament, he said, had already constrained the King to make peace with Holland, contrary to the interests of the catholic religion, and of his most christian majesty : And if they should meet again, they would surely engage him farther, and even to make war against France. It appears also from the same letters, that the assembling the Parliament so late as April in the year 1675, had been procured by the intrigues of the catholic and French party, who thereby intended to show the Dutch and other confederates abroad, that they could expect no assistance from England.

WHEN the contents of these letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic, with which the nation began already to be seized on account of the popish plot. Men reasoned more from their fears and their passions than from the evidence before them. It is certain, that the active and enterprizing spirit of the catholic church, particularly of the jesuits, merits attention, and is, in some degree, dangerous, to every other communion. Such zeal of proselyting a man, that sees, that its missionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe, and in one state, there is a *popish plot* perpetually carried on against all states, Protestants, Pagans, and Mahometan. It is likewise very probable, that the conversion of the Duke, and the favour of the King, had inspired the catholic priests with an unwearied zeal, in these islands their lost dominion, and gave them vigour to that intemperate zeal, by which they are commonly actuated. Their first design, to obtain a toleration; and such was the evidence, they bore, of their theological tenets,

Chap. V.
1078.

that, could they but procure entire liberty, they must infallibly in time open the eyes of the people. After they had converted considerable numbers, they might be enabled, they hoped, to re-instate themselves in full authority, and entirely to suppress that heresy, with which the kingdom had so long been infected. Tho' these dangers to the protestant religion were very distant, it was justly the object of great concern to find, that the heir apparent to the crown was so blinded with bigotry, and so deeply engaged in foreign interests; and that the King himself had been prevailed with, from low interests, to hearken to his dangerous insinuations. Very bad consequences might ensue from such perverse habits and attachments; nor could the nation and Parliament guard against them with too anxious a precaution. But that the Roman pontiff could hope to assume the sovereignty of these kingdoms; a project, which, even during the darkness of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have appeared chimerical: That he should delegate this authority to the jesuits; that order in the Romish church, which was the most hated: That a massacre could be attempted of the Protestants, who surpassed the Catholics a hundred fold, and were invested with the whole authority of the state: That the King himself was to be assassinated, and even the Duke, the only support of their party: These were such absurdities as no human testimony was sufficient to prove; much less the evidence of one man, who was noted for infamy, and who could not keep himself, every moment, from falling into the grossest inconsistencies. Did such intelligence deserve even so much attention as to be refuted, it would appear, that Coleman's letters were sufficient alone to destroy all its credit. For how could so long a train of correspondence be carried on, by a man so much trusted by the party; and yet no traces of insurrections, if really intended, of fires, massacres, assassinations, invasions, be ever discovered in any single passage of these letters? But all such reflections, and many more equally obvious, were vainly employed against that general prepossession, with which the nation was seized. Oates's plot and Coleman's were universally confounded: And the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the former, aided by the passions of hatred and of terror, took possession of the whole people.

11th of October.
Godfrey's
murder.

THERE was danger however, lest time might open the eyes of the public; when the murder of Godfrey completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely incurable. This magistrate had been missing some days; and after much search, and many surmises, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primrose-hill: The marks of strangling were thought to appear about his neck, and some contusions on his breast: His own sword was sticking in the body; but as no considerable quantity of blood ensued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thrust in after his death, and that he had not killed himself: He had rings on his fingers

fingers and money in his pocket: It was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reasoning, the cry ran, that he had been assassinated by the Papists, on account of his taking Oates' evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with universal belief. The panic spread itself on every side with infinite rapidity; and all men, astonished with fear, and augmented with rage, saw in Godfrey's fate all the horrible designs intended to the Catholics; and no farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The violence of the whole nation increased, and that hated sect, and notwithstanding that the bloody conspiracy was supposed to be now discovered, men could scarce be persuaded that their lives were yet in safety. Each hour tremed with new rumours and commotions. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, even private murders and poisonings were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot was to be in all respects a complice: To hesitate was criminal: Royalist, Republican; Churchman, Seditious; Courtier, Patriot; all parties concurred in the illusion. The city prepared for defence, as if the enemy were at its gates: The chains and polls were put up. And it was a noted saying at that time of Sir Thomas Player, the chamberlain, that were it not for these precautions, the whole citizens might rise next morning with their throats cut*.

In order to propagate the popular frenzy, several artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. It was publicly exposed in the streets, and viewed by all ranks of men; and every one, who saw it, went away inflamed, as well by the mutual contagion of sentiments, as by the dismal spectacle itself. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. It was conducted thro' the chief streets of the city: Seventy-two carriers-men marched before: Above a thousand persons of distinction followed after: And at the funeral sermon, two able-bodied divines mounted the pulpit, and it was on each side of the preacher: left, in paying the last office to this unhappy nobleman, he should, before the whole people, be murdered by the Papists.

In this disposition of the nation, reason could no more be heard than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane. Even at present, Godfrey's murder cannot upon any system be rationally accounted for. That he was assassinated by the Catholics, seems utterly improbable. Their high priests could not be so stupid to commit that crime from *piety*, in order to deter other murderers from proceeding against them. Godfrey's fate was no way capable of producing that effect, unless it were publicly known, that the Catholics would be mortal enemies to the king; which, it was easy to foresee, must prove the ruin of that party. Besides, it w

* South, p. 207.

§ See the next page.

Chap. V.
-1678.

many magistrates, during more than a century, had acted in the most violent manner against them, without its being ever suspected, that any one had been cut off by assassination? Such jealous times as the present were surely ill fitted for beginning these dangerous experiments. Shall we therefore say, that the Catholics were pushed on, not by policy, but by blind *revenge* against Godfrey? But Godfrey had given them little or no occasion of offence in taking Oates's evidence. His part was merely an act of form, belonging to his office; nor could he, nor any man in his station, possibly refuse it. In the rest of his conduct, he lived on good terms with the Catholics, and was far from distinguishing himself by his severity against that sect. It is even certain, that he had contracted an intimacy with Coleman, and took care to inform his friend of the danger, to which, by reason of Oates's evidence, he was at present exposed.

THERE are some writers, who, finding it impossible to account for Godfrey's murder by the machinations of the Catholics, have recourse to the opposite supposition. They lay hold of that common presumption, that those commit the crime who reap profit by it; and they affirm that it was Shaftesbury and the heads of the popular party, who perpetrated that deed, in order to throw the odium of it on the Papists. But if this supposition be received, it must also be admitted, that the whole plot was the contrivance of those politicians; and that Oates acted altogether under their direction. But it appears, that Oates, dreading probably the opposition of powerful enemies, had very anxiously acquitted the Duke, Danby, Ormond, and all the ministry; persons who were certainly the most obnoxious to the popular leaders. Besides, the whole texture of the plot contains such low absurdity, that it is impossible to have been the invention of any man of sense or education. It is true, the more monstrous and horrible the conspiracy, the better was it fitted to terrify, and thence to convince the populace: But this effect, we may safely say, no one could beforehand have promised upon; and a fool was in this case more likely to succeed than a wise man. Had Shaftesbury laid the plan of a popish conspiracy, he had probably rendered it moderate, consistent, credible; and on that very account had never met with the prodigious success, with which Oates's tremendous fictions were attended.

WE must, therefore, be contented to remain for ever ignorant of the actors in Godfrey's murder; and only pronounce in general, that that event, in all likelihood, had no connexion, one way or other, with the popish plot. Any man, especially so active a magistrate as Godfrey, might, in such a city as London, have many enemies, of whom his friends and family had no suspicion. He was a melancholy man; and there is some reason, notwithstanding all the pretended appearances to the contrary, to suspect that he fell by his own hands. The affair was never examined with

tran-

jury, or even common sense, during the time; and it is impossible for us, Chap. V.
1678.
in this distance, certainly to account for it.

No one doubted but the papists had assassinated Godfrey: but still the particular actors were unknown. A proclamation was issued by the King, offering a pardon and five hundred pounds reward to any one who would discover them. As it was afterwards surmiz'd, that the terror of a like assassination would prevent discovery, a new proclamation was issued, promising absolute protection to any one who would reveal the secret. Thus were indemnity, money, and security offer'd to the fairest bidder: And no one needed fear, during the present fury of the people, that his evidence would undergo too severe a scrutiny.

When the nation was in this ferment, the Parliament was assembled. In his speech the King told them, that tho' they had given money for disbanding the army, ^{1678.} ^{1678.} he had found Flanders so expos'd, that he had thought it necessary still to keep them on foot, and doubted not but this measure would meet with their approbation. He inform'd them, that his revenue lay under great anticipations, and at best was never equal to the constant and necessary expence of the government; as would appear from the state of it, which he intended to lay before them. He also mentioned the plot, carried on against his life by jesuits; but said, that he would forbear delivering any opinion of the matter, lest he should seem to say too much or too little; and that he would leave the scrutiny of it entirely to the law.

The King was anxious to keep the question of the popish plot from the Parliament, where, he suspected, many designing people would very much abuse the present credulity of the nation: But Danby, who hated the catholics, and courted popularity, and perhaps hoped, that the King, if his life was believed to be in danger from the secret, would be more cordially loved by the nation, had entertained opposite designs; and the very first day of the session, he opened the matter in the House of Peers. The King was extremely displeas'd with this temerity, and told his minister, "That you do not believe it, you will find, that you have given the Parliament a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb all my affairs; and you will surely live to repent it." Danby had afterwards sufficient reason to applaud the King's sagacity.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one House to the other. ^{Zeal of the} The verdict of Parliament gave sanction to that fury, with which the people were ^{Parliament} already agitated. An address was voted for a solemn fast: A form of prayer was composed for that service, and because the popish plot had been omitted in the first

* The first sermon of the fast, was pronounced by the learned and venerable Dr. Tillotson, the 17th of October, 1678.

Chap. V.
1672.

first draught, it was carefully ordered to be inserted; lest omniscience should want intelligence, to use the words of an historian*.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, addresses were voted for such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of popish recusants from London; for administering every where the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; for denying access at court to all unknown and suspicious persons; and for appointing the train-bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached for high treason. And both Houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the Lords and Commons are of opinion, " that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and " carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, " for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

So vehement were the Houses, that they sat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the subject of the plot: For no other business could be admitted. A committee of Lords were appointed to examine prisoners and witnesses: Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of such as should be accused or suspected. Oates, who, tho' his evidence were true, must, by his own confession, be esteemed an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, caressed, and called the saviour of the nation. By the Parliament he was recommended to the King. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of 1200 pounds a year.

Bedloe's narrative.

It was not long before such bountiful encouragement brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, had frequently passed himself for a man of quality, and had endeavoured, by a variety of lyes and contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence only of Godfrey's murder, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset-house, where the Queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He was questioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the Lords' committee, he bethought himself better, and was ready to give an ample
account

* North, p. 207.

Chap. V.
1678.

an univerfal massacre. The torrent indeed of national prejudices ran fo high, that no-one, without the moft imminent danger, durft venture openly to oppofe it; nay, fcarce any-one, without great force of judgment, could fecretly entertain an opinion contrary to the prevailing fentiments. The loud and unanimous voice of a great nation has mighty authority over weak minds; and even later hiftorians are fo fwayed by the concurring judgment of fuch multitudes, that fome of them have efteemed themfelves fufficiently moderate, when they affirmed, that many circumftances of the plot were true, tho' fome were added, and others much magnified. But it is an obvious principle, that a witness, who perjures himfelf in one circumftance, is credible in none: And the authority of the plot, even to the end of the profecutions, flood entirely upon witneffes. Tho' the Catholics had been fuddenly and unexpectedly detected, at the very moment, when their confpiracy, it is faid, was ready to be put in execution; no arms, no ammunition, no money, no commiffions, no papers, no letters, after the moft rigorous feach, ever were difcovered, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Yet ftill the nation, tho' often frufterated, went on in the eager purfuit and confident belief of the confpiracy: And even the manifold inconfiftencies and abfurdities, contained in the Narratives, inftead of difcouraging them, ferved only as farther incentives to difcover the bottom of the plot, and were confidered as flight objections, which a more complete information would fully remove. In all hiftory, it will be difficult to find fuch another inftance of popular frenzy and bigotted delufion.

In order to fupport the panic among the people, efpecially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was published with this title, “ A narrative and impartial difcovery of the horrid popifh plot, carried on for burning and deftroying the cities of London and Weftminfter with their fuburbs; fetting forth the feveral confults, orders, and refolutions of the jefuits, concerning the fame: By captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid defign, and one of the popifh committee for carrying on fuch fires.” Every fire, which had happened for feveral years paff, is there afcribed to the machinations of the jefuits, who propofed, as Bedloe faid, by fuch attempts to find an opportunity for the general maffacre of the Proteftants; and in the mean time, were pleafed to enrich themfelves by pilfering goods from the fires.

THE King, tho' he fcrupled not, wherever he could ufe freedom, to throw the higheft ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet found it neceffary to adopt the popular opinion before the Parliament. The torrent, he faw, ran too ftroong to be controuled; and he could only hope, by a feeming compliance, to be able, after fome time, to guide and direct and elude its fury. He made therefore
a fpeech

a speech to the House; in which he told them, that he would take the utmost care to satisfy them during their times of sitting; that he was as ready as their hearts could desire to sit with them in an annual or triennial sitting the precise manner, not only in sitting, but in anything, but for all future ages; that, provided the right of the House was preserved, he would consent to any law that should be proposed by the King, or either of the Houses; he exhorted them to stand off from all such measures as were of popular interests; and he highly praised the Duke of York, as the only person who had preserved the ancient constitution.

The Duke of York then said a word of the violence that had been done to the poor people. A Bill was introduced for a new tent, which many were of opinion that the King and all members, who retained their seats, were excluded by it. He was content to pass the Commons without much opposition; but in the upper House the Duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in its favour. When one of our citizens, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was ready to challenge them to their kin and, in the great concern, which he had and have to be worldly and he provoked, that, whatever his religion is, he has it the ill only of a private man, between God and his own soul, and never the bad appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong objection, the important question was decided finally by two voices; a sufficient indication of the general opinion of that House. "I would not have," said a noble Peer, "the debate on this Bill, to be a question of a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not to make a man a popish dog or a popish bitch; not to make a popish cat to purr or mew about the King." What is more extraordinary, this speech met with general approbation.

At the same time the Commons, the writs were issued for a new election, and the House was dissolved. On the said Bill, which had been passed, that the members of the House should sit only when they have to be present, and that they should sit only when they have to be present, and that they should sit only when they have to be present. The Commons were of opinion that the King should consent to the Bill, which was passed, but the House was divided, and the Bill was not passed. The Duke of York was of opinion that the King should consent to the Bill, which was passed, but the House was divided, and the Bill was not passed.

The Duke of York was of opinion that the King should consent to the Bill, which was passed, but the House was divided, and the Bill was not passed. The Duke of York was of opinion that the King should consent to the Bill, which was passed, but the House was divided, and the Bill was not passed.

Chap. V.
1678.

notwithstanding all allurements of pleasure, or interest, or safety, had the generosity to protect his injured consort. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I will not see an innocent woman abused*." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants; and this daring informer was obliged to make applications to Parliament, in order to recover his liberty.

DURING this agitation of men's minds, the Parliament gave new attention to the militia; a circumstance, which, even during the times of greatest tranquillity, can never prudently be neglected. They passed a bill, by which was appointed, that a regular militia should be kept in arms, during six weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. The popular leaders probably intended to make use of the general prejudices, and even to turn the arms of the people against the Prince †. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the Parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part so far with the power of the sword: But if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal sanction. The Commons, dissatisfied with this negative, tho' the King had never before employed that prerogative, immediately voted that all the new-levied forces should be dismissed. They passed a bill, granting money for that service; but to shew their extreme jealousy of the Crown, besides appropriating that money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid, not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The Lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the King's ministers, and even on himself; and by that means the act remained in suspense.

Accusation of
Danby.

It was no wonder, that the present ferment and credulity of the nation engaged men of infamous character and indigent circumstances to become informers; when persons of rank and condition could be tempted to give into that scandalous practice. Montague, the King's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower House; and without obtaining or asking the King's leave, he suddenly came over into England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this measure, had taken care to secrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the House of Commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, wrote at the beginning of the year, during the negotiations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Montague was there directed to make a demand of money; or in other words, the King was willing secretly to sell his good offices to France, contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and

* North's Examen. p. 186.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 437.

retained, as he was certainly informed, the highest contempt, both of the King's person and government. His diligence, he added, in tracing and discovering the popish plot, was generally known; and if he had common sense, not to say common honesty, he would surely be anxious to preserve the life of a master, by whom he was so much favoured. He had wasted no treasure, because there was no treasure to waste. And tho' he had reason to be grateful for the King's bounty, he had made more moderate acquisitions than were generally imagined, and than others in his office had often done, even during a shorter administration.

THE House of Peers plainly saw, that, allowing all the charge of the Commons to be true, Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward the third; and tho' the words, *treason* and *treiterously*, had been carefully subjoined to several articles, this appellation could not alter the nature of things, or subject him to the penalties annexed to that crime. They refused, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge: The Commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise, when the King, who had already observed sufficient instances of the ill-humour of the Parliament, thought proper to prorogue them. This prorogation was soon after followed by a dissolution; a desperate remedy in the present disposition of the nation. But the disease, it must be owned, the King had reason to esteem desperate. The utmost rage had been discovered by the Commons, on account of the popish plot; and their fury began already to point against the royal family, if not against the Throne itself. The Duke had been struck at in several motions: The treasurer had been impeached: All supply had been refused, except on the most disagreeable conditions: Fears, jealousies, and antipathies were every day multiplying in Parliament: And tho' the people were strongly infected with the same prejudices, the King hoped, by dissolving the present cabals, that a set of men might be chosen, more moderate in their pursuits, and less tainted with the violence of faction.

Thus came to a period a parliament, which had fate during the whole course of this reign, one year excepted. Its conclusion was very different from its commencement. Being elected during the joy and festivity of the restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royalists; who were disposed to support the Crown by all the liberality, which the habits of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the King; and finding him still to persevere in a foreign interest, they proceeded to discover various signs of the most refractory and most jealous disposition. The popish plot pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their dissolution they found themselves treading fast in the foot-steps of the last long Parliament, on whose conduct they threw at first such violent blame. In all their variations, they had

Chap. V. And when the jury brought in their verdict against the prisoners, he said, “ You
1678. “ have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that
“ is to say, like very good Protestants: And now much good may their 30,000
“ masses do them.” Alluding to the masses, by which Pickering was to be re-
1679. warding for murdering the King. All these unhappy men went to execution, pro-
24th of Janu- telling their innocence; a circumstance, which made no impression on the specta-
“V. tors. The opinion, that the jesuits allowed of lies and mental reservations for the
promotion of a good cause, was at this time so universally received, that no credit
was given to testimony, delivered either by that order, or by any of their disciples.
It was forgot, that all the conspirators, engaged in the gun-powder-treason, and
Garnet, the jesuit, among the rest, had freely on the scaffold made confession of
their guilt.

Tho’ Bedloe had given information of Godfrey’s murder, he still remained a
single evidence against the persons accused; and all the allurements of profit and
honour had not as yet tempted any one to confirm the testimony of that informer.
At last, means were found to compleat the legal evidence. One Prance, a silver-
smith, and a Catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in that
murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons,
and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness. Such
rigours were supposed to be exercised by orders from the secret committee of lords,
particularly Shaftesbury and Buckingham; who, in examining the prisoners, usually
employed (as ’tis said, and indeed sufficiently proved) threatenings and promises, ri-
gour and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them.
Prance had not courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey’s
murder. Being asked concerning the plot, he also thought proper to be acquainted
with it, and conveyed some intelligence to the council. Among other absurd cir-
cumstances, he said, that one Le Fevre bought a second-hand sword of him; be-
cause he knew not, as he said, what times were at hand: And Prance, expressing
some concern for poor tradesmen, if such times came; Le Fevre replied, that it
would be better for tradesmen, if the catholic religion was restored: And particu-
larly, that there would be more church work for silver-smiths. But all this infor-
mation, with regard to the plot as well as murder, Prance solemnly retracted, both
before the King and the secret committee: And being again thrown into prison,
he was induced, by new terrors and new sufferings, to confirm his first information;
and was now produced as a sufficient evidence.

HILL, Green and Berry were tried for Godfrey’s murder; all of them men of
low station. Hill was servant to a physician: The other two belonged to the po-
pish chapel at Somerset House. It is needless to run over all the particulars of a
long

Char. V.
1679.

formers, so far as concerned the guilt of the Catholics : But they still retained their old suspicions, that these religionists were secretly favoured by the King, and had obtained the most entire ascendant over his brother. Charles had too much penetration not to see the danger, to which the succession, and even his own crown and dignity, now stood exposed. A numerous party, he found, was formed against him; on the one hand, composed of a populace, so credulous from prejudice, so blinded with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the most palpable absurdities; and conducted, on the other hand, by leaders so little scrupulous, as to endeavour, by encouraging perjury, subornation, lyes, impostures, and even by shedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and subvert all legal authority. Roused from his lethargy by so imminent a peril, he began to exert that vigour of mind, of which on great occasions he was not destitute; and without quitting in appearance his usual facility of temper, he collected an industry, firmness, vigilance, of which he was believed altogether incapable. These qualities, joined to dexterity and judgment, conducted him happily thro' the many shoals, which surrounded him; and he was at last able to make the storm fall on the heads of those who had blindly raised, or artificially conducted it.

One chief step, which the King took, towards gratifying and appeasing his people and Parliament, was, desiring the Duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion might remain of the influence of popish councils. The Duke readily complied; but first required an order for that purpose, signed by the King; lest his absence should be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He also desired, that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth.

Duke of
Monmouth.

JAMES Duke of Monmouth was the King's natural son by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities, which could engage the affections of the populace; a distinguished valour, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. He rose still higher in the public favour, by reason of the universal hatred, to which the Duke, on account of his religion, was exposed. Monmouth's capacity was mean; his temper pliant: So that, notwithstanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly resigned himself over to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of such restless temper, such subtle wit, and such abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage, passed betwixt the King and Monmouth's mother, and secretly kept in a *black box*, had been industriously spread abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude: As the horrors of popery still pressed harder on them, they might be induced, either to adopt that fiction, as they had already

done

Chap. V.
1702.

pretension, which, tho' unusual, seems tacitly to have been yielded them. The King had had before-hand the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and in order to screen the chancellor from all attacks by the Commons, he had taken the seal into his own hand, and had himself affixed it to the parchment. He told the Parliament, that as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was no way criminal; that his pardon, however, he would insist upon; and if it should be found any way defective in form, he would renew it again and again, till it should be rendered entirely compleat: But that he was resolv'd to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court.

THE Commons were no way satisfied with this concession. They pretended, that no pardon of the Crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the Commons. The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto understood to be altogether unlimited in the King; and this pretension of the Commons, it must be confessed, was entirely new. It was however very suitable to the genius of a Monarchy, strictly limited; where the King's ministers are supposed to be for ever accountable to national assemblies, even for such abuses of power as they may commit by orders from their master. The present emergence, while the nation was so highly inflamed, was the proper time for pushing such popular claims; and the Commons failed not to avail themselves of this advantage. They still insisted on the impeachment of Danby. The Peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby withdrew. The Commons pass'd a bill, appointing him to surrender himself before a certain day, or, in default of it, attainting him. A bill had pass'd the upper House, mitigating the penalty to banishment; but after some conferences, the Peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the Commons; and the bill of attainder was carried. Rather than undergo such severe penalties, Danby appeared, and was immediately sent to the Tower.

Popish plot.

WHILE a protestant nobleman met with such severe prosecution, it was not likely that the Catholics would be over-looked by the zealous Commons. The credit of the popish plot still stood upon the oaths of a few infamous witnesses. Tho' such immense preparations were supposed to have been made in the very bowels of the kingdom, no traces of them, after the most rigorous enquiry, had as yet appeared. Tho' so many thousands, both abroad and at home, had been engaged in the dreadful secret; neither hope, nor fear, nor remorse, nor levity, nor suspicions, nor private resentment had engaged any-one to confirm the evidence. Tho' the Catholics, particularly the jesuits, were represented as guilty of the utmost indiscretion, in such that they talked of the King's murder as common news, and wrote of it in plain terms by the common post; yet, among the great number of letters seized, no one contained any part of so complicated a conspiracy. Tho' the informers

Chap. V.
1679.

employ it to the public service. He represented to the King, that, as the jealousies of the nation were extreme, it was necessary to cure them by some new remedy, and to restore that confidence, so requisite for the safety both of King and people: That to refuse every thing to the Parliament in their present disposition, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous, to the constitution and to public tranquillity: That if the King would introduce into his councils such men as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer concessions would probably be required; or if exorbitant demands were made, the King, under the sanction of such counsellors, might be enabled, with the greater safety, to refuse them: And that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the King's favour, would probably abate of that violence, by which they endeavoured at present to pay court to the multitude.

New council.

THE King assented to all these reasons; and, in concert with Temple, he laid the plan of a new privy-council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measures of importance. This council was to consist of thirty persons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued, who, it was supposed, would adhere to the King, and, in case of any extremity, oppose the exorbitancies of faction. The other part of the council was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of those who possessed chief credit in both Houses. And the King, in filling up the names of his new council, was glad to find, that the members, in land and offices, possessed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a year; a sum nearly equal to the whole property of the House of Commons, against whose violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne*.

This experiment was tried, and seemed at first to give some satisfaction to the public. The earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, son to lord Capel, who was beheaded a little after the late King, was made treasurer in place of Danby. The earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and great capacity, was made secretary of state: The viscount Halifax, a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, industry, but subject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. These three, together with Temple, who often joined them, tho' he kept himself more detached from public business, formed a kind of cabinet

* Their names were: Prince Rupert, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord High chancellor, earl of Salisbury, president, earl of Angles, privy seal, duke of Albemarle, duke of Devonshire, duke of Devonshire, duke of Lauderdale, duke of Cambridge, marquis of Winchester, marquis of Worcester, earl of Salisbury, earl of Salisbury, earl of Belgrave, earl of Sunderland, earl of Essex, earl of Bath, viscount de Mordaunt, viscount Halifax, bishop of London, lord Roberts, lord Holt, lord Russell, lord Carteret, lord Grey, lord Sir Francis North, chief justice, Sir Henry Capel, Sir John Dingley, Sir Thomas Mordaunt, Sir William Temple, Edward Seymour, Henry Powel.

Chap. V.
1679. lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenant of the counties, and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor, of himself added, "It is hard to invent another restraint; considering how much the revenue will depend upon the consent of Parliament, and how impossible it is to raise money without such consent. But yet, if any thing else can occur to the wisdom of the Parliament, which may farther secure religion and liberty against a popish successor, without defeating the right of succession itself, his majesty will readily consent to it."

It is remarkable, that, when these limitations were first laid before the council, Shaftesbury and Temple were the only members, who argued against them. The reasons, which they employed, were diametrically opposite. Shaftesbury's opinion was, that the restraints were insufficient; and that nothing but the total exclusion of the duke could give a proper security to the kingdom. Temple on the other hand thought, that the restraints were so rigorous as even to subvert the constitution; and that shackles, put upon a popish successor, would not afterwards be easily cast off by a protestant. It is certain, that the Duke was extremely alarmed when he heard of this step taken by the King, and that he was better pleased even with the bill of exclusion itself, which, he thought, by reason of its violence and injustice, could never possibly take place. There is also reason to believe, that the King would not have gone so far, had he not expected, from the extreme fury of the Commons, that his concessions would be rejected, and that the blame of not forming a reasonable accommodation would by that means lie entirely at their door.

It soon appeared, that Charles had entertained a just opinion of the disposition of the House. So much were the Commons actuated by the cabals of Shaftesbury and other malecontents; such violent antipathy prevailed against popery, that the King's concessions, tho' much more important than could reasonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the Duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was declared that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the King's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the Duke; that all acts of royalty, which that Prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; and that even if he entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title, should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied banishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower House by a majority of seventy-nine.

The Commons were not so wholly employed about the exclusion-bill as to overlook all other securities to liberty. The country party, during all the last Parliament, had exclaimed much against the bribery and corruption of the members

Chap. V.
1679.

his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lay within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so proportionably for greater distances: Every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offence. This law is essentially requisite for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration alone may induce us to prefer our present constitution to all others. It must, however, be confessed, that there is some difficulty to reconcile with such extreme liberty the regular police of a state, especially that of great cities.

DURING these zealous efforts for the protection of liberty, no complaisance for the Crown was discovered by this Parliament. The King's revenue lay under great debts and anticipations: Those branches, granted in the years 1669 and 1670, were ready to expire: And the fleet was represented by the King to be in great decay and disorder. But the Commons, instead of being affected by these distresses of the Crown, trusted chiefly to them for passing the exclusion-bill, and for punishing and displacing all the ministers, who were disagreeable to them. They were therefore in no haste to relieve the King; and grew only the more assuming on account of his complaints and uneasiness. Jealous however of the army, they granted the same sum of 206,000 pounds, which had been voted for disbanding it by the last Parliament; tho' the vote, by reason of the subsequent prorogation and dissolution, joined to some scruples of the Lords, had not been carried into an act. This money was appropriated by very strict clauses; but the Commons insisted not as formerly upon its being paid into the chamber of London.

THE impeachment of the five popish lords in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with great vigour. The power of that minister and his credit with the King, made him extremely obnoxious to the popular leaders; and the Commons hoped, that if he was pushed to extremity, he would be obliged, in order to justify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which they suspected to contain a secret of the most dangerous nature. The King on his side, apprehensive of the same consequences, and desirous to protect his minister, who was become criminal merely by obeying orders, employed his whole interest to support the validity of that pardon, which had been granted him. The Lords appointed a day for the examination of this question, and agreed to hear council on both sides: But the Commons would not submit their pretensions to the discussion of argument and enquiry. They voted, that whoever should presume, without their leave, to maintain before the House of Peers the validity of Danby's pardon, should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the English Commons. And they made a demand,

that the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the cause, should be removed, not only when the trial of the earl should come on, but also before the validity of his pardon should be discussed.

Three bishops before the reformation had always enjoyed a seat in Parliament: But for fear were they antiently from regarding that dignity as a privilege, but they affected rather to form a separate order in the state, quite independent of the civil magistracy, and accountable only to the pope and to their own order. By the constitutions, however, of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Henry II. they were obliged to give their presence in Parliament; but as the canon law prohibited them from assisting in the trials of life and death, they were allowed in such cases the privilege of absenting themselves. A practice, which was at first merely voluntary, became afterwards a rule; and on the earl of Strafford's trial, the bishops, who would gladly have attended, and who were no longer bound by the canon law, were yet obliged to withdraw. It had always been usual for them to enter a protestation of their right to sit; and this protestation, being considered as a mere form, was always admitted and disregarded. But here was started a new question of no small importance. The Commons, who were now enabled, by the violence of the people, and the necessities of the crown, to make new acquisitions of powers and privileges, insisted, that the bishops had no more title to vote in the question of the earl's pardon than in the impeachment itself. The bishops asserted, that the pardon was merely a preliminary, and that, neither by the canon law nor the practice of Parliament, were they ever obliged, in capital cases, to remove, till the very commencement of the trial itself. If their absence was considered as a privilege, which was its real origin, it depended on their own choice, how far they would insist upon it. If regarded as a diminution of their right of peerage, such unfavourable customs ought never to be extended beyond the very circumstances established by them; and all arguments, from a pretended parity of reason, were in that case of little or no authority.

The House of Lords were so much influenced by these reasons, that they admitted the bishops' right to vote, when the validity of the pardon should be examined. The Commons insisted still on their withdrawing; and thus a quarrel being commenced betwixt the two Houses, the King, who expected nothing but fresh instances of violence from this Parliament, began to entertain thoughts of laying hold of so favourable a pretext, and of nulling the act by a proclamation. While in this disposition, he was alarmed with sudden intelligence, that the House of Commons were preparing a remonstrance, in order to inflame the nation still further upon the favourite topics of the plot and of popery. He intended, therefore, to execute his intention, even without consulting his new council, by whom

Chap. V.
1679.

advice he had promised to regulate his whole conduct. And thus were disappointed all the projects of the malecontents, who were extremely enraged at this vigorous measure of the King. Shaftesbury publicly threatened, that he would have the head of whoever had advised it. The Parliament was soon after dissolved without advice of council; and a new Parliament ordered to be chosen. The King was willing to try every means, which gave a prospect of more compliance to his subjects; and in case of failure, the blame, he hoped, would lie on those whose obstinacy forced him to extremities.

BUT even during the recess of Parliament, there was no interruption to the prosecution of the Catholics accused of the plot. The King, contrary to his own judgment, found himself obliged to give way to this popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, Fenwic, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were first brought to their trial. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man had been steward to lord Aston, and, tho' poor, possessed somewhat a more reputable character than the other two: But his account of the intended massacres and assassinations was equally monstrous and incredible. He even asserted, that 200,000 Papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, students and most of them young men of family, that Oates was in that seminary, at the time when he swore that he was in London: But as they were Catholics and disciples of the jesuits, their testimony, both with the judges and the jury, was totally disregarded. Even the reception, which they met with in court, was full of outrage and mockery. One of them saying, that Oates always continued at St. Omer's, if he could believe his senses: "You Papists," said the Chief justice, "are taught not to believe your senses." It must be confessed, that Oates, in opposition to the students of St. Omer's, found means to bring evidence of his having been at that time in London: But this evidence, tho' it had, at the time, the appearance of some solidity, was afterwards discovered, when Oates himself was tried for perjury, to be altogether deceitful. In order farther to discredit that witness, the jesuits proved by undoubted testimony, that he had perjured himself in father Ireland's trial, whom they showed to have been in Staffordshire at the very time when Oates swore, that he was committing treason in London. But all these pleas availed them nothing against the general prejudices. They received sentence of death; and were executed, persisting to their last breath in the most solemn, earnest, and deliberate, tho' disregarded protestations of their innocence.

THE next trial was that of Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the jesuits were managed. Thro' his hands, Oates and Bedloe swore, all the royal commissions passed; by which the chief offices in England were sup-

plied

Protection
and dissolution
of the
Parliament.
16th of July.

Trial and execution
of the
five jesuits.

And so I am
done.

Chap. V.
1679.

profit from the forfeitures and attainders, which would ensue upon it. But the covenanters, aware of this policy, had hitherto forborne all acts of hostility; and that tyrannical minister had failed of his purpose. An incident at last happened, which brought on an insurrection in that country.

THE covenanters were much enraged against Sharpe, the primate, whom they considered as an apostate from their principles, and whom they experienced to be an unrelenting persecutor of all those who dissented from the established worship. He had an officer under him, one Carmichael, no less zealous than himself against all conventicles, and who by his violent prosecutions had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the fanatics. A company of these had way-laid him on the road near St. Andrews, with an intention, if not of killing him, at least of punishing him so severely as would afterwards render him more cautious in persecuting the Non-conformists*. While looking out for their prey, they were surprized at seeing the archbishop's coach pass by; and they immediately interpreted this incident as a declaration of the secret purpose of providence against him. But when they observed, that almost all his servants, by some accident, were absent, they no longer doubted, that heaven had here delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they fell upon him; dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and immediately dispersed themselves.

THIS atrocious action served the ministry as a pretext for a more violent persecution against the fanatics, to whom, without distinction, they laid the guilt of those furious assassins. It is indeed certain, that the murder of Sharpe had excited an universal joy among the covenanters, and that their blind zeal had often led them, in their books and sermons, to praise and recommend the assassination of their enemies, whom they considered as the enemies of all true piety and godliness. The stories of Jael and Sisera, of Ehud and Eglon, resounded from every pulpit. The officers, quartered in the west, received more strict orders to find out and disperse all conventicles; and for that reason the covenanters, instead of meeting in small bodies, were obliged to celebrate their worship in numerous assemblies, and to bring arms for their security. At Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow, they openly set forth a declaration against prelacy, and in the market-place burned several acts of Parliament and acts of council, which had established prelacy, and prohibited all conventicles. For this insult on government, they purposely chose the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration; and previously extinguished the bonfires, which had been kindled for that solemnity.

CAPTAIN

* Wodrow's history of the sufferings of the church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 28.

CAPTAIN Graham, afterwards viscount Dundee, an active and enterprising officer, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, and was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. The covenanters finding that they were unwarily involved in such deep guilt, were engaged to persevere, and to seek from their valour and fortune alone for that indemnity, which the severity of the government left them no hopes of ever being able otherwise to obtain. They pushed on to Glasgow, and tho' at first repulsed, they afterwards made themselves masters of that town; dispossessed all the established clergy; and issued proclamations, where they declared, that they fought against the King's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish succession.

HOWEVER accidental this insurrection might appear, there is reason to think, that some great men in combination with the popular leaders in England, had secretly instigated the covenanters to proceed to such extremities; and hoped for the same effects as had forty years before ensued from the disorders in Scotland. The King also, apprehensive of like consequences, immediately dispatched Monmouth with a small body of English cavalry. He joined the Saxton guards, and some regiments of militia, levied from the well-affected counties; and with great celerity marched towards the west in quest of the rebels. They had taken post at Bothwell-bridge between Hamilton and Glasgow; where there was no access to them but over the bridge, which a small body was able to defend against the King's forces. They showed great judgment in the choice of their post; but discovered neither judgment nor valour in any other step of their conduct. No nobility and few gentry had joined them: The numbers were in reality the commoners; and the whole army never exceeded 8000 men. Monmouth attacked the bridge; and the body of infantry who defended it, maintained their post, as long as their ammunition lasted. When they sent for more, they received orders to abandon their ground, and retire backwards. This imprudent measure ruined the army of the covenanters. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition, and drew up in order, opposite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About 7000 fell in the pursuit: If properly speaking there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken prisoners; and were treated by Monmouth with an humanity, which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promise to live peaceably under the government were dismissed. About three hundred, who were so obstinate as to refuse this easy condition, were shipped for Barbadoes, but cut their way back in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth was obliged to suffer us difficulties and battles, aimed at his plants in Scotland. The King intend-

Chap. V.
1679.

ed to intrust the affairs of that kingdom into his hands. He had married a Scotch lady, heiress to one of the most considerable families, and allied to all the chief nobility. And Lauderdale, as he was now declining in his parts, and was much decayed in his memory, began to lose with the King that influence, which he had maintained during so many years; notwithstanding all the efforts of his numerous enemies both in Scotland and England, and notwithstanding the many violent and tyrannical actions, of which he had been guilty. Even at present, he retained so much influence as to poison all the good intentions, which the King, either of himself or by Monmouth's suggestion, had formed with regard to Scotland. An act of indemnity was granted; but the minister took care, that it should rather afford protection to himself and his associates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And tho' orders were given to connive thenceforwards at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretexts, to elude the execution. It must be owned however to his praise, that he was the chief person, who by his council hastened the expeditious march of the forces and the prompt orders to Monmouth; and thereby disappointed all the expectations of the malecontents, who, reflecting on the dispositions of mens minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progress of the Scotch insurrection.

C H A P. VI.

State of parties.——State of the ministry.——Mical-tub plot.——Whig and Tory.——A new parliament.——Violence of the Commons.——Exclusion-bill.——Arguments for and against the Exclusion.——Exclusion-bill rejected.——Trial of Stafford.——His execution.——Violence of the Commons.——Dissolution of the parliament.——New parliament at Oxford.——Fitzharris's case.——Parliament dissolved.——Victory of the Royalists.——

1679.

THE King, observing that the whole nation concurred at first in the belief and prosecution of the popish plot, had found it absolutely requisite for his own safety to pretend, in all public speeches and transactions, an entire belief and acquiescence in that famous absurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent

Chap. VI.
1679.

THE memory also of these dismal times united many indifferent and impartial persons to the Crown, and begot a dread, lest the zeal for liberty should engraft itself on fanaticism, and should once more kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Had not the King still retained the prerogative of dissolving the Parliament, there was indeed reason to apprehend the renewal of all the pretensions and violences, which had ushered in the last commotions. The one period appeared an exact counterpart to the other: But still discerning judges could perceive, both in the spirit of the parties and genius of the Prince, a very material difference; by means of which Charles was enabled at last, tho' with the imminent peril of liberty, to preserve the peace of the nation.

THE cry against popery was very loud; but it proceeded less from religious than from party zeal, in those who propagated, and even in those who adopted it. The spirit of enthusiasm had occasioned so much mischief, and had been so successfully exploded, that it was not possible, by any artifice, again to revive and support it. Cant had been ridiculed; hypocrisy detected; the pretensions to a more thorough reformation, and to more perfect purity, had become suspicious; and instead of denominating themselves the *godly* party, the appellation affected at the beginning of the civil wars, the present patriots were contented to call themselves the *good* and the *honest* party*: A sure prognostic, that their measures were not to be so furious, nor their pretensions so exorbitant.

THE King too, tho' not endowed with the integrity and strict principles of his father, was happy in a more amiable manner, and more popular address. Far from being distant, stately, or reserved, he had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole composition†; but was the most affable, best bred man alive. He treated his subjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vassals or boors. His professions were plausible, his whole behaviour engaging; so that he won upon the hearts, even while he lost the good opinion of his subjects, and often ballanced their judgment of things by their personal inclination‡. In his public conduct likewise, tho' he had sometimes embraced measures dangerous to the liberty and religion of his people, he had never been found to persevere obstinately in them, but had always returned into that path, which their united opinion seemed to point out to him. And upon the whole, it seemed to many, cruel and even iniquitous, to remark too rigorously the failings of a prince, who discovered so much facility in correcting his errors, and so much lenity in pardoning the offences committed against himself.

THE

* Temple, vol. i. p. 335.

† Dissertation on Parties, letter vii.

‡ Temple, vol. i. p. 449.

The general affection, which was borne the King, and the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester. He fell sick at Windsor; and had two or three days of a fever, so violent, that he had but thought he was dead. A general mourning was ordered all ranks of men, occasioned by the apprehensions of the death of his Majesty. In the present confusion of men's minds, the King's death, to use an expression of Sir William Temple, was regarded as the end of the world. His male contents, it was feared, would proceed to extremities, and immediately kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Either their entire success, or entire failure, or even the balance and contest of parties, seemed all of them events equally fatal. The King's chief councillors, therefore, Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, who stood on very bad terms with Statebury and the popular party, advised him to send secretly for the Duke, that, in case of any similar accident, that Prince might be ready to assert his right against the opposition, which he was likely to meet with. When the Duke arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and it was agreed to conceal the invitation, which he had received. His journey, however, was attended with very important consequences. He prevailed on the King to disengage Monmouth, whose projects were now known and avowed; to deprive him of his command in the army; and to send him beyond sea. He himself returned to Brussels; but not only very short stay in that place. He obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretext still of quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but really with a purpose of securing that kingdom in his interests.

Tho' Essex and Halifax had concurred in the resolution of inviting over the Duke, they soon found, that they had not obtained his confidence, and that even the King, while he made use of their advice, had no sincere regard for their persons. Essex in disgust resigned the Treasury: Halifax retired to his country-seat at Temple, despairing of any accommodation among such enraged parties, who shew almost entirely to his books and his gardens. The King, who changed his mind as well as measures with great indifference, bestowed at this time his chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. Hyde succeeded Essex in the treasury.

Amid the King's ministers, as well as himself, were extremely averse to the meeting of the new Parliament, which they expected to find as refractory as any of the preceding. The elections had gone mostly in favour of the country party. The terrors of the plot had still a mighty influence over the popular mind, and the apprehensions of the Duke's bigotted principles and arbitrary character, weighed with all manner of sense and reflection. The King therefore resolved to prorogue the Par-

Chap. VI.
1679.

ment, that he might try, whether time would allay those humours, which, by every other expedient, he had in vain attempted to mollify. In this measure he did not expect the concurrence of his council. He knew, that those popular leaders, whom he had admitted, would zealously oppose a resolution, which disconcerted all their schemes; and that the royalists would not dare to expose themselves to the vengeance of the Parliament, when it should be assembled. These reasons obliged him to take this step entirely of himself; and he only declared his resolution in council. It is remarkable, that, tho' the King had made profession never to embrace any measure without advice of his council, he had often broke that resolution, and had been necessitated in affairs of the greatest consequence, to controul their opinion. Many of them in disgust threw up about this time; particularly lord Ruffel, the most popular man in the nation, as well from the mildness and integrity of his manners, as from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Tho' carried into some extremes, his intentions were ever esteemed upright; and being heir to the most opulent fortune in the kingdom, as well as void of ambition, men believed, that nothing but the last necessity would ever engage him to embrace any desperate measures. Shaftesbury, who was, in most particulars, of an opposite character, was removed by the King from the office of president of the council; and the earl of Radnor, a man who possessed whimsical talents and splenetic virtues, was substituted in his place.

It was the favour and countenance of the Parliament, which had chiefly encouraged the rumour of plots; but the nation had got so much into that vein of credulity, and every necessitous villain was so much incited by the success of Oates and Bedloe, that even during the vacation the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to all the public infamy, which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities. The credulity of the people, and the humour of the times, enabled even this man to become a person of consequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the *Meal-tub plot*, from the place where some papers, regarding it, were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to discover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretext of betraying the conspiracies of the Presbyterians, had been countenanced by some Catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the Duke's presence and the King's. And that under pretext of revealing new popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the popular leaders.

Meal-tub
plot.

Chap. VI.
1680.
Whig and
Tory.

soon forgot, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and sometimes without any very material difference, this island has been so long divided. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs: The country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed. And after this manner, these foolish terms of reproach came into public and general use; and even at present seem not nearer their end than when they were first invented.

THE King used every art to encourage his partizans, and to reconcile the people to his government. He persevered in the great zeal which he affected against popery. He even allowed several priests to be put to death, for no other crime but their having received orders in the Romish church. It is singular, that one of them, called Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant for his immediate execution was notified to him: He swore, that he would play out his set first. Charles, with the same view of acquiring popularity, formed an alliance with Spain; and also offered an alliance to Holland: But the Dutch, terrified with the great power of France, and seeing little resource in a country so distracted as England, declined acceptance. He had sent for the Duke from Scotland, but desired him to return, when the time of assembling the Parliament began to approach.

It was of great consequence to the popular party, while the meeting of the Parliament depended on the King's will, to keep the law, whose operations are perpetual, entirely on their side. The sheriffs of London by their office return the juries: It had been usual for the mayor to nominate one sheriff by drinking to him; and the common-hall had ever without dispute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, named one who was not very acceptable to the popular party: The common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Cornish, two independents, and republicans, and of consequence deeply engaged with the malecontents, were chosen by a majority of voices. In spite of all remonstrances and opposition, the citizens persisted in their choice; and the court party were obliged for the present to acquiesce.

JURIES however were not so partial in the city; but that reason and justice, even when the popish plot was in question, could sometimes prevail. The earl of Castlemaine, husband to the famous dutchess of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time; tho' accused by Oates and Dangerfield of an intention to assassinate the King. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, a very aged gentleman in the north, being

being accused by two servants, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty, received a like verdict. These trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to stagger in the judgment of most men, except those who were devoted to the country party. But in order still to preserve alive the zeal against popery, the earl of Shaftsbury appeared in Westminster-hall, attended by the earl of Huntington, the lords Russell, Cavendish, Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir William Cooper, and other persons of distinction, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting the Duke of York as a popish recusant. While the jury were deliberating, on this extraordinary pretendment, the chief justice sent for them up, and suddenly, even somewhat irregularly, dismissed them. Shaftsbury however obtained the end, for which he had undertaken this bold measure: He shewed to all his followers the desperate resolution, which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation or composition with the Duke. By such daring conduct he assured them, that he was fully determined not to desert their cause, and he engaged them to a like devoted perseverance in all the measures, which he should suggest to them.

As the kingdom was regularly and openly divided into two zealous parties, it was not difficult for the King to know, that the majority of the new House of Commons was engaged in interests opposite to the Court: But that he might leave no expedient untried, which could complete the unhappy differences among his subjects, he resolved at last, after a very long interval, to assemble the Parliament. In his speech, he told them, that the several prorogations, which he had made, had been very advantageous to his neighbours, and very useful to himself: That he had employed that time in perfecting with the Crown of Spain an alliance, which had been often desired by former Parliaments, and which he had discovered would be extremely agreeable to them: That in order to give more effect to his new alliance, he intended to send himself firmly in the same view, and purpose: That he was determined, that nothing on his part should be wanting to furnish a voluntary and provident of the rebellion be preserved in its due and full force, and he would not enter into any new expedients for the security of the present administration: That the nature examination of the popish plot and the punishment of the criminals were matters of great importance to the king and kingdom: And after recommending to them the necessity of providing, by some supplies, for the safety of Tangiers, he proceeded in these words: *What that which I value above all the treasure in the world, and which I am sure will give us greater strength and reputation both at home and abroad, than any other treasure can do, is, a perfect union among ourselves.* Notwithstanding this exhortation,

Chap. VI.
1689.

“ store the kingdom to that strength and vigour which it seems to have lost, and
 “ raise us again to that consideration, which England hath usually possessed. All
 “ Europe have their eyes upon this assembly, and think their own happiness and
 “ misery, as well as ours, will depend upon it. If we should be so unhappy as to
 “ fall into misunderstandings among ourselves to that degree as would render our
 “ friendship unsafe to trust to, it will not be wondered at, if our neighbours should
 “ begin to take new resolutions, and perhaps such as may be fatal to us. Let us
 “ therefore take care, that we do not gratify our enemies, and discourage our
 “ friends, by any unseasonable disputes. If any such do happen, the world will
 “ see, that it was no fault of mine: For I have done all that it was possible for
 “ me to do, to keep you in peace, while I live, and to leave you so, when I die.
 “ But from so great prudence and so good affection as yours, I can fear nothing
 “ of this kind; but do rely upon you all, that you will do your best endeavours
 “ to bring this Parliament to a good and happy conclusion.”

Violence of
the Commons

ALL these mollifying expressions had no influence with the Commons. Every step, which they took, betrayed that zeal, with which they were animated. They voted, that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the King for the calling and sitting of Parliament. Not contented with this decision, which seems very justifiable in a mixt Monarchy, they fell with the utmost violence on all those *abhorers*, who, in their addresses to the Crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. They reflected not, that it was as lawful for one party of men, as for another, to express their sentiments of public affairs, and that the best established right, in particular circumstances, may be abused, and even the exercise of it become an object of abhorrence. For this offence, they expelled Sir Thomas Withens. They appointed a committee for farther enquiry into such members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged against lord Passon, Sir Robert Malverer, Sir Bryan Stapleton, Taylor and Turner. They addressed the King against Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, for his activity in the same cause; and they frightened him into a resignation of his office, in which he was succeeded by Sir George Treby, a great leader of the popular party. They voted an impeachment against North, chief justice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation against tumultuous petitions: But upon examination found the proclamation so cautiously worded, that it afforded them no handle against him. A petition had been presented to the King from Taunton. “How dare you deliver
 “ me such a paper?” said the King to the person who presented it. “Sir,” replied he, “my name is DARE.” For this saucy reply, but under other pretexts, he had been tried, and fined, and committed to prison. The Commons now addressed the

the King for his liberty and for the remittance of his fine. Some printers also and authors of seditious libels, they took under their protection.

GREAT numbers of the Abhorers, from all parts of England, were seized by order of the Commons, and committed to custody. The liberty of the Press, which had been so carefully guarded by the great charter, and by the late law of Henry the Fourth, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious detentions. The King probably, 'tis true, of the Parliament's deliberations naturally and justly entertained against the Crown; nor indeed have the Commons any other way of asserting their privileges but by commitment, which, as they cannot be retained by exactly determined by law, must always appear in some degree arbitrary. In several former sessions, the people had hitherto, without murmuring, seen this discretionary power exercised by the House: But as it was now carried to extreme, and was applied to serve the purposes of a faction, great complaints were heard from all quarters. At last, the vigour and courage of one Stowel of Exeter, an Abhorer, put an end to the practice. He refused to obey the adjutant at arms, who stood upon his defence, in a trial of the law or no law, by which they pretended to commit him. The House, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to refuse, wisely and coolly abstained in their votes, that Stowel was innocent, and that a miracle should be allowed him for his recovery.

But the chief violence of the House of Commons appeared in all their transactions with regard to the plot, which they prosecuted with the same zeal and the same exactness as their predecessors. They renewed the former votes, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popish conspiracy, and in order the more to terrify the people, they even asserted, that, notwithstanding the discovery, the plot was not dissipated. They expected Sir Robert Carr and Sir Robert Yerriams, who had been compelled, out of flyings, that there was no popish, but there was a popish man plot. And they greatly lamented the death of Bevilson, whom they called a material witness, and on whose testimony they much depended. He, who had been a lever at Bristol, had lent for chief justice North's confirmation of his testimony or evidence, except that with regard to the Duke and the Queen, he desired North to apply to the King for some money to relieve him in his necessities. A few days afterwards he died; and the whole party triumphed extremely in this circumstance. A trifling testimony could be obtained the affirmation of a dying man, as if his confession, or perjury in some instances could assure his veracity; or the perseverance of one person could outweigh the assertions of so many men, guilty of no other crime but that of popery.

The Commons even enlarged, by their resolutions, the punishment, to punish all the extreme party, with which Parliament was to meet, and to redress the

Chap. VI.
1635.

a capacity of being a witness. The whole tribe of informers, they applauded and rewarded: Jennison, Turberville, Dugdale, Smith, la Faria, appeared before them, and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favourable reception: The King was applied to in their behalf for pensions and pardons: Their narratives were printed with that sanction, which arose from the approbation of the House. Dr. Tongue was recommended for the first considerable church preferment, which should become vacant. Considering mens determined resolution to believe, instead of admiring that a palpable falshood should be maintained by witnesses, it may justly appear wonderful, that no better evidence was ever produced against the Catholics.

Exclusion-
bill.

THE principal reasons, which still supported the clamour of the popish plot, were the apprehensions, so justly entertained by the people, of the Duke of York, and the resolution, embraced by their leaders, of excluding him from the throne. Shaftesbury and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves totally irreconcilable with him, and could find their safety no way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped, that the exclusion of that Prince would make way for their patron. The resentment against the Duke's apostacy, the love of liberty, the zeal for religion, the attachment to faction; all these motives incited the country party. And above all, what supported the resolution of adhering to the exclusion, and rejecting all expedients offered, was the hope artificially encouraged, that the King would at last be obliged to yield to their demand. His revenues were extremely burdened; and even if free, could scarce suffice for the necessary charges of government, much less for that pleasure and expence, to which he was strongly inclined. Tho' he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occasion had he ever been found to persist obstinately against difficulties and importunity. And as his beloved mistress, the dutchess of Portsmouth, had been engaged, either from lucrative views, or the hopes of making the succession fall on her own children, to unite herself with the popular party; this incident was regarded as a favourable prognostic of their success. Sun erland, secretary of state, who had linked his interest with that of the dutchess, had concurred in the same measure.

BUT besides friendship to his brother and a regard to the right of succession, there were many strong reasons, which had determined Charles to persevere in opposing the exclusion. All the royalists and the devotees to the church; that party by which alone Monarchy was supported; regarded the right of succession as inviolable; and if abandoned by the King in so capital an article, it was to be feared, that they would, in their turn, desert his cause, and deliver him over to the pretensions and usurpations of the country party. The country party, or the Whigs,

Whigs, as they were called, if they did not still retain some propensity towards a republic, were at least affected with a violent jealousy of regal power; and it was equally to be dreaded, that, being enraged with opposition, and animated with success, they would, if they prevailed in this pretension, be willing, as well as able, to reduce the prerogative within very narrow limits. All menaces therefore, and promises were in vain employed against the King's resolution: He never would be prevailed with to desert his friends, and put himself into the hands of his enemies. And having voluntarily made such important concessions, and offered, over and over again, such strong limitations, he was pleased to find them refused by the obstinacy of the Commons; and hoped, that, after the spirit of opposition had spent itself in fruitless violence, the time would come, when he might safely appeal against his Parliament to his people.

So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremity, that in less than a week after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion-bill, and a committee appointed for that purpose. This bill differed in nothing from the former, but in two articles, which showed still an increase of zeal in the Commons: The bill was to be read to the people twice a year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one, who should support the Duke's title, was rendered incapable of pardon but by act of Parliament.

The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides. The bill was defended by Sir William Jones, who had now resigned his office of attorney general, by lord Russell, by Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, Montague. It was opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state, Sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde, Seymour, Temple. The arguments, transmitted to us, may be reduced to the following topics.

Is every government, said the exclusionists, there is somewhere an authority absolute and supreme: nor can any determination, however unjust, which receives the sanction of the legislature, ever afterwards admit of dispute or control. The liberty of any constitution, to rise from disestablishing this absolute power, does rather to add force to it, and to give it greater influence over the people. The more parts of the state concur in any legislative decision, and the more they raise their voice; the less likelihood is there that any opposition will be made to the measures, which receive the final sanction of the authority. In England, the legislative power is lodged in King, Lords, and Commons, which comprehend every order of the constitution. And there is no remedy, but by any circumstance

Chap. VI.
1680.

of government, not even the succession of the Crown, from so full and decisive a jurisdiction. Even express declarations have, in this particular, been made of parliamentary authority: Instances have occurred, where it has been exerted: And tho' prudential reasons may justly be alleged, why such innovations should never be attempted but on extraordinary occasions, the power and right are for ever vested in the community. But if any occasion can be deemed extraordinary, if any emergence can require unusual expedients, it is the present; when the heir to the Crown has renounced the religion of the state, and has zealously embraced a faith, totally hostile and incompatible. A prince of that communion can never put trust in a people, so prejudiced against him: The people must be equally diffident of such a prince. Foreign and destructive alliances will seem to the one the only protection of his throne: Perpetual jealousy, opposition, faction, even insurrections will be employed by the other as the sole securities for their liberty and religion. Tho' theological principles, when set in opposition to passions, have often small influence on mankind in general, still less on princes; yet when they become symbols of faction, and marks of party distinctions, they concur with one of the strongest passions in the human frame, and are then capable of carrying men to the greatest extremities. Notwithstanding the better judgment and milder disposition of the King; how much has the influence of the Duke already disturbed the tenor of government? How often engaged the nation into measures totally destructive of their foreign interests and honour, of their domestic repose and tranquillity? The more the absurdity and incredibility of the popish plot are insisted on, the stronger reason it affords for the exclusion of the Duke; since the universal belief of it discovers the extreme antipathy of the nation to his religion, and the utter impossibility of ever bringing them to acquiesce peaceably under the dominion of such a Sovereign. The prince, finding himself in so perilous a situation, must seek security by desperate remedies, and by totally subduing the privileges of a nation, who had betrayed such hostile dispositions towards himself, and towards every thing which he deems the most sacred. It is in vain to propose limitations and expedients. Whatever share of authority is left in the Duke's hands, will be employed to the destruction of the nation; and even the additional restraints, by discovering the public diffidence and aversion, will serve him as incitements to put himself in a condition entirely absolute and independant. And as the laws of England still make resistance treason, and neither do nor can admit of any positive exceptions; what folly to leave the kingdom in so perilous and absurd a situation; where the greatest virtue will be exposed to the most severe proscription, and where the law

be saved by expedients, which these persons have used, and will use, to preserve their power and authority?

It is a just party reason, if in an open debate, the prince or the people, who are naturally and constitutionally united, is more obedient to the laws of God, than to any human institution. All government is derived from the people, and wherever the supreme magistracy, by any law, or by any custom, thinks an opinion regarded as fundamental, and established by the consent of the people, he subverts the principles, by which he himself is established, and can no longer hope for obedience. In European monarchies, the right of rebellion is justly esteemed a fundamental; and even tho' the whole legislative power be vested in a single person, it would never be permitted him, by an edict, to inherit his lawful heir, and call a stranger or more distant relation to the throne. Abuses in other parts of government are capable of redress, from more diligent enquiry or better information of the Sovereign, and till then ought patiently to be endured: But violations of the right of succession draw such terrible consequences after them as are not to be paralleled by any other grievance or inconvenience. Vainly is it pleaded, that England is a mixt Monarchy, and that a law, framed by King, Lords, and Commons, is enacted by the concurrence of every part of the state: It is plain, that there remains a very powerful party, who may indeed be out voted, but who never will enact a law, derogative of hereditary right, to be any way valid or obligatory. Limitations, such as are proposed by the King, give no shock to the constitution, which, in many particulars, is already limited; and they may be so calculated as to serve every purpose, which is sought for by an exclusion. If the ancient barriers against regal authority have been able, during so many ages, to remain unpropried, how much more, those additional ones, which, by depriving the Monarch of power, tend so far to their own security? The very same jealousy, too, of religion, which has engaged the people to lay these restraints upon the successor, will still increase the number of his partizans, and make it utterly impracticable for him, either by force or artifice, to break the restraints, imposed upon him. The King's age and vigorous state of health promise him a long life: And can it be possible to tear the whole state to pieces, in order to provide against a contingency, which, it is very likely, may never happen? No human foresight can secure the public in all possible events; and the bill of exclusion, though ever so carefully framed, leaves room for very obvious and very natural expedients, to which it pretends not to provide any remedy. A son, or a Daughter, within a few, after the King's death; must that son, without any default of his own, inherit his title?

Chap. VI.
1688.

Or must the princefs of Orange descend from the Throne, in order to give place to the lawful fucceffor? But were all thefe reasonings falfe, it ftill remains to be confidered, that in public deliberations we feek not the expedient, which is beft in itfelf, but the beft of fuch as are practicable. The King willingly confents to limitations, and has already offered fome which are of the utmoft importance: But he is determin'd to endure any extremity rather than allow the right of fucceffion to be invaded. Let us beware of that factious violence, which leads us to demand more than will be granted; left we lofe the advantage of thofe beneficial concessions, and leave the nation, on the King's deceafe, at the mercy of a zealous Prince, irritated with the ill uſage, which, he imagines, he has already met with.

15th of No-
vember.

IN the Houſe of Commons, the reasoning of the excluſionifts appeared the moſt convincing; and the bill paſſed by a great majority. It was in the Houſe of Peers that the King expected to oppoſe it with ſucceſs. The court party was there ſo prevalent, that it was carried only by a majority of two to pay ſo much reſpect to the bill as even to commit it. When it came to be debated, the conteſt was very violent. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Effex argued for it: Halifax chiefly conducted the debate againſt it, and diſplayed an extent of capacity and a force of eloquence, which had never been ſurpaſſed in that aſſembly. He was animated, as well by the greatneſs of the occaſion, as by a rivalſhip to his uncle Shaftesbury; whom, during that day's debate, he ſeemed, in the judgment of all, to have totally eclipsed. The King was preſent during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night. The bill was thrown out by a conſiderable majority. All the biſhops, except three, voted againſt it. Beſides the influence of the Court over them; the church of England, they imagined or pretended, was in much greater danger from the prevalence of Preſbyterianiſm than of Popery, which, tho' favoured by the Duke and even by the King, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation.

Excluſion bill
rejected.

THE Commons diſcovered much ill humour upon this diſappointment. They immediately voted an addreſs for the removal of Halifax from the King's councils and preſence for ever. Tho' the pretended cauſe was his adviſing the late frequent prorogations of Parliament, the real reaſon was apparently his vigorous oppoſition to the excluſion-bill. When the King applied for money to enable him to defend Tangiers, which he declared his preſent revenues totally unable to ſupport; inſtead of complying, they voted ſuch an addreſs as was in reality a remonſtrance, and one little leſs violent, than that famous remonſtrance, which uſhered in the civil wars. All the abuſes of government, from the beginning almoſt of the

reiga,

reign, are insisted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the negotiations and dissolutions of Parliament; and as all these measures, as well as the *dunstable* and *Lallop* plot, are ascribed to the machinations of the Papists, it was plainly insinuated, that the King had, all along, lain under the influence of that Party, and was in reality the chief conspirator against the religion and liberties of his people. Chap. VI.
1686.

The Commons, tho' they conducted the great business of the exclusion with extreme violence and even imprudence, had yet much reason for that jealousy, which gave rise to it: But their vehement prosecution of the popish plot, even after so long an interval, discovers such a spirit, either of credulity or injustice, as admits of no apology. The impeachment of the Catholic Lords in the Lower was revived; and as the viscount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was esteemed the least capable of defending himself, it was determined to make him the first victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a sentence against the rest. The chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, was appointed lord high steward for conducting this trial.

There were three witnesses produced against the prisoner; Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore, that he saw Fenwick, the jesuit, deliver to Stafford a commission signed by de Oliva, general of the jacks, constituting him paymaster to the papal army, which was to be levied for the subduing of England: For this ridiculous impotence still maintained its credit with the Commons. Dugdale gave testimony, that the prisoner, at Tixal, a seat of Lord Aberg's, had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the King; and had promised him, besides the honour of being sainted by the church, a reward of 500 pounds for that service. Turberville affirmed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him a like proposal. To offer money for murdering a King, without laying down any scheme, by which the mischief may be done, is a possibility or design, as so incredible in itself, that it may be easily be maintained by any prostitute evidence, that an accusation of that nature, not supported with circumstances, ought very little to be attended to by any court of justice. But notwithstanding the small hold, which the witness laid hold of, the prisoner was able, in many very material particulars, to contradict their testimony. It was sworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had undertaken to go out of the Castle of Tixal at Tixal; but Stafford proved by undoubted evidence, that at the time he was in Bath, and in that noble city. Turberville had sworn, that he had seen him along the Dominicans; but having since that time, he was maintained as a cooper in the French army; and he produced that evidence by a witness, who

Chap. VI.
130. London, abandoned by all his relations, and exposed to great poverty. Stafford proved by the evidence of his gentleman and his page, that Turberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been seen in his company; and it might justly appear strange, that a person, who had so important a secret in his keeping, was so long entirely neglected by him.

The clamour and outrage of the populace, during the trial, were extreme: Great ability and eloquence were displayed by the managers, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, serjeant Maynard: Yet did the prisoner, under all these disadvantageous circumstances, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: The unequal contest, in which he was engaged, was a plentiful source of compassion to every mind, seasoned with humanity. He represented, that, during a course of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, thro' many dangers, difficulties, and losses, still maintained his loyalty: And was it credible, that now in his old age, easy in his circumstances, but dispirited by infirmities, he would belye the whole course of his life, and engag; against his royal master, from whom he had ever received kind treatment, in the most desperate and most bloody of all conspiracies? He remarked the infamy of the witnesses; the contradictions and absurdities of their testimony; the extreme indigence in which they had lived, tho' engaged, as they pretended, in a conspiracy with Kings, Princes, and nobles; the credit and opulence, to which they were at present raised. With a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he still made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprize and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witnesses.

It will justly appear astonishing to us, as it did to Stafford himself, that the Peers, after a solemn trial of six days, should, by a majority of twenty-four voices, pronounce sentence against him. He received however with resignation the fatal verdict. *God's holy name be praised*, was the only exclamation, which he uttered. When the high steward told him, that the Peers would intercede with the King for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, hanging, and quartering; he burst into tears: But he told the Lords, that he was moved to this weakness, by his sense of their goodness, not by any terror of that fate, which he was doomed to suffer.

It is remarkable, that after Charles, as is usual in such cases, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and quartering, the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, indulging their own republican humour, and complying with the prevalent spirit
of

of their party, ever jealous of Monarchy, started a doubt with regard to the King's power of exercising even this small degree of Unity. " Since he cannot " pardon the whole," said they, " how can he have power to remit part of the " sentence?" They proposed the doubt to both houses: The Peers pronounced it superfluous; and even the Commons, apprehensive lest a question of this nature might make way for Stafford's escape, gave this singular answer. " The House " is of opinion, that the sheriffs do execute William late videlicet Stafford by their " hands, and hold from his body *et c.*" Nothing can be a stronger proof of the state of the times, than that lord Ruell, notwithstanding the violent animosity of his character, seconded in the House this barbarous tenet of the law.

By the interval betwixt the sentence and execution, many efforts were made to shake the resolution of the infirm and aged prisoner, and to bring him to a free confession of that treason, for which he was now condemn'd. It was even remon- strated, that he had confessed; and the zealous parliament, who could not but had formerly, notwithstanding their credulity, entertained some small doubts, as to his guilty complicity, expressed great triumph on this occasion. Parham, who was now in the House of Peers, differed more than any other member of the Council, and a stranger to the penal laws, that should be thought fit to practise against the obstinacy, of which he had never seen any.

Some persons were employ'd to deal with that unhappy man, and to persuade him to a full confession, and which, by the nature of the crime, was a necessary consequence which, during the course of a long life, he had given occasion to. But this proposal, even to come now force from the violence and oppression of the King's Council, was not able to prevail; he refused to do it, and said that he had never seen any man who had done so. " I have," said he, " seen many men who have done so, but I have never seen any man who has done so as I have done." On the same day, he was brought to the scaffold, and his relations, to make particular notice of, were not permitted to attend him. " I have," said he, " seen many men who have done so, but I have never seen any man who has done so as I have done." On the same day, he was brought to the scaffold, and his relations, to make particular notice of, were not permitted to attend him.

Some persons were employ'd to deal with that unhappy man, and to persuade him to a full confession, and which, by the nature of the crime, was a necessary consequence which, during the course of a long life, he had given occasion to.

Chap. VI.
1680.

each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans: With difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord!" These expressions with a faltering accent flowed from them. The executioner himself was touched with sympathy. Twice he lifted up the ax, with an intent to strike the fatal blow; and as often felt his resolution to fail him. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford for ever at rest. The whole spectators seemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, *This is the head of a traitor*, no clamour of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and astonishment had taken possession of every heart, and displayed itself in every countenance.

THIS is the last blood which was shed on account of the popish plot: An incident, which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which it is necessary to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, their posterity and all mankind never again to fall into so shameful and so barbarous a delusion.

THE execution of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country party; but it contributed nothing to their power and security: On the contrary, by exciting commiseration, it tended still farther to encrease that disbelief of the whole plot, which began now to prevail. The Commons, therefore, not to lose the present occasion, resolved to make both friends and enemies sensible of their authority. They passed a bill for easing the Protestant Dissenters, and for repealing the persecuting statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: This laudable bill was likewise carried thro' the House of Peers. The chief justice was very obnoxious for dismissing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby preventing that bold measure of Shaftesbury and his friends, who had presented the Duke as a Recusant. For this crime the Commons sent up an impeachment against him; as also against Jones and Weston, two of the judges, who, in some speeches from the bench, had gone so far as to give to many of the first Reformers the denomination of Fanatics.

THE King, in rejecting the exclusion bill, had sheltered himself securely behind the authority of the House of Peers; and the Commons had been deprived of the usual pretext to attack the Sovereign himself, under colour of attacking his ministers and counsellors. In prosecution however of the scheme, which he had formed, of throwing the blame on them in case of any rupture, he made them a new speech. After warning them, that a neglect of this opportunity would never be retrieved, he added these words: "I did promise you the fullest satisfaction,
" which

1685 VI

which your hearts could wish, for the security of the protestant religion, and
 65 concern with, on all my remedies, which nature could wish presenting that re-
 66 ligious. I shall be glad to see it, if I could but see it. I shall be glad to see
 67 the names of your friends, renew the same promises to you, as I have already
 68 made you to do all that can be done by the execution of the laws, and
 69 to make you, as soon as may be, how far I shall be bound to you, and
 70 what I shall be bound to you.

The same remarkable effect in a great deal of the English people, who
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Chap. VI.
1680.

lest he should be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independant, they passed another vote, where they declared, that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon those branches of the King's revenue, arising from customs, excise, or hearth money, should be judged a hinderer of the sitting of Parliament, and be responsible for the same in Parliament.

1681.
10th of Janu-
ary.
Dissolution of
the Parliam-
ent.

THE King might presume, that the Peers, who had rejected the exclusion bill, would still continue to defend the Throne, and that none of the dangerous bills, introduced into the other House, would ever be presented for the royal assent and approbation. But as there remained no hopes of bringing the Commons to any composition, and as their farther sitting served only to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation, he came secretly to a resolution of proroguing them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to the door. Not to lose such precious time, they passed in a very tumultuous manner some very extraordinary resolutions. They voted, *that* whosoever advised his Majesty to prorogue this Parliament to any other purpose than in order to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the King, of the protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France: *That* thanks be given to the city of London for their manifest loyalty and for their care and vigilance in the preservation of the King and of the protestant religion: *That* it is the opinion of this House, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the Papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: *That* humble application be made to his Majesty to restore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the House, he had been removed by the influence of the duke of York. And *that* it is the opinion of the House, that the prosecution of the Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

THE King passed some laws of no great importance: But the bill for repealing the thirty fifth of Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the Crown not to present to him. By this artifice, which was equally disobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the same time implied some meanness and timidity in the King, that salutary act was for the present eluded. The King had often of himself attempted, and sometimes by irregular means, to give indulgence to Nonconformists: But besides, that he had usually expected to comprehend the Catholics in this liberty, the present refractory disposition of the Sectaries had much inflamed him against them, and he was still resolved, if possible, to keep them at mercy.

THE last votes of the Commons seemed to be an attempt of forming indirectly an association against the Crown, after they found that their association could not pass: The dissenting interest, the city, and the duke of Monmouth, they were bound to connect with the country party. A civil war indeed never appeared so likely as at present; and it was high time to the King to dissolve a Parliament, which he could not have entertained such dangerous projects. Soon after he was summoned to them. Tho' he observed, that the country party had established a great interest so strongly in all the electing burroughs, that he could not hope for any opposition more favourable in the new Parliament, this expedient was still a prosecution of his former project, of trying every method, by which he might form a accommodation with the Commons: And if all failed, he hoped, that he could the better justify to his people, at least to his party, a final breach with them.

It had always been much regretted by the Royalists during the civil wars, that the Long Parliament had been assembled at Westminster, and had there received force and encouragement from the neighbourhood of a potent and numerous city, which had zealously embraced their party. Tho' the King was now possessed of guards, which, in some measure overawed the populace, he was determined still farther to obviate all inconvenience, and he summoned the new Parliament to meet at Oxford. The city of London shewed how just a judgment he had formed of their disposition. Besides re-electing the same members, they voted thanks to them for their former behaviour, in endeavouring to discover the depth of the *Popish* and *Leisler* popish plot, and to exclude the Duke of York, the principal cause of the ruin and misery, impending over the nation. Monmouth with fifteen Peers presented a petition against assembling the Parliament at Oxford, "where the two Crowns," they said, "could not be in safety; that would be easily expected to the swords of the Papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept into his Majesty's guards." These insinuations, which struck so violently at the King himself, were well calculated to persuade him not to enlarge the populace.

THE Exclusionists might have concluded, both from the behaviour of the last Parliament, and from his summoning of the present one at Oxford, that he was determined to maintain his declared resolution of excluding the Catholics. But they still flattered themselves, that his urgent necessities would be obliged to remit, and finally gain them that advantage. The leaders of the Parliament attended not only with their servants, but with numerous bands of their followers and partizans. The four city members in particular were bedewed by a shower of stones, wearing ribbons, in which were woven the words, *No Popery*, and *No French*. The King had his guards regularly murdered: His party were continually to meet

a show of their strength: And on the whole, the assembly at Oxford bore more the appearance of a tumultuous Polish diet, than of a regular English Parliament.

Chap. VI.
1681.
21st of March.

New Parli-
ament at Ox-
ford.

THE King, who had hitherto employed the most gracious expressions to all his Parliaments, particularly the two last, thought proper to address himself to the present in a more authoritative manner. He complained of the unwarrantable proceedings of the former House of Commons; and said, that, as he would never use arbitrary government himself, neither would he ever suffer it in others. By calling however this Parliament so soon, he had sufficiently shown, that no past irregularities could inspire him with a prejudice against those assemblies. He now afforded them, he added, another opportunity of providing for the public safety; and to all the world had given one evidence more, that on his part he had not neglected the duty incumbent on him.

THE Commons were not over-awed with the magisterial air of the King's speech. They consisted almost entirely of the same members; they chose the same speaker; and they instantly fell into the same measures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the persecuting statute of Elizabeth, the enquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that no expedient, however plausible, could so much as be hearkened to. Ernelly, one of the King's ministers, proposed, that the Duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that on the King's decease the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power: Yet even this expedient, which left the Duke only the bare title of King, could not, tho' seconded by Sir Thomas Lyttleton and Sir Thomas Mompesson, obtain the attention of the House. The past disappointments of the country party, and the opposition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No other method but their own, of excluding the Duke, could give them any satisfaction.

Fitz-harris's
case.

THERE was one Fitz-harris, an Irish Catholic, who had insinuated himself into the dutchess of Portsmouth's acquaintance, and had been very busy in conveying to her intelligence of any libel wrote by the country party, or of any designs entertained against her or against the court. For services of this kind, and perhaps too, from a regard to his father, Sir Edward Fitz-harris, who had been an eminent royalist, he had received from the King a present of 250 pounds. This man met with one Everard, a Scotchman, a spy of the exclusionists, and an informer of the popish plot; and he proposed to him to write a libel against the King, the Duke, and the whole administration. What Fitz-harris's intentions were, cannot well be ascertained: It is probable, as he afterwards asserted, that he meant to carry this libel to his patron, the dutchess, and to make a merit of the discovery. Everard, who

ful-

Chap. VI.
1681.

him from the destruction, with which he was at present threatened. - The King had removed him from the city prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; had sent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be prosecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial, and execution, an impeachment was voted by the Commons against him, and sent up to the Lords. That they might show the greater contempt of the Court, they ordered, by way of derision, that the impeachment should be carried up by secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; tho' afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The Lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of judicature, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-harris. The Commons maintained, that the Peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the Commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal: They therefore voted, that the Lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied justice, and had violated the constitution of Parliaments. They also declared, that whatever inferior court should proceed against Fitz-harris, or any one that lay under impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to ensue; and as the King found no likelihood of any better temper in the Commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel betwixt the two Houses, and he proceeded to a dissolution of the Parliament. The secret was so well kept, that the Commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their door, and summoned them to attend the King at the House of Peers.

Parliament.
dissolved.

THIS vigorous measure, tho' it might have been foreseen, excited such astonishment in the country party, as deprived them of all spirit, and reduced them to absolute despair. They were sensible, tho' too late, that the King had finally taken his resolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than submit to those terms, which they had resolved to impose upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs should come to full maturity; and having now engaged a national party on his side, had boldly set his enemies at defiance. No Parliaments, they knew, would be summoned for some years; and during that long interval, the Court, tho' perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet being possessed of all authority, would have every advantage over a body, dispersed and divided. These reflections crowded upon every one; and all the exclusionists were terrified, lest Charles should second the blow by some action more violent, and immediately take vengeance on them for their long and obstinate opposition to his measures. The King on his part was no less apprehensive, lest despair might en-

gage

gaged them to have recourse to force, and in the former had been attempt upon his person. Both parties therefore hurried away to Oxford; and so soon that that city, so crowded and busy, was left in its usual tranquillity and quietness.

The former party gathered force from the disposition and apprehension of their antagonists, and adhered more firmly to the King, whose revolutions, they now saw, could be either depended on. The violence of the exaltation was every where exclaimed against and exaggerated; and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was openly called in question. The clergy especially were busy in this great revolution; and being moved, partly by their own fears, partly by the insinuations of the Court, they represented all their antagonists as Sectaries and Republicans, and rejoiced in escaping all those perils, which they believed to have been hanging over them. Principles, the most opposite to civil liberty, were every where enforced from the pulpit; and adopted in numerous addresses, where the King was flattered in his present measures, and congratulated on his escape from Parliaments. Could words have been depended on, the nation appeared to be running fast into voluntary servitude, and seemed even ambitious of resigning into the King's hands all the privileges, transmitted to them, thro' so many ages, by their gallant ancestors.

BUT Charles had sagacity enough to distinguish between mens' real internal sentiments, and the language, which zeal and opposition to a contrary faction may sometimes extort from them. Notwithstanding all these professions of duty and obedience, he was resolved, for a long time, not to trust the people with a new election, but to depend entirely on his own oeconomy for alleviating those necessities, under which he laboured. Great retrenchments were made in the household: even His favourite navy was neglected: Tangiers, tho' it had cost great sums of money, was a few years after abandoned and demolished. The mole was entirely destroyed; and the garden, being brought over to England, served to augment that Irish army, which the King relied on, as one solid basis of his authority. It had been happy for the nation, had Charles used his victory with justice and moderation, equal to the prudence and dexterity, with which he obtained it.

The first step, taken by the Court, was the trial of Fitzharris. Doctrs were raised by the jury with regard to their power, after the condemning vote of the Commons. But the judges took upon them to decide the question in the affirmative; and the jury were oblig'd to proceed. The writs directed were already served upon Fitzharris: The only question was, whether he had a malicious intention. He admitted that he was a spy of the Court, and had a commission, carried the liberty to the ditch of Portsmouth; and he was directed to attend the Court, in the

transaction, consider him as a cheat, not as a traitor. He failed however somewhat in the proof; and was brought in guilty of treason by the jury.

FINDING himself entirely in the hands of the King, he now retracted all his former impostures with regard to the popish plot, and even endeavoured to atone for them by new impostures against the country party. He affirmed, that these fictions had been extorted from him by the suggestion and artifices of Treby the recorder, and of Bethel and Cornish, the two sheriffs. This account he persisted in even at his execution; and tho' men knew, that nothing could be depended on, which came from one so corrupt, and so lost to all sense of honour; yet were they inclined, from his perseverance, to rely somewhat more on his veracity in these last asseverations. But it appears that his wife had some connexions with Mrs. Wall, the favourite maid of the duches of Portsmouth; and Fitz-harris hoped, if he persisted in a story agreeable to the Court, that some favour might on that account be shown to his family.

It is amusing to reflect on the several lights, in which this story has been represented by the opposite factions. The country party affirmed, that Fitz-harris had been employed by the Court, in order to throw the odium of the libel on the exclusionists, and thereby give rise to a protestant plot: The court party maintained, that the exclusionists had found out Fitz-harris, a spy of the ministers, and had set him upon this undertaking, from an intention of loading the Court with the imputation of such a design upon the exclusionists. Rather than acquit their antagonists, both sides were willing to adopt an account the most intricate and incredible. It was a strange situation, in which the people, at that time, were placed; to be every day tortured with these perplexed stories, and inflamed with such dark suspicions against their fellow-citizens. This was no less than the fifteenth false plot, or sham plot, as they were then called, with which the court, it was imagined, had endeavoured to load their adversaries*.

The country party had intended to make use of Fitz-harris's evidence against the Duke and the Catholics; and his execution was therefore a great mortification to them. But the King and his ministers were resolved not to be contented with so slender an advantage. They were determined to prosecute the victory, and to employ against the exclusionists those very offensive arms, however unfair, which that party had laid up in store against their antagonists. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the King was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the ministers. To the disgrace

* College's trial.

Chap. VI. 1681. prisoner during the fury of the popish plot. Such wild notions of retaliation were at that time propagated by the court party.

THE witnesses produced against Colledge were Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, Smith; men who had before given evidence against the Catholics, and whom the jury, for that very reason, regarded as the most perjured liars. Colledge, tho' beset with so many toils, oppressed with so many iniquities, defended himself with spirit, courage, capacity, presence of mind; and he invalidated the evidence of the Crown, by the most convincing arguments and the most undoubted testimony: Yet did the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, bring in a verdict against him. The inhuman spectators received the news with a shout of applause: But the prisoner was no way dismayed. At his execution, he maintained the same manly fortitude, and still denied the crime imputed to him. His whole conduct and demeanour prove him to have been a man led astray only by the fury of the times, and to have been governed by a very honest, but indiscreet zeal for his country and his religion.

THUS the two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poisoned daggers the most deadly blows against each other's breast, and buried in their factious divisions all regard to truth, honour, and morality.

C H A P. VII.

*State of affairs in Ireland.—Shaftesbury acquitted.—Argyle's trial.—
—State of affairs in Scotland.—State of the ministry in England.
—New nomination of sheriffs.—Quo warrantos.—Great power
of the Crown.—A conspiracy.—Shaftesbury retires and dies.—
Rye-house plot.—Conspiracy discovered.—Execution of the conspi-
rators.—Trial of lord Ruffel.—His execution.—Trial of Alger-
non Sidney.—His execution.—State of the nation.—State of
foreign affairs.—King's sickness and death,—and character.*

1681
State of af-
fairs in Ire-
land.

WHEN the Cabal entered into the mysterious alliance with France, they took care to remove the duke of Ormond from the committee of foreign affairs; and nothing tended farther to encrease the national jealousy, entertained against

Chap. VII.
1691.

an extreme hatred to Ormond, both from personal and party considerations: The great aim of the anti-courtiers was to throw reflections on every part of the King's government. It could be no surprize, therefore, to the lieutenant to learn, that his administration was attacked in Parliament, particularly by Shaftesbury; but he had the satisfaction, at the same time, to hear of the keen, tho' polite defence, made by his son, the generous Ossory. After justifying several particulars of Ormond's administration against that intriguing patriot, Ossory proceeded in the following words: "Having spoke of what the lord lieutenant has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking of the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the Exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and the joining with France: He was not the author of that most excellent position *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg, that your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father and all men, according to their actions and their councils." These few sentences, pronounced by a plain and gallant soldier, noted for probity, had a surprizing effect upon the audience, and confounded all the rhetoric of his eloquent and factious adversary. The prince of Orange, who esteemed the former character as much as he despised the latter, could not forbear congratulating by letter the earl of Ossory on this new species of victory, which he had obtained.

Ossory, tho' he ever kept at a great distance from faction, was the most popular man in the kingdom; tho' he never made any compliance with the corrupt views of the Court, was extremely beloved and respected by the King. An universal grief appeared on his death, which happened about this time, and which the populace, as is usual wherever they are much affected, foolishly ascribed to poison. Ormond bore the loss with patience and dignity; tho' he ever retained a pleasing, however melancholy, sense of the signal merit of Ossory. "I would not exchange my dead son," said he, "for any living son in Christendom."

These particularities may appear a digression; but 'tis with pleasure, I own, that I relax myself for a moment in the contemplation of these humane and virtuous characters, amidst that scene of fury and faction, fraud and violence, in which at present our narration has unfortunately engaged us.

BESIDES the general interest of the country party to decry the conduct of all the King's ministers, the prudent and peaceable administration of Ormond was in a particular manner displeasing to them. In England, where the Catholics were scarce one to a hundred, means had been found to excite an universal panic, on account of insurrections and even massacres, projected by that sect; and it could

Chap. VII.
1681.
Shaftesbury
acquitted.

attention. That veteran leader of a party, enured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening without reserve his treasonable intentions to these obscure banditti, and throwing out such violent and outrageous reproaches upon the King, as none but men of low education, like themselves, could be supposed to employ. The draught of an association, it is true, against popery and the Duke, was found in Shaftesbury's cabinet; and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauses of that paper. But it did not appear, that it had been framed by Shaftesbury, or so much as approved by him. And as projects of an association had been proposed in Parliament, it was very natural for that nobleman to be thinking of some plan, which it might be proper to lay before that assembly. The grand jury, therefore, after weighing all these circumstances, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, testified their joy, by the loudest acclamations, which were echoed thro' the whole city.

ABOUT this time a scheme of oppression was laid in Scotland, after a manner still more flagrant, against a nobleman much less obnoxious than Shaftesbury; and as that country was reduced almost to a state of total subjection, the project had the fortune to succeed.

Argyle's trial.

THE earl of Argyle, from his youth, had distinguished himself by his loyalty, and his attachment to the royal family. Tho' his father was head of the Covenanters, he refused to concur in any of their measures; and when a commission of colonel was given him by the convention of states, he forbore to act upon it, till it should be ratified by the King. By his respectful behaviour, as well as by his services, he made himself very acceptable to Charles, when that Prince was in Scotland; and even after the battle of Worcester, all the misfortunes, which attended the royal cause, could not engage him to desert it. Under Middleton he obstinately persevered to harass and infect the victorious English; and it was not till he received orders from that general, that he would submit to accept of a capitulation. Such jealousy of his loyal attachments was entertained by the Commonwealth and Protector, that a pretext was soon after fallen upon to commit him to prison; and his confinement was rigorously continued till the restoration. The King, sensible of his services, had remitted to him his father's forfeiture, and created him earl of Argyle; and when a most unjust sentence was passed upon him by the Scotch Parliament, Charles had anew remitted it. In the subsequent part of the reign, Argyle behaved himself dutifully; and tho' he seemed not disposed to go all lengths with the Court, he always appeared, even in his opposition, a man of mild dispositions and peaceable deportment.

Chap. VII.
1631.

 natural, heard these words with great tranquillity : No-one took the least offence : Argyle was admitted to sit that day in council : And it was impossible to imagine, that a capital offence had been committed, where occasion seemed not to have been given, so much as for a frown or reprimand.

ARGYLE was much surprized, a few days after, to find that a warrant was issued for committing him to prison ; that he was indicted for high treason, leasing-making and perjury ; and that from these innocent words an accusation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit honours, life, and fortune. It is needless to enter into particulars, where the iniquity of the whole is so apparent. Tho' the sword of justice was displayed, even her semblance was not put on ; and the forms alone of law were preserved, in order to sanctify, or rather aggravate the oppression. Of five judges, three scrupled not to find the guilt of treason and leasing-making to be incurred by the prisoner : A jury of fifteen noblemen gave verdict against him : And the King, being consulted, ordered the sentence to be pronounced ; but the execution of it to be suspended, till farther pleasure.

It was pretended by the Duke and his creatures, that Argyle's life and fortune were not in any danger, and that the sole reason for pushing the trial to such extremity against him was in order to make him renounce some hereditary jurisdictions, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the Highlands, and checked the course of public justice. But allowing the end to be justifiable, the means were infamous ; and such as were incompatible, not only with a free, but a civilized, government. Argyle had therefore no reason to trust any longer to the justice or mercy of such enemies : He made his escape from prison ; and till he should find a ship for Holland, he concealed himself during some time in London. The King heard of his lurking-place, but would not allow him to be arrested *. All the parts however of his sentence, so far as the government had power, were rigorously executed ; his estate confiscated, his arms reversed and torne.

Chap. VIII.
1633.

 It would seem, that the genuine passion for liberty was at this time totally extinguished in Scotland : There was only preserved a spirit of mutiny and sedition, encouraged by a mistaken zeal for religion. Cameron and Cargil, two furious preachers, went a step beyond all their brethren : They publicly excommunicated the King for his tyranny and his breach of the covenant, and renounced all allegiance to him. Cameron was killed by the troops in an action at Aird-Moss : Cargil was taken and hanged. Many of their followers were tried and convicted. Their lives were offered them if they would say *God save the King* : But they would only agree to pray for his repentance. This obstinacy was much insisted on

an apology for the rigors of the administration: But, if duty could red, it will Chap. VII.
rather afford reason for a contrary inference. Such unhappy death is an object 1 1.
rather of commiseration than of anger: And it is almost impossible, that men
could have been carried to such a degree of madness, unless provoked by a long
continued violence and oppression.

As the king was milder in England, and no longer dreaded the clamours of the 1 2.
country party, he permitted the Duke to pay him a visit; and was soon after pre-
vailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part in the admini-
stration. The Duke went to Scotland in order to bring up his family, and settle
the government of that country; and he chose to take his passage by sea. The
ship struck on a sand-bank and was lost: The Duke escaped in the barge; and it
is pretended, that, while many persons of rank and quality were drowned, and
among the rest, Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to save several of his
dogs and priets: For these two species of favourites are couple'd together by some
writers. It has likewise been asserted, that the barge might safely have hold more
persons, and that some who swam to it were thrust off, and even their hands cut
in order to disengage them. But every action of every eminent person, during this
period, is liable to be misinterpreted and misrepresented by factious parties: We
ought to be very cautious of passing our judgment on too slight reasons. It is
remarkable, that the sailors on board the ship, tho' they felt them'vs sinking,
and saw inevitable death before their eyes, yet as soon as they observed the Duke
to be in safety, gave a loud shout, in testimony of their joy and satisfaction.

The Duke, during his abode in Scotland, had behaved with great civility to-
wards the gentry and nobility; and by his courtly demeanour had much won upon
their affections: But his treatment of the enthusiasts was still somewhat rigorous,
and in many instances he appeared to be a man of a severe, if not an unrelenting
temper. It is even asserted, that he usually assisted with his presence at the torture
of criminals, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were consulting some ex-
periments. He left the authority in the hands of the earl of Aberdeen,
chancellor, and the earl of Queensbury, treasurer: A very arbitrary administra-
tion. A gentleman of the name of Weir was tried, because he had kept company with one who had been in the rebellion, tho' that per-
son had never been mark'd out by process or proclamation. The reasons upon
which Weir was condemned for a prosecution by the government and a condemna-
tion were in Scotland the same thing hung upon each other, at the following

Vol. II.

Y. y

manuscript.

¶ But, as I judge, Mr. Meibomius has not taken notice of this circumstance, which may be very remarkable, and which may be very useful to the history of the reign of Charles II.

Chap. VII.
1632.

manner. No man, it was supposed, could have been in a rebellion, without being exposed to suspicion in the neighbourhood: If the neighbourhood suspected, it was to be presumed, that each individual had likewise heard of the grounds of suspicion: Every man was bound to declare to the government his suspicion against every man, and to avoid the company of traitors: To fail in this duty was to participate in the treason: The conclusion on the whole was, You have conversed with a rebel, therefore you are yourself a rebel. A reprieve was with some difficulty procured for Weir; but it was seriously determined to make use of the precedent. Courts of judicature were erected in the southern and western counties, and a strict inquisition carried on against this new species of crime. The term of three years was prescribed for the continuance of these courts; after which an indemnity was promised. Whoever would take the test, was instantly intitled to the benefit of this indemnity. The Presbyterians, alarmed with such tyranny, from which no man could esteem himself safe, began to think of leaving the country; and some of their agents were sent to England, in order to treat with the proprietors of Carolina for a settlement in that colony. Any condition seemed preferable to the living in their native country, which, by the prevalence of persecution and violence, was become as insecure to them as a den of robbers.

ABOVE two thousand persons were out-lawed on pretext of their conversation or intercourse with rebels*, and were continually hunted in their retreats by soldiers, spies, informers, and oppressive magistrates. It was usual to put ensnaring questions to people, living peaceably in their own houses; such as, "Will you renounce the Covenant? Do you esteem the rising at Bothwell to be rebellion? Was the killing the archbishop of St. Andrew's a murder?" And when the poor deluded creatures refused to answer, capital punishment was inflicted on them †. Five women were brought to the gibbet for this pretended crime. A number of fugitives, rendered frantic by oppression, had published a seditious declaration; renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart, whom they called, as they, for their parts, had indeed some reason to esteem him, a tyrant. This incident afforded the privy council a pretext for a very unusual kind of oppression. Soldiers were dispersed over the country, and power was given to all commission officers, even the most inferior, to oblige every one whom they met with, to abjure the declaration; and upon refusal, instantly, without farther questions, to shoot the delinquent ‡. It were endless, as well as shocking, to enumerate all the instances of persecution, or in other words, of absurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scotland. One of them however is so singular, that I cannot forbear relating it.

* Wodrow, vol. ii. Appendix. 94.

† Id. vol. ii. passim.

‡ Id. vol. ii. p. 435.

THREE women were seized; and the customary oath was tendered to them, by which they were to abjure the religion, & the heresies above-mentioned. They all refused, and were condemned to a capital punishment by drawing. One of them was an elderly woman; The other two were very young; one about ten years of age, the other only thirteen. By a third violent protest, they refused to put their hands to death: But the other two were conducted to the place of execution, and were tied to flukes within the main-ark at low water: A continuance, which rendered their death lingering and tedious. The elderly woman was placed on a scaffold by the rising of the water, was first executed. The younger, seeing herself with the view of her companion's death, partly influenced by the entreaties of her friends, was prevailed with to say *God bless the King*. Instantly by the spectators called out, that she had submitted; and she was led off from the flukes. Major Winnam, the officer who guarded the execution, when required her to sign the abjuration; and upon her refusal, he ordered her instantly to be plunged in the water, where she was suffocated.

THE severity of the administration in Scotland is partly to be ascribed to the Duke's temper, to whom the King had entirely confided over the government of that country, and who gave such attention to affairs as to allow nothing of importance to escape him. Even the government of England from the same cause began somewhat to be infected with the same feverishness. The Duke's credit was very great at Court. Tho' neither so much beloved nor esteemed as the King, he was more dreaded; and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a submission more obsequious, was paid him. The flying of Waller was remarked, that Clarke, in haste to the Parliament, who had determined, that the Duke should not succeed him, was resolved, that he should reign even in his lifetime.

THE King however, who loved to maintain a balance between the different supports of his crown, when he created a man, who in the end proved himself an opposition to the Duke. This man, who possessed the finest talents, and the most extensive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the present reign, affected a neutrality between the parties, and was chosen at the head of that assembly, known by the denomination of *moderators*. This character, which is not much more natural to men of this party than of any other, was not to be expected from him the former character; and he was always regarded as a balance between an a party to understand, who had professed themselves to be such, and who had been distinguished on that account, with a regard to the Duke's party, by the appellation of *moderators*. The execution of this character, and the success of this man's conduct thro' the whole course of the reign, is a singular instance, that it was by the

Chap. VII.
1682.

King's direction he had mixed with the country party. Hyde, created earl of Rochester, was first commissioner of the treasury, and was entirely in the Duke's interest.

THE King himself was obliged to act as the head of a party; a disagreeable situation for a Prince, and always the source of much injustice and oppression. He knew how obnoxious the dissenters were to the church; and he resolved, contrary to the maxims of toleration, which he had hitherto supported in England, to gratify his friends by the persecution of his enemies. The laws against conventicles were now rigorously executed; an expedient, which, the King knew, would neither diminish the numbers nor influence of the Nonconformists; and which is therefore to be esteemed more the result of passion than of policy. No persecution serves the intended purpose but that which amounts to a total extermination.

New nomination of sheriffs.

THO' the King's authority made every day great advances, it still met with considerable obstacles, chiefly from the city, which was entirely in the hands of the malecontents. The juries, in particular, named by the sheriffs, were not likely to be impartial judges between the Crown and the people, and after the experiments already made in the case of Shaftesbury and that of College, treason, it was apprehended, might there be committed with impunity. There could not therefore be a more important service to the Court than to put affairs upon a different footing. Sir John Moor, lord mayor, was gained by secretary Jenkins, and encouraged to insist upon the customary privilege of his office, of naming one of the sheriffs. Accordingly, when the time of election came, he drank to North, a Levant merchant, who accepted that expensive office. The country party said, that, being lately returned from Turkey, he was, on account of his recent experience, better qualified to serve the purposes of the Court. A poll was opened for the election of another sheriff; and here began the contest. The majority of the common-hall, headed by the two sheriffs of the former year, refused to acknowledge the mayor's right of nominating one sheriff, but insisted that both must be elected by the liveries. Papillon and Dubois were the persons whom the country party agreed to elect: Box was pointed out by the courtiers. Books were accordingly opened for the poll; but as the mayor would not allow the elections to proceed for two vacancies, the sheriffs and he separated, and each carried on the poll apart. The country party, who voted with the sheriffs for Papillon and Dubois, were much more numerous than those who voted with the mayor for Box: But as the mayor insisted, that his books were the only legal ones, he declared Box to be duly elected. All difficulties however were not surmounted. Box, apprehensive of the consequences of so dubious an election, fined off; and the mayor found it requisite to proceed to a new election. When the matter was proposed to the common-hall, a loud cry

24th of June.

was

Chap VII.
1683.

warranto was issued against the city; that is, an enquiry into the validity of their charter. It was pretended, that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought to be declared no longer a corporation, on account of two offences, which the court of aldermen and common council had committed. After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been fitted up with many conveniencies; and in order to defray these expences, the magistrates had imposed a small toll on such as brought any goods to market. In the year 1679, they had addressed the King against the prorogation of Parliament, and had employed the following terms. "Your petitioners are greatly surprized at the late prorogation, whereby the prosecution of the public justice of the kingdom, and the making necessary provisions for the preservation of your Majesty and your protestant subjects, have received interruption." These words were pretended to contain a scandalous reflection on the King and his measures. The cause of the city was defended against the attorney and solicitor generals by Treby and Pollexfen.

These last pleaded, that, since the foundation of the Monarchy, no corporation had ever yet been forfeited, and the thing itself implied an absurdity: That a corporation, as such, was incapable of all crime or offence, and none was answerable for any iniquity but the persons themselves, who committed it: That the members, in choosing magistrates, had entrusted them only with legal powers; and where the magistrates had exceeded these powers, their acts were void, but could never involve the body itself in any criminal imputation: That such had ever been the practice of England, except at the Reformation, when the monasteries were forfeited; but this was an extraordinary case; and it was even thought necessary afterwards to ratify the whole by act of Parliament: That corporate bodies, framed for public good, and calculated for perpetual duration, ought not to be annihilated for the temporary faults of their members, who might themselves, without hurting their community, be questioned for their offences: That even a private estate, if entailed, could not be forfeited to the Crown, on account of treason, committed by the tenant for life; but upon his demise went to the next in remainder: That the offences, objected to the city, far from deserving so severe a punishment, were not even worthy the smallest reprehension: That all corporations were invested with the power of making bye-laws; and the smallest burrough in England had ever been allowed to carry the exercise of this power farther than London had done in the instance complained of: That the city, having, at their own expence, repaired the markets, which were built too on their own estates, might as lawfully claim a small recompence from such as brought commodities thither, as a man might require rent for a house, which he was possessed of: That those who disliked the condition, might abstain from the market; and whoever paid, had done it

CHAP. VII. King, by which he much extended his authority, and acquired a great ascendant in
1553. every burrough and corporation. But it seems strange, that the independant roy-
alists, who never meant to make the Crown absolute, should yet be so elated with
the victory obtained over their adversaries, as to approve of a precedent, which left
no national privileges in the nation; but enabled the King, under like pretex-
ts, and by means of like instruments, to renew all those charters, which at present he was
pleas'd to grant. And every lover of liberty must allow, that the nation, whose con-
stitution was thus shattered in the shock of faction, had a right, by every prudent
expedient, to recover that security, of which it was so unhappily bereaved.

WHILE so great a faction adhered to the Crown, it is apparent, that resistance,
however justifiable, could never be prudent; and all wise men saw no other expe-
dient but peaceably to submit to the present grievances. There was however a
party of malecontents, so turbulent in their disposition, that even before this last
iniquity, which laid the whole constitution at the mercy of the King, they had med-
itated plans of resistance; at a time when it could be as little justifiable as pru-
dent. In the spring 1681*, a little before the Oxford Parliament, the King was
seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave great alarm to the public. The
Duke of Monmouth, lord Ruffel, lord Grey, instigated by the restless Shaftesbury,
had agreed, in case the King's sickness should prove mortal, to rise in arms and op-
pose the succession of the Duke. Charles recovered; but these dangerous projects
were not dropt. The same conspirators, together with Essex and Salisbury, were de-
termined to continue the Oxford Parliament, after the King, as was daily expected,
should dissolve it; and they engaged some leaders among the Commons in the same
desperate measure. They went so far as to detain several lords in the House, under
pretence of signing a protestation against rejecting Fitz-harris's impeachment: But
hearing that the Commons had broke up in great consternation, they were likewise
obliged at last to separate. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial put an end for
some time to these machinations; and it was not till the new sheriffs were impos'd
on the city that they were revived. The leaders of the country party began then
to apprehend themselves in imminent danger; and they were well pleas'd to find,
that the citizens were struck with the same terror, and were thence inclin'd to un-
dertake the most perilous enterprizes. Besides the city, applications were made to
the gentry and nobility in several counties of England to rise in arms. Monmouth

* Lord Grey's secret history of the Rye-house plot. This is the most full and authentic account of all these transactions; but is in the main confirm'd by bishop Sprat, and even Burnet, as well as by the trials and dying confessions of the conspirators: So that nothing can be more unaccountable than that any one should pretend, that this conspiracy was an imposture like the popish plot. Monmouth's declaration published in the next reign, confesses a consult for extraordinary remedies.

Chap. VII.
1633.

done great injury to the cause, in which he was engaged. The violences and iniquities, which he suggested and encouraged, were greater than even faction itself could endure; and men could not forbear sometimes remembering, that the same person, who was become so zealous a patriot, was once a most prostitute courtier. It is remarkable, that this man, whose principles and conduct were, in all other respects, so exceptionable, proved an excellent chancellor; and that all his decrees, while he possessed that eminent office, were equally remarkable for justness and for integrity. So difficult it is to find in history a character either wholly bad or perfectly good; tho' the prejudices of party make writers run frequently into the extremes both of panegyric and of satire.

AFTER Shaftesbury's departure, the conspirators found some difficulty in renewing the correspondence with the city malecontents, who had been accustomed to depend solely on that nobleman. Their common views, however, as well as common apprehensions, made them at last have recourse to each other; and a regular project of an insurrection was again formed. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Ruffel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandson to the great parliamentary leader. These men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scotch malecontents, who engaged, that, upon the payment of 10,000 pounds for the purchase of arms in Holland, they would bring the Covenanters into the field. Insurrections likewise were anew projected in Cheshire and the West, as well as in the city; and some meetings of the leaders were held, in order to reduce these projects into form. The conspirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney was passionate for a commonwealth. Essex had embraced the same project. But Monmouth had entertained hopes of acquiring the Crown for himself. Ruffel, as well as Hambden, was much attached to the antient constitution, and proposed only the exclusion of the Duke and the redress of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of abandoned principles, and was ready to embrace any party, which his immediate interest should recommend to him. But notwithstanding this difference of characters and of views, their common hatred of the Duke and the present administration united them into one party; and the dangerous experiment of an insurrection was fully resolved on.

WHILE these schemes were concerting among the leaders, there was an inferior order of conspirators, who frequently met together, and with the insurrection, carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth, and the cabal of six. Among these men were colonel Rumsfy, an old republican officer, who had distinguished himself in Portugal, and had been recommended to the King by Marschal Schomberg; lieutenant colonel Wakot, likewise a republican officer; Goodenough, under sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; West, Tyley, Norton, Ayloffe, lawyers;

Rye-house
plot.

lawyers; Feruson, Rains, Hon, Kelling, Holl was, Bourne, Lox, Rumbald. Most of these had were men of high rank, and the only persons of this conference, who had access to the leaders of the party, were Rumbald and Bergaon. When these men were met together in their cabals, they frequently mentioned the assassination of the King and the Duke, to which they had given the general appellation of *the plot*: They even went so far as to have the plot of a scheme for that purpose. Rumbald, who was a miller, possessed a farm, called the Key-house, which lay on the way to Newmarket, whither the King commonly went once a year, for the diversion of the races. A plot of this kind had been laid before some of the conspirators by Rumbald, who showed them how easy it would be, by everturning a cart, to stop at that place the King's coach; when they might fire upon him from the hedges, and he easily chabed afterwards, thro' the lanes and cross the fields, to make their escape. But tho' the possibility of this scheme gave great pleasure to the conspirators, no concert of design was as yet laid, nor any means of arms, or arms provided: The whole was only more than a heated court, the overflowings of their zeal and rage. The day in which the King was at Newmarket, to be fire accidentally, and he was oblig'd to have that place eight days sooner than he intended. To this circumstance necessity was not towards the end, when the conspiracy was discovered, and the court party could not so readily admire the wisdom and providence of Providence. If the King, that, as the King had thus unexpectedly left Newmarket, he was not so much concerned than usual; and Rumbald had made his confederates with respect what a favourable opportunity was thus unfortunately lost.

As to the conspirator I have mentioned Kelling, a *filter* in London. This man had been engaged in a very bold measure, of altering the *script* of the money at the inst of Piphon and Dulcis, the out of the office and of giving to the execution for that purpose, he thought it best to publish a pamphlet, by revealing the conspiracy, in which he was deeply concerned. He being a Tory, and a Tory being usually one of the assassination plots, but as he was a man of a very high capacity, whom many rule plots had proved, and had a great deal of money, he was more warrants for the commitment of to go, and a number of persons, and of the same, in order to fortify his testimony, and to make his testimony more credible, he consulted with a book enough, one of the conspirators, who was oblig'd to give more attention to the intelligence. The conspiracy was discovered by the King's, in which they were involved, and of the same nature, and of the same nature. One person alone, of the name of *St. John*, had been oblig'd to give more attention to the intelligence, as he consulted in many particulars, which were oblig'd to attend to the

Chap. VII.
1683.

affair seemed to be put out of all question; and a more diligent search was every where made after the conspirators.

WEST, the lawyer, and colonel Rumsley, finding the perils to which they were exposed in endeavouring to escape, resolved to save their own lives at the expence of their companions; and accordingly surrendered themselves with an intention of becoming evidence. West could do little more than confirm the testimony of Keiling with regard to the assassination plot; but Rumsley, besides additional confirmation of the same design, was at last, tho' with much difficulty, led to give an account of the meetings at Shepard's. Shepard was immediately apprehended; and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates. Upon his information, orders were issued for arresting the great men engaged in the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded: Russell was sent to the Tower: Grey was arrested, but escaped from the messenger: Howard was taken, while he concealed himself in a chimney; and being a man of most profligate morals, as well as indigent circumstances, he scrupled not, in hopes of a pardon, to reveal the whole conspiracy. Essex, Sidney, Hambden were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Every day some of the conspirators were detected in their lurking-places, and thrown into prison.

Execution of
the conspira-
tors.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL WALCOT was first brought to his trial. This man, who was once noted for bravery, had been so far overcome by the love of life, that he had wrote to secretary Jenkins, and had offered upon promise of pardon to turn evidence: But no sooner had he taken this mean step, than he felt more generous sentiments arise in him; and he endeavoured, tho' in vain, to conceal himself. The witnesses against him were Rumsley, West, Shepard, together with one Bourne, a brewer. His own letter to the secretary was produced, and rendered the testimony of the witnesses unquestionable. Hone and Rouse were also condemned to die. These two men, as well as Walcot, at their execution, acknowledged the justice of the sentence; and from their trial and confession it is sufficiently apparent, that the plan of an insurrection had been regularly formed, and that even the assassination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conspirators.

Trial of lord
Russel.

THE condemnation of these criminals was probably intended as a preparative to the trial of lord Russell, and served to impress the public with a thorow belief of the conspiracy, as well as horror against it. The witnesses produced against this noble prisoner were Rumsley, Shepard, and lord Howard. Rumsley swore, that he himself had been introduced to the cabal at Shepard's, where Russell was present; and had delivered them a message from Shaftesbury, urging them to hasten the intended insurrection: But had received for answer, that it was found necessary to delay the design,

and that Shaftesbury must therefore, for some time, rest contented. This answer, Chap. VII.
183. he said, was delivered by Ferguson, but was assented to by the prisoner. He added, that some discourse had been entered into about taking a party of the guards; and he thought, that Monmouth, Grey and Armitage, undertook to view them. Shepard swore, that his house had been beforehand beset by Ferguson for the secret meeting of the conspirators, and that he had been careful to keep all his servants from approaching them, and had served them himself. He did, same, he said, run chiefly upon the means of surprizing the guards; and it was agreed that Monmouth and his two rivals should take a party of them. The report, which they brought next meeting, was, that the guards were ready, and that the design was very practicable: But he affirmed not, that any resolution was taken of executing it. The prisoner, he thought, was present at both these meetings; and he was sure, that at least he was present at one of them. A declaration, however, had been read by Ferguson in Russell's presence: The reasons of the intended rebellion were there set forth, and all the palace prisoners, and all the courtiers,

Lord Howard had been one of the cabal of secret correspondents, and had two accomplices had been held of the conspirators, one at Hull, and one at Dulwich. Howard swore, that, at the first meeting, it was agreed to have the rebellion begun in the country before the city; they were to receive the powder, and carry a kind of arms agreed on, and the whole plan of operations was settled at that first secret meeting; the conversation turned chiefly upon the Irish, the Scotch, the English, and the discontented Scotch, and that the principal business of that affair was intrusted to Sidney, who had sent one of his sons to be furnished with proper instructions. He added, that in this council, two persons were present, who were called out: but there was no contradiction, and he did not know of either them, and the prisoner among the rest, or whether either of them.

He said, and that he was very ready to give evidence, and that he thought it appeared, that Grey's Son, and Howard, had been very guilty in this affair, and given a more explicit affirmation and admission. The difficulty, however, of the difficulty of recalling circumstances in a conversation, which happened eight months before, and which they could not see that that time any person could, on either, may bring some light of fact in to them, which is not otherwise to be made out. It was thus it was proved, that the insurrection had been fully intended by the prisoner, and fully resolved; the refusal of the guards, and the refusal of the king's army, and that an assassination had been concerted against the king, and committed by him. So far the matter of fact is clear, and that Part of the evidence is clear, there remained a difficulty, and that of a very important nature.

Chap. VII.
1683.

THE English laws of treason, both in the manner of defining that crime and in the proof required, are the mildest and most indulgent, and consequently the most equitable, that are any where to be found. The two chief species of treason, contained in the law of Edward the third, are the compassing and intending the King's death, and the actual levying war against him; and by the law of Mary the crime must be proved by the concurring testimony of two witnesses, to some overt act, tending to these purposes. But the lawyers, partly desirous of paying court to the Sovereign, partly convinced of ill consequences, which might attend such narrow limitations, had introduced a greater latitude, both in the proof and definition of the crime. It was not required, that the two witnesses should testify the same precise overt act: It was sufficient, that they both testified some overt act of the same treason; and tho' this evasion may seem a subtilty, it had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, and had at last been solemnly fixed at the trial of lord Stafford. The lawyers had used the same freedom, tho' perhaps after a more exceptionable manner, with the law of Edward the third. They had observed, that, by that famous statute, if a man should enter into a conspiracy for a rebellion, should even fix a correspondence with foreign powers for that purpose, should provide arms and money, yet, if he was detected and no rebellion ensued, he could not be tried for treason. To prevent this inconvenience, as they esteemed it, they had commonly laid their indictment for intending the death of the King, and had produced the intention of a rebellion as a proof of that other intention. But tho' this form of indictment and trial was very frequent, and many criminals had received sentence upon it, it was considered as irregular, and was plainly confounding, by a sophism, two species of treason, which the statute had most accurately distinguished. What made this refinement still more inexcusable; a law had passed soon after the restoration, where the consulting or intending a rebellion, was, during Charles's lifetime, declared treason; and it was required that the prosecution should be made within six months after the crime was committed. But notwithstanding this statute, the lawyers had persevered, as they still do persevere, in the old form of indictment; and both Sir Harry Vane and Oliver Plunket, titular primate of Ireland, had been tried by it. Such was the general horror, entertained against the old republicans, and the popish conspirators, that no-one had murmured against this interpretation of the statute; and the lawyers thought, that they might follow the precedent even in the case of the popular and beloved lord Russell. Russell's crime fell plainly under the statute of Charles the 2d; but the facts sworn to by Rumsey and Shepard were without the six months required by law, and to the other facts Howard was a single witness. To make the indictment, therefore, more extensive, the intention of murdering the King was comprehended in it;

and.

and for proof of this intention the conspiracy for raising a rebellion was alleged; and what seemed to bring the matter still nearer, the design of attacking the King's guards.

Russel perceived this irregularity, and desired to have the point argued by council: The chief justice told him, that that privilege could not be granted, unless he previously confessed the facts charged upon him. The artificial confounding the two species of treason, tho' a practice supported by many precedents, is the chief, but not the only hardship, of which Russel had reason to complain on his trial. His defence was very feeble; and he contented himself with protesting, that he never had entertained any design against the King's life: His candour would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection. The jury were men of fair and irrepachable characters, but zealous Royalists: After a short deliberation, they brought in the prisoner guilty.

Applications were made to the King for a pardon: Even money, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the duke of Portsmouth by the old earl of Bedford, rather to Russel. The King was inexorable. He had been extremely harassed with the violence of the country party, and he had observed, that the prisoner, besides his secret designs, had always been carried to the highest extremity of opposition in Parliament. He had even adopted a sentiment, similar to what we meet with in a letter of the younger Brutus. Had his father, he said, advised the King to reject the exclusion bill, he would be the first to move for a parliamentary impeachment against him. When such determined resolution was observed, his popularity, his humanity, his justice, his very virtues became for many crimes, and were used as arguments against sparing him. Charles therefore would go no farther than remit the more ignominious parts of the sentence, which the law requires to be pronounced against traitors. "My lord Russel," said he, "I will not, that I am possessed of that prerogative which, in the case of a lord's attainder, he thought fit to deny me." As the fury of the country party had rendered it impossible for the King, without the most imminent danger to his throne, to pardon so many Catholics, whom he firmly believed to be innocent, and even affectionate and loyal to him; he probably thought, that, since the force of the law was now ready to fall upon that party themselves, they could not reasonably expect, that he would interpose to save them.

Russel's consort, a woman of great merit, daughter and heir of the good earl of Southampton, threw herself at the King's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an argument for these errors, into which Londel, however mistaken principles had seduced her husband. These supplications were the last influence of female weakness (if they deserve the name) which she

Chap. VII.
1683.

she betrayed. Finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured by her example to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now passed," said he, when he turned from her. Lord Cavendish had lived in the closest intimacy with Ruffel, and deserted not his friend in the present calamity. He gallantly offered to manage his escape, by changing cloaths with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Ruffel refused to save his own life, by an expedient which might expose his friend to so many hardships. When the duke of Monmouth by message offered to surrender himself, if Ruffel thought, that that measure would any way contribute to his safety; "It will be no advantage to me," he said, "to have my friends die with me." Some of his expressions discover, not only composure, but good humour in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution he was seized with a bleeding at the nose. "I shall not now let blood to divert this distemper," said he to doctor Burnet who attended him, "that will be done to morrow." A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch, "Now I have done," said he, "with time, and henceforth must think solely of eternity."

21st of July.

THE scaffold was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, a place very distant from the Tower; and it was probably intended, by conducting Ruffel thro' so many streets, to show the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of all their confidence, now exposed to the utmost rigours of the law. As he was the most popular among his own party; so was he ever the least obnoxious to the opposite faction: And his melancholy fate united every heart, sensible of humanity, in a tender compassion for him. Without the least change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two strokes, it was severed from his body.

and execution.

IN the speech, which he delivered to the sheriffs, he was very anxious to clear his memory from any imputation of ever intending the King's death or any alteration in the government: He could not explicitly confess the projected insurrection without hurting his friends, who might still be called in question for it; but he did not purge himself of that design, which, in the present condition of the nation, he regarded as no crime. By many passages in his speech, he seems to the last to have lain under the influence of party zeal; a passion, which being nourished by a social temper, and cloathing itself under the appearance of principle, it is almost impossible for a virtuous man, who has acted in public life, ever thorowly to eradicate. He professed his entire belief in the popish plot: And he said, that, tho' he had often heard the seizure of the guards mentioned, he had ever disapproved of that attempt. To which he added, that the massacring so many innocent men in cold blood

Chap. VII.
1683.

a proof, which was never admitted in criminal prosecutions : That allowing him to be the author, he had composed them solely for his private amusement, and had never published them to the world, or even communicated them to any single person : That, when examined, they appeared by the colour of the ink to have been wrote many years before, and were in vain produced as evidences of a present conspiracy against the government : And that where the law positively requires two witnesses, one witness, attended with the most convincing circumstances, could never suffice ; much less, when supported by a circumstance so weak and precarious. All these arguments, tho' urged by the prisoner with great courage and pregnancy of reason, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief justice ; and by his direction a partial jury was easily prevailed on to give verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days afterwards : He complained, and with reason, of the iniquity of the sentence ; but he had too much greatness of mind to deny those consults with Monmouth and Russell, in which he had been engaged. He rather gloried, that he now suffered for that *good old cause*, in which, from his earliest youth, he said, he had insisted himself.

17th of December.
His execution.

THE execution of Sidney is regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of the present reign. The evidence against him, it must be confessed, was not legal ; and the jury, who condemned him, were, for that reason, very blameable. The jury itself was not composed of freeholders, as the law required ; and this irregularity is a great reproach to the administration. But that after sentence passed by a court of judicature, the King should pardon a man, who, tho' otherwise possessed of great merit, was undoubtedly guilty, who had ever been a most inflexible and most inveterate enemy to the royal family, and who lately had even abused the King's clemency, might be an act of heroic generosity, but can never be regarded as a necessary and indispensable duty.

HOWARD was also the sole evidence against Hambden ; and his testimony was not supported by any very material circumstance. The crown-lawyers therefore found it vain to try the prisoner for treason : They laid the indictment only for misdemeanour, and obtained sentence against him. The fine imposed was exorbitant ; no less than forty thousand pounds.

HOLLOWAY, a merchant of Bristol, one of the conspirators, had fled to the West Indies, and was now brought over. He had been out-lawed ; but the year, allowed him for presenting himself, was not expired. A trial was therefore offered him : But as he had at first confessed his being engaged in a conspiracy for an insurrection, and even allowed that he had heard some discourses of an assassination, tho' he had not approved of them, he thought it more expedient to

throw

the witness on the King's side. He was executed, 1659, in the same manner.

Sir Thomas A. Cromwell, who had been the Lord High Chancellor, the King's minister, and just over, was precisely in the same condition with Holloway. But the same favour, or rather justice, was not shown him. He was reproached, that, unless he voluntarily came in before the expiration of the time offered, he could not claim the privilege of a trial; not considering, that the Duke ought in equity to be supposed the accident which prevented him. The King bore a great enmity against this gentleman, by whom he believed the Duke of Monmouth to have been seduced from his duty: He also affected, that Armstrong had once promised Cromwell to assassinate him; tho' it must be confessed, that the prisoner justified himself from this imputation by very strong arguments. These were the reasons of that iniquity, which was now done him. It was apprehended, that sufficient evidence of his guilt could not be produced, if that evidence were the partial juries, which were now returned, and which allowed themselves to be entirely directed by Jesuits and other violent judges, would not give a true account of him.

On the day that Russell was tried, I saw a man eminent both for virtue and ability, was found in the Tower with his throat cut. The coroners in part brought in their verdict, *per mortem*. Yet because two children of ten years of age, one of whom too departed from his evidence, had affirmed, that they heard a great noise from his window, and that they saw a hand throw out a bloody razor, these circumstances were laid hold of, and the murder was ascribed to the King and the Duke, who happened that morning to pay a visit to the Tower. They were both filled with deep melancholy, and had been treated with a suddenness upon this commitment: He was accustomed to make a private visit to his family. And his countenance and little company, which was confined to the care of Dr. Burnet, had no reason to condemn him. Yet to add not all these circumstances, but to many others, sent up new and strange accusations. But so wonderful that nation is for prodigies, that we could not but be like that of Rome, all the pillars, stretched out to the ground, that the gates of the city were all flames, when men think, that the King's party, tho' they are the oppressors of their own party, will no longer tolerate the King's party, tho' they are the oppressors of the oppressors.

But tho' there is no reason to think, that the Duke of Monmouth's party and his adherents had had any advantage, that they were not the authors of that incident. The King's party were not at that time in any manner

Chap. VII.
1683.

strong proof of the conspiracy; and it is said to have had great weight with the jury. It was insisted on in Sidney's trial for the same purpose.

State of the
nation.

SOME memorable causes, tried about this time, tho' they have no relation to the Rye-house conspiracy, show the temper of the bench and the juries. Oates was convicted of having called the Duke a popish traitor; was fined to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and condemned to prison till he should make payment. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton-Coit for a like offence. Sir Samuel Barnadiston was fined ten thousand pounds; because, in some private letters, which had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government. This gentleman was obnoxious; because he had been foreman of that jury, which rejected the bill against Shaftesbury. A pretext was therefore fallen upon for punishing him; tho' such a precedent may justly be esteemed a very unusual act of severity, and sufficient to destroy all confidence in private friendship and correspondence.

THERE is another remarkable trial, which shows the disposition of the courts of judicature, and which, tho' it passed in the ensuing year, it may not be improper to relate here. One Rosewel, a presbyterian preacher, was accused by three women of having spoke treasonable words in a sermon. They swore to two or three periods, and agreed so exactly together, that there was not the smallest variation in their depositions. Rosewel on the other hand made a very good defence. He proved, that the witnesses were leud and infamous persons: He proved, that, even during Cromwel's usurpation, he had always been loyal; that he prayed constantly for the King in his family; and that in his sermons he often inculcated the obligations of loyalty. And as to the sermon, of which he was accused, several witnesses, who heard it, and some who wrote it in short-hand, deposed that he had used no such expressions as those objected to him. He offered his own notes as a farther proof. The women could not show by any circumstance or witnesses, that they were at his meeting. And the expressions, which they swore against him, were so gross, that no man in his senses could be supposed to employ them before a mixt audience. It was also urged, that it was next to impossible for three women to remember so long a period upon one single hearing, and to remember it so exactly, as to agree to a tittle in their depositions with regard to it. The prisoner offered to put the whole upon this issue: He would pronounce, with his usual tone of voice, a period as long as that which they had sworn to; and then let them try to repeat it, if they could. What was more unaccountable, they had forget even the text of his sermon; nor did they remember any single passage, but the words, which they deposed to. After so strong a defence, the solicitor general thought not proper to make any reply: Even Jefferies went no farther than some general declamations
against

Chap. VII. 1683. so languishing a condition from the cruel treatment, which he had met with in prison, that it was feared he would not survive that night, he was ordered to be executed the very afternoon, on which he received sentence.

THE severities, exercised during this part of the present reign, were much contrary to the usual tenor of the King's conduct; and tho' those who studied his character more narrowly, have pronounced, that towards great offences he was rigid and inexorable, the nation were more inclined to ascribe every unjust or hard measure to the prevalence of the Duke's councils, into whose hands the King had, from indolence, not from any opinion of his brother's superior capacity, resigned the reins of government. The Crown indeed gained great advantages from the detection of the conspiracy, and lost none by the rigorous execution of the conspirators: The horror entertained against the assassination-plot, which was commonly confounded with the design of an insurrection, rendered the whole party unpopular, and reconciled the nation to the measures of the Court. The most loyal addresses came from all parts of the kingdom; and the doctrine of submission to the civil magistrates, and even of an unlimited passive obedience, became the reigning principle of the times. The university of Oxford passed a solemn decree, condemning some doctrines, which they denominated republican, but which indeed are, most of them, the only tenets, on which liberty and a limited constitution can be founded. The faction of the exclusionists, lately so numerous, powerful, and zealous, were at the King's feet; and were as much fallen in their spirit as in their credit with the nation. Nothing, which had the least appearance of opposition to the Court, could be hearkened to by the public.

1684. THE King endeavoured to increase his present popularity by every art; and knowing, that the suspicion of popery was of all others the most dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the Lady Anne, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark. All the credit, however, and persuasion of Halifax, could not engage him to call a Parliament, or trust the nation with the election of a new representative. Tho' his revenues were extremely burthened, he chose rather to struggle with the present difficulties, than try an experiment, which, by raising afresh so many discontented humours, might prove dangerous to his repose. The Duke likewise zealously obstructed this proposal, and even engaged the King in measures, which could have no other tendency, than to render any accommodation with a Parliament altogether impracticable. Williams, who had been speaker during the two last Parliaments, was prosecuted for warrants, issued by him, in obedience to orders of the House: A breach of privilege, which, it seemed not likely, any

Chap. VII. the proposal was rejected. The Prince's enemies derived the most plausible reasons
1684. of their opposition from the situation of England, and the known and avowed attachments of the English Monarch.

No sooner had Charles dismissed his Parliaments, and embraced the resolution of governing by prerogative alone, than he dropped his new alliance with Spain, and returned to his former dangerous connexions with Lewis. That Prince had even offered to make him arbiter of his differences with Spain; and this latter power, sensible of Charles's partiality, had refused to submit to such a disadvantageous proposal. Whether any money was now remitted to England, we do not certainly know: But we may fairly presume, that the King's necessities were in some degree relieved by France. And tho' Charles had reason to apprehend the utmost danger from the great, and still encreasing, naval power of that kingdom, joined to the weak condition of the English fleet, no consideration was able to rouse him from his present lethargy.

It is here we are to fix the point of the highest exaltation, which the power of Lewis or that of any European Prince, since the age of Charlemagne, had ever attained. The only Monarch, capable of opposing his progress, was entirely engaged in his interests; and the Turks, invited by the malecontents of Hungary, were preparing to invade the Emperor, and to disable that Prince from making head against the progress of the French power. Lewis may even be accused of oversight, in not making sufficient advantage of such favourable opportunities, which he was never afterwards able to recall. But that Monarch, tho' more governed by motives of ambition than by those of justice or moderation, was still more actuated by vanity than by ambition. He contented himself with insulting and domineering over all the Princes and free States of Europe; and he thereby provoked their resentment without subduing their power. While every one, who approached his person, and behaved with submission to his authority, was treated with the highest politeness; all the neighbouring Potentates had successively felt the effects of his haughty imperious disposition. And by indulging his poets, orators, and courtiers in their flatteries, and in their prognostications of universal empire, he conveyed faster, than by the prospect of his power alone, the apprehension of general conquest and subjection.

1693. The French greatness never, during his whole reign, inspired Charles with any apprehensions; and Clifford, 'tis said, one of his most favoured ministers, went so far as to affirm, that it was better for the King to be Viceroy under a great and generous Monarch, than a slave to five hundred of his own insolent subjects.

The ambition therefore and uncontrouled power of Lewis were no diminution of Charles's happiness; and in other respects his condition seem'd at present more eligible than it had ever been since his restoration. A mighty nation, which had shook his throne, and menaced his family, was totally subdued, and by their precipitant indiction had exposed themselves both to the rigor of the law, and to public hatred. He had recovered his former popularity in the nation; and what probably pleas'd him more than having a compliant Parliament, he was oblig'd to govern at large, that without one. But it is certain, that the king, amidst all these promising circumstances, was not happy nor satisfied. Whether he found himself expos'd to difficulties for want of money, or dreaded a recoil of the popular humour from the present arbitrary measures, is uncertain. Perhaps the violent, imprudent temper of the Duke, by pushing him upon dangerous attempts, gave him apprehension and uneasiness. He was overheard to say one day, in opposing some of the Duke's hasty counsels, "Brother, I am too old to go a gun to my travels: You may, if you choose it." Whatever was the cause of the king's dissatisfaction, it seems very probable, that he was meditating some change of measures, and had form'd a new plan of administration. He was determin'd, 'tis thought, to send the Duke to Scotland, to recall Monk into it, to summon a Parliament, to dismiss all his unpopular ministers, and to throw himself entirely on the goodwill and affection of his subjects. Amidst these truly wise and virtuous designs, he was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and tho' he was recover'd from it by bleeding, he languish'd only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-sixth of his reign. He was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had ever been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death shou'd be a great surprise to his followers, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And that his expostulations concern'd him, owing to their affection for his person, as well as the dread of his success, very manifestly, which led to the impetuousness of his death, he is to be ascrib'd to. All circumstances, however, which concern the king must be allow'd to vanish, like many others, of which a full account is not to be had.

During the few days of the King's sickness, clergy-men of the church of England were call'd in, but he did not shew a total insensibility towards their devotion, and solicitation. Charles himself was brought to bed, he receiv'd the sacrament, and was accompanied with all the ceremonies of the Romish church. His prayers were read in his bed, with his own hands, he receiv'd the sacrament, and was accompanied with all the ceremonies of the Romish church. His prayers were read in his bed, with his own hands, he receiv'd the sacrament, and was accompanied with all the ceremonies of the Romish church.

Chap. VII. the greatest enemies to his brother's measures, and afforded to the whole world a
 1085. specimen of his own bigotry.

and character. IF we survey the character of Charles the Second in the different lights, which it will admit of, it will appear very various, and give rise to different and even opposite sentiments. When considered as a companion, he appears the most amiable and engaging of men; and indeed, in this view, his deportment must be allowed altogether unexceptionable. His love of raillery was so tempered with good breeding, that it was never offensive: His propensity to satire was so checked with discretion, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it: His wit, to use the expression of one, who knew him well, and who was himself an exquisite judge*, could not be said so much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealousy and apprehension in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. And tho' perhaps he talked more than strict rules of behaviour might permit, men were so pleased with the affable, communicative deportment of the Monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and with themselves. This indeed is the most shining part of the King's character; and he seems to have been sensible of it: For he was fond of dropping the formality of state, and of relapsing every moment into the companion.

IN the duties of private life, his conduct, tho' not free from exception, was, in the main, laudable. He was an easy generous lover, a civil obliging husband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good natured master†. The voluntary friendships, however, which this Prince contracted, nay, even his sense of gratitude, were feeble; and he never attached himself to any of his ministers or courtiers with a very sincere affection. He believed them to have no other motive for serving him but self-interest, and he was still ready, in his turn, to sacrifice them to present ease or convenience.

WITH a detail of his private character we must set bounds to our panegyric on Charles. The other parts of his conduct may admit of some apology, but can deserve small applause. He was indeed so much fitted for private life, preferably to public, that he even possessed order, frugality, œconomy in the former: Was profuse, thoughtless, negligent in the latter. When we consider him as a Sovereign, his character, tho' not altogether void of virtues, was in the main dangerous to his people, and dishonourable to himself. Negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its trea-
 sure,

* Marquess of Halifax.

† Duke of Buckingham.

ture, sparing only of its blood; he expelled it by his measures, tho' he appeared ever but in sport, to the dangers of a furious civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conquest. Yet may all these enormities, if fairly and candidly examined, be imputed, in a great measure, to the insolence of his temper; a fault, which, however unfortunate in a Monarch, it is impossible for us to regard with great severity.

It has been remarked of this King, that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one: A sentence, which, tho' too far carried, seems to have some foundation in his character and deportment.

If we reflect on the appetite for power, inherent in human nature, and add to it, the King's education in foreign countries, and among the Cavaliers, a party which would naturally exaggerate the late usurpations of popular assemblies upon the rights of Monarchy; it is not surprizing, that civil liberty should not find in him a very zealous patron. Harassed with domestic factions, weary of calumnies and complaints, oppressed with debts, straitened in his revenue, he sought, tho' with feeble efforts, for a form of government, more simple in its structure and more easy in its management. But his attachment to France, and all the pains, which we have taken, by enquiry and conjecture, toathom it, contains still something, it must be confessed, mysterious and inexplicable. The hopes of rendering himself absolute by Lewis's assistance seem so chimerical, that they could scarce be retained with such obstinacy by a Prince of Charles's penetration: And as to pecuniary subsidies, he surely spent much greater sums in one season, during the second Dutch war, than were remitted from France during the course of his whole reign. I am apt therefore to imagine, that Charles was in this particular guided chiefly by inclination, and by a prepossession in favour of the French nation. He considered that people as gay, sprightly, polite, elegant, courtous, devoted to their Prince, and attached to the Catholic faith; and for these reasons he generally loved them. The opposite character of the Dutch, had rendered them the objects of his aversion, and even the uncourtly humours of the English made him very averse to that nation. Men's notions of interest are much warped by their prejudices, and it is not extraordinary without example, that a man may be guided by national prejudices, who has never been little biased by private and personal friendship.

The character of this Prince has been very elaborately and by two great masters, particularly well acquainted with him, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Halifax; not to mention several other eminent statesmen, as the late Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Welwood &c. who had both by Birth and Education spent some years in the same school: But the former is too much a partisan in his observations, and the latter

Chap. VII. is by far too harsh and malignant. Instead of finding an exact parallel betwixt
1685. Charles the Second and the Emperor Tiberius, as that prelate pretends, it would be more just to remark a full contraste and opposition. The Emperor seems as much to have surpassed the King in abilities, as he falls short of him in virtue. Provident, wise, active, jealous, malignant, dark, sullen, unfociable, reserved, cruel, unrelenting, unforgiving; these are the lights, under which the Roman tyrant has been transmitted to us. And the only circumstance, in which, it can justly be pretended, he was similar to Charles, is his love of women; a passion, which is too general to form any striking resemblance, and which that detestable and detested monster shared also with unnatural appetites.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

G R E A T B R I T A I N .

J A M E S I I .

C H A P . I .

King's last transactions.—A Parliament.—Arguments for and against a revenue for life.—Oaths concluded at Hampton.—Murrell's execution.—His defeat—and execution.—Crucifixion of Kirk—and of St. Jervis.—State of affairs in Scotland.—Anglo's ransom,—defeat,—and execution.—A Parliament.—Prison regulations.—The suspending of laws.—Succession in Ireland.—Barrington's test for the King and the church.—Grant of a charter to the University of Cambridge.—The new regulation of the University of London.—The new regulation of the law.—State of Ireland.—The King's Resignation.—Attempt to murder the King.—The King's death.—The King's funeral.—The King's will.—The King's last moments.

THE first act of James's reign was to dissolve the parliament which had been summoned by the late king, and to call a new one, in which he proposed to introduce a bill for the abolition of the law of primogeniture, and to give the crown a revenue for life. This bill was introduced in the first session of the parliament, and was supported by the king's friends, but it was opposed by the commons, who knew that the law of primogeniture was the basis of the constitution, and that the crown was not entitled to a revenue for life, and he was defeated in the commons.

Chap. I.
1685.

And as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation, he would still go as far as any man in preserving all its just rights and liberties.

THIS discourse was received with great applause, not only by the council, but by the whole nation. The King universally passed for a man of great sincerity and great honour; and as the current of favour ran at that time for the Court, men believed, that his intentions were conformable to his expressions. "We have now," it was said, "the word of a King; and a word never yet broken." Addresses came from all quarters, full of duty, nay, of the most servile adulation. Every one hastened to pay court to the new Monarch*: And James had reason to think, that, notwithstanding the violent efforts made by so potent a party for his exclusion, no throne in Europe was better established than that of England.

THE King, however, in the first exercise of his authority, shewed, that either he was not sincere in his professions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained so lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmost sincerity would tend very little to secure the liberties of the people. All the customs and the greater part of the excise had been voted by Parliament during the late King's life, and consequently the grant was now expired; nor had the successor any right to levy these branches of revenue. But James issued a proclamation, ordering the customs and excise to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the least act or even appearance of condescension. It was proposed to him, that, in order to prevent the ill effects of any intermission in levying these duties, entries should be made, and bonds for the sums taken of the merchants: But the payment be suspended till the Parliament should give authority to receive it. This precaution was recommended as an expression of deference to that assembly, or rather to the laws: But for that very reason probably, it was rejected by the King, who thought, that the Commons would thence be invited to assume more authority, and would regard the whole revenue, and consequently the whole power of the Crown, as dependant on their good will and pleasure.

THE King likewise went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an ill gal meeting: And by this imprudence he displayed at once his arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles: These two great characteristics of his reign and bane of his administration. He event sent Caryl, as his agent to Rome, to make submissions to the Pope, and to pave the way for a solemn readmission of
England

* The Quakers' address was esteemed somewhat singular. It was conceived in these terms. "We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governour. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we: Wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty, which thou allowest thyself. Which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

England into the bosom of the catholic church. The Pope, Innocent the XIth, very prudently advised the King not to let a schismatic, whose conduct was completely despicable, what reputation he might acquire in Spain was wholly insignificant. The Spanish ambassador, Komarbo, deeming the cause of his Majesty to be very requisite for the support of Spain, used the freedom to make several remonstrances. He observed how busily the priests appeared at court, and advised the King not to assent with so great facility to their dangerous counsels. He said, “the custom of Spain,” replied James, “for the King to consult with his councillors?” “Yes,” said the ambassador, “and this too that very reason our affairs forced to do.”

James gave hopes on his accession, that he would hold the balance equally more steadily than his predecessor; and that France, instead of rendering herself subservient to her ambitious projects, would now meet with strong opposition in that Kingdom. Besides applying himself to business with great industry, he showed jealous of national honour, and expressed great care, that no more respect should be paid the French ambassador than his own received at Paris. But these appearances were not fully seconded; and he found himself by degrees under the necessity of falling into an union, at least of preserving peace, with the great Marquis, who, by his power as well as his zeal, found himself capable of striking hard in the projects formed for promoting the catholic religion in England.

Notwithstanding the King's prejudices, all the chief offices of the Crown remained still in the hands of Protestants. Rochester was lord high treasurer; his brother Clarendon lord chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the Queen; Mandelbry secretary of state; Halifax president of the council. This new man had stood in opposition to the King during the last years of Charles's reign; and when he attended, on the accession, to make some apology for his late conduct, James very generously told him, that he would forget every thing that was past except his behaviour during the exclusion bill. In other respects, his government appeared not so different from that of his father. When the principal excise officers went to pay their respects to the new sovereign, they either were not admitted, or were received very coldly, and in some cases with threats. This conduct might be the consequence, which the King too much affected, of his envy. But by this means it was thought England could not be the quarrel of a duke of York; but that the people might be made either of his party or his enemy.

On his accession, the King was very tender of his character; and in many new laws for a more strict and more vigilant government, and for the more exacting of the laws, he could not practise an unenviable course of administration. We are not indeed to look for the springs of his administration so much in his religion and

Chap. I.
1635.

chief officers of state; as in his own temper, and in the character of those persons, with whom he secretly consulted. The Queen had great influence over him; a woman of spirit, whose conduct had been very popular, till she arrived at that high dignity. She was much governed by the priests, especially the jesuits; and as these were also the King's favourites, all public measures were taken originally from the suggestions of these men, and bore evident marks of their ignorance in government, and of the violence of their religious zeal.

THE King however had another attachment, seemingly not very consistent with this devoted regard to his Queen and to his priests: It was to Mrs. Sedley, whom he soon after created countess of Dorchester, and who expected to govern him with the same authority, which the dutchess of Portsmouth had possessed during the former reign. But the King, who had entertained the ambition of converting his people, was told, that the regularity of his life ought to correspond to the sanctity of his intentions; and he was prevailed with, at first, to remove Mrs. Sedley from Court: A resolution in which he had not the courage to persevere. Good agreement between the mistress and the confessor of Princes is not commonly a difficult matter to compass: But in the present case these two potent engines of command were found very incompatible. Mrs. Sedley, who possessed all the wit and ingenuity of her father, Sir Charles, made the priests and their councils the perpetual objects of her ridicule; and it is not to be doubted, but they, on their part, redoubled their exhortations with their penitent to break off so criminal an attachment.

HOWEVER little inclination the King, as well as his Queen and priests, might bear to an English Parliament, it was absolutely necessary, at the beginning of a reign, to summon that assembly. The low condition, into which the Whigs or country party had fallen during the last years of Charles's reign, the odium under which they laboured on account of the Rye-house conspiracy; these causes made that party meet with little success in the new elections. The general resignation too of the charters had made the corporations extremely dependant; and the recommendations of the Court, tho' little assisted, at that time, by pecuniary influence, were become very prevalent. The new House of Commons therefore consisted almost entirely of zealous Tories and churchmen; and were of consequence strongly inclined, by their affections, to comply with the measures of the Crown.

A Parliament

THE discourse, which the King made to the Parliament, was more fitted to work on their fears than their affections. He repeated indeed, and with great solemnity, the promise which he had made before the privy council, of governing according to the laws, and of preserving the established religion: But at the same time he

15th of May.

told

told them, that he justly supposed they would little less revenue, and during
 his life too, as in the times of Charles I. "I might use many arguments," said he,
 "to enforce this demand, the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the ne-
 cessity of the Crown, and that of being of the government itself, which I must
 not fail to be precarious: But I am assured, that your own consideration
 and your sense of what is just and real will suggest to you whatever on
 this occasion might be enlarged upon. There is indeed one popular argument,"
 added he, "which may be urged against compliance with my demands: Men
 may think, that by feeding me from taxes to come with false supplies as they
 think convenient, they will better secure frequent meetings of Parliament: But
 as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you,
 that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that
 the best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well."

It was easy to interpret this language of the King. He plainly intimated,
 that he had resources in his prerogative for supporting the government, independ-
 ant of their supplies; and that so long as they complied with his demands, he
 would have recourse to them; but that any ill usage on their part would set him
 free from those measures of government, which he seemed to regard more as
 voluntary than as necessary. It must be confessed, that no Parliament in England
 was ever placed in a more critical situation, nor where more forcible arguments
 could be urged, either for their opposition or compliance.

It was said on the one hand, that jealousy of royal power was the very basis of
 the English constitution, and the principle to which the nation was beholden for all
 that liberty, which they enjoy above the subjects of other monarchies. That this
 jealousy, tho', at different periods, it may be more or less intent, can never safely
 be laid asleep, even under the best and wisest Princes. That the character of the
 present Sovereign afforded cause for the highest vigilance, by reason of the arbi-
 trary principles, which he had imbibed; and still more, by reason of his religious zeal,
 which it is impossible for him ever to gratify, without assuming more authority than
 the constitution allows him. That power is to be watched in its very first encroach-
 ments; nor is any thing ever gained by timidity and submission. That every con-
 cession adds new force to usurpation; and at the same time, by discovering the
 dastardly dispositions of the people, inspires it with new courage and enterprise.
 That as arms were intrusted altogether in the hands of the Prince, no check re-
 mained upon him but the dependant condition of his revenue; a security therefore
 which it would be the most egregious folly to abandon. That all the other barriers,
 which, of late years, had been erected against arbitrary power, would be found,
 without this capital article, to be rather pernicious and destructive. That new

Chap. I.
1685.

limitations in the constitution stimulated the Monarch's inclination to surmount the laws, and required frequent meetings of Parliament, in order to repair all the breaches, which either time or violence may have made upon that complicated fabric. That recent experience during the reign of the late King, a Prince who wanted neither prudence nor moderation, had sufficiently proved the solidity of all these maxims. That his Parliament, having rashly fixed his revenue for life, and at the same time repealed the triennial bill, found that they themselves were no longer of importance, and that liberty, not protected by national assemblies, was exposed to every outrage and violation. And that the more openly the King made an unreasonable demand, the more obstinately ought it to be refused; since it is evident, that his purpose in making it cannot possibly be justifiable.

ON the other hand it was urged, that the rule of watching the very first encroachments of power could only have place, where the opposition to it might be regular, peaceful and legal. That tho' the refusal of the King's present demand might seem to be of this nature, yet in reality it involved consequences, which led much farther than at first sight might be apprehended. That the King in his speech had plainly intimated, that he had resources in his prerogative, which, in case of opposition from Parliament, he thought himself fully intitled to employ. That if the Parliament openly discovered an intention of reducing him to dependance, matters must presently be brought to a crisis, at a time the most favourable to his cause, which his most sanguine wishes could ever have promised him. That if we cast our eyes abroad, to the state of affairs on the continent, to the situation of Scotland and Ireland; or, what is of more importance, if we consider the disposition of men's minds at home, every circumstance would be found adverse to the cause of liberty. That the country party, during the late reign, by their violent, and in many respects unjustifiable measures in Parliament, by their desperate attempts out of Parliament, had exposed their principles to public hatred, and had excited extreme jealousy in all the Royalists and zealous churchmen, who now formed the bulk of the nation. That it would not be acceptable to that party to see this King worse treated than his brother in point of revenue, or any attempts made to keep the Crown in dependance. That they thought Parliaments as liable to abuse as Monarchy, and desired not to see things in a situation, where the King could not, if he found it requisite, either prorogue or dissolve them. That if the present Parliament, by making great concessions, could gain the King's confidence, and engage him to observe the promises now given them, every thing would by gentle methods succeed to their wishes. That if, on the contrary, after such instances of compliance, he formed any design on the liberties and religion of the nation, he would in the eyes of all mankind render himself entirely inexcusable,

and

and the whole people would join in opposition to it. That if it were attempted twice, and there was therefore the greater necessity of waiting till time and accidents had prepared the minds of the nation for it. That the King's prejudices in favour of popery, and in the new dispensation, were so far from removing, that they rendered the connexion inseparable betwixt the national religion and national liberty. And that if any illegal attempt were attempted against the church, which was at present the chief security of the Crown, would surely catch the alarm, and would too easily excite the people to an effectual resistance.

These last reasons, fortified by the prejudices and affections of party, prevailed in Parliament; and the Commons, besides thanks for the King's speech, voted unanimously, that they would settle on the present King during his life all the revenue enjoyed by the late King at the time of his decease. That they might not detract from this generosity by any symptoms of distrust, they also voted unanimously, that the House entirely relied on His Majesty's royal word and repeated declarations to support the religion of the church of England: But they added, that that religion was dearer to them than their lives. The speaker, in presenting the revenue-bill, took care to inform the King of the Commons' vote with regard to religion; but could not, by so signal a proof of confidence, extort from him one word, in favour of that religion, on which, he told his Majesty, they set so high a value. Notwithstanding the grounds of suspicion, which this fierce assertion afforded, the House continued in the same liberal disposition. The King having demanded a farther supply for the navy and other purposes, they voted three duties on wines and vinegar, which had been once enjoyed by the late King; and they added some impositions on tobacco and sugar. This grant amounted to the whole to about six hundred thousand pounds a year.

The House of Lords were in a humour not less violent. They even went some lengths towards breaking in pieces all the remains of the popular party, that once formidable engine of big try and treason.

A quarrel before the meeting of Parliament, Oates had been tried for several contrivements. One for fabricating, that he was present at a conference in London the twenty-fourth of April 1703: Another for writing, that name of the King was in London between the eighth and twelfth of August 1703, the same year. Never criminal, tho' he was afterwards convicted on a charge of this nature. Two and twenty persons were indicted for the same. Oates, most of them men of credit and ability, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into the feminary about Christmas last, to prepare a rebellion, and had not been arrested but one night, till the morning of the execution. The reverend vicar, parson who of unaltered character, and the same vicar, Deibel, on the third

Chap. I.
1685.

of August, had gone to Staffordshire, where he remained till the middle of September; and, what some years before would have been regarded as a very material circumstance, nine of these witnesses were Protestants of the church of England. Oates's sentence was to be fined a thousand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The impudence of the man supported itself under the conviction, and his courage under the punishment. He made solemn appeals to Heaven, and protestations of the veracity of his testimony: Tho' the whipping was so cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the Court to put him to death by that punishment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover: And he lived to King William's reign; when he had a pension of four hundred pounds a year conferred on him. A considerable number still adhered to him in his distresses, and regarded him as the martyr of the protestant cause. The populace were affected with the sight of a punishment, more severe than is commonly exercised in England. And the sentence of perpetual imprisonment was esteemed illegal.

THE conviction of Oates's perjury was taken notice of by the House of Peers. Besides freeing the popish lords, Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, from the former impeachment by the Commons, they went so far as to vote a reversal of Stafford's attainder, on account of the falshood of that evidence, on which he had been condemned. This bill fixed so deep a stain on the former proceedings of the exclusionists, that it met with great opposition among the Lords; and it was at last, after one reading, dropped by the Commons. Tho' the reparation of injustice be the second honour, which a nation can attain; the present emergence seemed very improper for granting so full a justification of the catholics, and throwing so signal an imputation on the Protestants.

Monmouth's
evasion.

THE course of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival on the west coast with three ships from Holland. No sooner was this intelligence conveyed to the Parliament, than they voted, that they would adhere to his Majesty with their lives and fortunes. They passed a bill of attainder against Monmouth: and they granted a supply of four hundred thousand pounds for suppressing this rebellion. After having thus strengthened the hands of the King, they adjourned themselves.

MONMOUTH, when ordered to depart the kingdom, during the late reign, had retired to Holland; and as it was well-known, that he was still much favoured by his indulgent father, all marks of honour and distinction were bestowed upon him by the Prince of Orange. After the accession of James, the Prince thought proper to dismiss Monmouth and all his followers; and that illustrious fugitive

retired.

retired to Brussels. Finding himself still pursued by the King's severity, he was pushed, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a very rash and premature attempt upon England. He saw that the King had lately mounted the Throne, not only without opposition, but seemingly with the good will and affection of his subjects. A Parliament was sitting, which discovered the greatest disposition to comply with the Court, and whose adherence to the Crown, he knew, would give great sanction and authority to all public measures. The grievances of this reign were hitherto inconsiderable; and the people were not as yet in a disposition to remark them with great severity. All these considerations occurred to Monmouth; but such was the impatience of his followers, such the precipitate humour of Argyle, who set out for Scotland a little before him, that no reason could be attended to; and this unhappy man was drove upon his fate.

The imprudence, however, of this enterprize did not at first appear. Tho' on his landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, he had scarce a hundred followers; so popular was his name, that in four days he had assembled above two thousand horse and foot. They were indeed, almost all of them, the lowest of the people; and his declaration was chiefly calculated to hit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigotted of the whig-party. He called the King, Duke of York; and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and of Essex, nay the poisoning the late King. And he invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

The duke of Albemarle, son to him who had restored the Royal Family, summoned together the militia of Devonshire to the number of 4000 men, and took post at Axminster, in order to oppose the rebels; but observing, that his troops bore a great affection to Monmouth, he thought proper to retire. Monmouth, tho' he had formerly given many signal proofs of personal courage, had not the vigour of mind requisite for an undertaking of this nature. From an ill-grounded diffidence of his men, he neglected to attack Albemarle; an easy enterprize, by which he might both have acquired credit and supplied himself with arms. Lord Grey, who commanded his horse, discovered himself to be a notorious coward; yet such was the fortiness of Monmouth's nature, that Grey was still continued in his command. Fletcher of Salton, a Scotchman, a person of signal probity and integrity, had been engaged by his republican principles in this enterprize, and commanded the cavalry together with Grey: But being insulted by one, who had newly joined the army, and whose horse he had in a hurry made use of, he was prompted by passion, to which he was much subject, to discharge a pistol at the man; and he killed him on the spot. This accident obliged him immediately to leave the camp.

Chap. I.
1685. and the loss of so gallant an officer was a great prejudice to Monmouth's enterprise.

THE next station of the rebels was Taunton, a very disaffected town, which gladly and even fondly received them, and re-inforced them with considerable numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours of their handiwork, together with a copy of the bible. Monmouth was here persuaded to take upon him the title of King, and assert the legitimacy of his birth; a claim, which he advanced in his first declaration, but whose discussion he was determined, he then said, during some time to postpone. His numbers had now increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many, who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome; and was proclaimed in all these places: But forgetting, that such desperate enterprises can only be rendered successful by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languish, without attempting any considerable undertaking.

WHILE Monmouth, by his imprudent and ill-timed caution, was thus wasting time in the west, the King employed himself in making preparations to oppose him. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland: The army was considerably augmented: And regular forces, to the number of 3000 men, were dispatched under the command of Feversham and Churchill, in order to check the progress of the rebels.

MONMOUTH, observing that no considerable men joined him, finding that an insurrection which was projected in the city had not taken place, hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken; sunk into such despondency, that he had once resolved to withdraw himself, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. His followers expressed more courage than their leader, and seemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune. The negligent disposition made by Feversham, invited Monmouth to attack the King's army at Sedgemoor near Bridgewater; and his men in this action showed what a native courage and a principle of duty, even when unassisted by discipline, is able to perform. They made great impression on the veteran forces; drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at last have obtained a victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Grey prevented it. After a contest of three hours, the rebels gave way; and were followed with great slaughter. About 1500 fell in the battle and pursuit. And thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterprise, rashly undertaken, and feebly conducted.

MONMOUTH

5th of July,
Monmouth
defeated.

THIS victory, obtained by the King in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been prudently managed, have tended much to encrease his power and authority. But by reason of the cruelty, with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity, which it afterwards occasioned, it was a principal cause of his sudden ruin and downfall.

SUCH arbitrary principles had the Court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty prisoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. This remonstrance however did not stop the savage nature of colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his habitudes with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in Europæan and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink to the King's health, or to the queen's, or to judge Jefferies's. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them music to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at every interval, whether he repented of his crime: But the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding all the past, he would still willingly engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One story, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms, which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: But after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, showed her from the window her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanged on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for his execution. Rage and despair and indignation took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. The whole inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live on free quarter; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a more particular manner by their outrages.

By

Chap. I.
1685.

Cruelty of colonel Kirke.

Chap. I.
1685.

prisoner plead, that these criminals had been put into no proclamation, had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the sentence of some legal court was passed upon him: That it appeared not by any proof, that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth: That tho' she might be obnoxious on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no person in England had shed more tears for that fatal event, in which her husband had unfortunately borne too great a share: And that the same principles, which she herself had ever embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had, at that very time, sent him to fight against those rebels, whom she was now accused of harbouring. Tho' these arguments moved not the inhuman Jefferies, they had influence on the jury. Twice they seemed inclined to bring in a favourable verdict: They were as often sent back with menaces and reproaches; and at last were constrained to give sentence against the prisoner. Notwithstanding all applications for pardon, the cruel sentence was executed. The King said, that he had given Jefferies a promise not to pardon her: An excuse, which could serve only to aggravate the blame against himself.

ONE might have hoped, that, by all these bloody executions, a rebellion, so precipitate, so ill-supported, and of such short duration, would have been sufficiently expiated: But nothing could satiate the spirit of rigour, which possessed the administration. Even those multitudes, who received pardon, were obliged to atone for their guilt by fines, which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of payment, they were condemned to cruel whippings or severe imprisonments. Nor could the innocent escape the hands, equally rapacious as cruel, of the chief justice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonshire, being thrown into prison, and terrified with the severe and arbitrary measures, which at that time met with no controul, was obliged to buy his liberty of Jefferies at the price of fifteen thousand pounds; tho' he could never so much as learn the crime of which he was accused.

GOODENOUGH, the seditious under-sheriff of London, who had been engaged in the most bloody and desperate part of the Rye-house conspiracy, was taken prisoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and was resolved to save his own life, by an accusation of Cornish, the sheriff, whom he knew to be extremely obnoxious to the Court. Colonel Rumsley joined him in the accusation; and the prosecution was so hastened, that the prisoner was tried, condemned, and executed in the space of a week. The perjury of the witnesses appeared immediately after; and the King seemed to regret the execution of Cornish. He granted his estate to his family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment.

THE injustice of this sentence against Cornish, was not required to disgust the nation against the Court: The continued rigour and cruelty of the other executions had already impressed an universal hatred towards the ministers of justice, attended with a compassion for the unhappy sufferers, who, as they had been seduced into this crime by mistaken principles, bore their punishment with the spirit and zeal of martyrs. The people might have been willing, on this occasion to distinguish between the King and his ministers: But care was taken to prove, that they had done nothing but what was agreeable to their master. Justice, on his return, was immediately, for those eminent services, created a peer; and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. No body could then doubt that the King intended to rule more by fear than love, and that he was not averse to the cruelties which had been practised.

We must now take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland; where the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth. Immediately after the King's accession, a Parliament had been summoned at Edinburg; and all affairs were there conducted by the duke of Queensbury the commissioner, and the earl of Perth the chancellor. The former had resolved to make an entire surrender of the liberties of his country; but was determined still to adhere to its religion: The latter retained no scruples of paying court even by the sacrifice of both. But no courtier, even the most prostitute, could go farther than the Parliament itself towards a resignation of their liberties. In a vote, which they called an offer of duty, after adopting the fabulous history of an hundred and eleven Scotch Monarchs, they acknowledged, that all these Princes, by the first and fundamental law of the state, had been vested with a full and absolute authority. They declared their dislike of all principles and positions, derogatory to the King's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power, of which none, they said, whether single persons or collective bodies, can participate, but in dependence on him and by commission from him. They promised, that the whole nation, both sixty and fifteen, should be in readiness for his Majesty's service, where and as often as it should be his royal pleasure to employ them. And they annexed the whole extent both of inland and foreign commodities for ever to the Crown.

All the other acts of this assembly favoured of the same spirit. They declared the High Court of Justice for any person to render the oath tendered by the crown void, and the violation of the covenant, subjected a person to the same penalty. The dispensation of manors, advowsons, was made punishable with death and confiscation. Even the refusal to give testimony, either in civil or criminal cases, was made punishable, and the refusal to give testimony in any of the above cases, was made the sign of an infidel. The only exception, that was made, was, that

Chap. I. abject fervility of the Scotch nation during this period but the arbitrary severity of
1685. the administration.

Argyle's in-
vasion,

It was in vain, that Argyle summoned a nation, so lost to all sense of liberty, so degraded by repeated indignities, to rise in vindication of their violated laws and privileges. The greater part of those who declared for him, were his own vassals; men, who, if possible, were still more sunk in slavery than the rest of the nation. He arrived, after a prosperous voyage, in Argyleshire, attended by some fugitives from Holland; and among the rest, by Sir Patric Hume, a man of mild dispositions, who had been driven to this extremity by a continued train of oppression. The privy council was apprized of Argyle's intentions. The whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thousand men, were already in arms; and a third part of them, with all the regular forces, were on their march to oppose him. All the considerable gentry of his clan were thrown into prison. And two ships of war were on the coast to watch his motions. Under all these discouragements he yet made a shift, partly from terror, partly from affection, to collect and arm a body of about two thousand five hundred men; but soon found himself surrounded on all sides with insuperable difficulties. His arms and ammunition were seized: His provisions cut off: The marquess of Athole pressed him on one side; lord Charles Murray on another; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dunbarton met him in front. His followers daily fell off from him; but Argyle, resolute to persevere, broke at last with the shattered remains of his troops into the disaffected part of the low countries, which he had endeavoured to allure to him by declarations for the covenant. No person showed either courage or inclination to join him; and his small and still decreasing army, after wandering about for a little time, was at last defeated and dissolved without an enemy. Argyle himself was seized and carried to Edinburgh; where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed. He suffered upon the former unjust sentence, which had been passed upon him. The rest of his followers either escaped or were pardoned; all except Rombold and Ayloffe, two Englishmen, who had attended him on this expedition.

defeat, :

and execu-
tion.

9th of No-
vember.
A Parliament.

THE King was so elated with this continued tide of prosperity, that he began to undervalue even an English Parliament, at all times formidable to his family; and from his speech to both Houses, whom he had assembled early in the winter, he seemed to think himself exempted from all rules of prudence or necessity of dissimulation. He plainly told them, that the militia, which had formerly been so much magnified, was now found, by the experience of the last rebellion, to be altogether useless; and he required a new supply, in order to maintain those additional forces, which he had levied. He also took notice, that he had employed a

great many catholic officers, and that he had, in their return, dispensed with the law, requiring the test to be taken by every one who held any military office. And to cut short all opposition, he declared, that, having regard to the benefit of their service during such times of danger, he was determined, never to expose them afterwards to disgrace, nor humbly to solicit their return, to the want of their assistance.

Such violent aversion did this Parliament bear to opposition, that it had been intitled of the consequence. Attending any breach with the King, it is probable, had he practis'd his dispensing power with a desire to settle his inquiries would have been made, and time might have been employ'd in this dangerous exercise of the prerogative. But to invade the consciences of men, to threaten their religion, to establish a standing army, and even to support them by their concurrence, to contribute towards all these measures, was to the breach of their patience, and they began, for the first time, to display some small remains of English spirit and generosity. When the King's speech was taken into consideration by the Commons, many severe reflections were cast upon the present measures; and the House was with seeming diffidence, employ'd in a general vote, that they would grant some supply. But their business being a business, which could alone render them acceptable to the King, they proceeded to examine the dispensing power; and they voted an address to the King against it. Before this address was presented, they remanded the petition for a supply; and as one million two hundred thousand pounds were demanded by the Court, and two hundred thousand pounds proposed by the petitioners, a sum was chosen, and seven hundred thousand pounds, after some delay, was at last voted. The address against the dispensing power was express'd in the most respectful and submissive manner; yet was it very ill received by the King, as his answer contained a flat denial, utter'd with great warmth and vehemence. The Commons were so daunted with this reply, that they kept silence a fortnight; and when Coke, member for Derby, rose up and said, "The people were all Englishmen, and not to be frighted with a few hard words." So bold an appeal, and in that assembly, often for retractory and mutinous, that it provok'd the King to the Tower for bluntly expressing a new address, or a remonstrance. From the Tower, without fixing a day for the consideration of his Majesty's answer, they met at their next meeting, they very submissively presented to the King their petition for a supply, and even went so far as to establish a subsidy for provision of victuals, for six years and a half. The King, then, without any resistance, and without any blood or violence, obtained a total victory over all the Commons, and he had the advantage for their liberties, now exposed to manifest danger, to propose a new supply.

Chap. I.
1685.

additional revenue to the crown, and rendering it in some degree independent, contributed to encrease those imminent dangers, with which they had so good reason to be alarmed.

THE next opposition came from the House of Peers, which has not commonly taken the lead on these occasions, and even from the bench of bishops, whence the Court usually expects the greatest complaisance and submission. The upper House had been engaged, in the first days of the session, to give general thanks for the King's speech; by which compliment they were understood, according to the practice of that time, to have acquiesced in every part of it: Yet notwithstanding that step, Compton, bishop of London, in his own name and that of his brethren, moved that a day should be appointed for taking the speech into consideration: He was seconded by Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt. Jefferies, the chancellor, opposed this motion; and seemed inclined to use in that House the same brutal arrogance, to which on the bench he had so long been accustomed: But he was soon taught to know his place; and he proved, by his behaviour, that insolence, when checked, naturally sinks into meanness and cowardice. The bishop of London's motion prevailed.

THE King might reasonably have presumed, that even if the Peers should so far recover courage as to make an application against his dispensing power, the same steady answer, which he had given the Commons, would make them relapse into the same timidity; and he might by that means have obtained a very considerable supply, without making any concessions in return. But so imperious was his temper, so lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, so violent the schemes suggested by his own bigotry and that of his priests; that, without any delay, without waiting for any farther provocation, he immediately proceeded to a prorogation. He continued the Parliament during a year and a half by four more prorogations; but having in vain tried by separate applications to break the obstinacy of the leading members, he at last dissolved that assembly. And as it was plainly impossible for him to find among his protestant subjects a set of men more devoted to royal authority, it was universally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern entirely without Parliaments.

NAVIK King mounted the throne of England with greater advantages than James; nay, possessed greater facility, if that were any advantage, of rendering himself and his posterity absolute: But all these fortunate circumstances tended only, by his own misconduct, to bring more sudden ruin upon him. The nation seemed disposed of themselves to resign their liberties into his hands, had he not at the same time, made an attempt upon their religion: And he might even have succeeded in surmounting at once their liberties and religion, had he conducted his

his schemes with common prudence and dilation. Openly to declare to the Parliament, so early in his reign, his intention to dispense with the tests, the great barrier against popery, struck an universal alarm thro' the nation, intirely into the church, which had hitherto been the chief support of Monarchy; and even disgusted the army, by whose means alone he could now propose to govern. The former horror against popery was revived by polemic books and sermons; and in every dispute the victory seemed to be gained by the protestant critics, who were heard with more favourable ears, and who conducted the controversy with more learning and eloquence. But another incident happened at the same time, which tended extremely to excite the animosity of the nation against the catholic communion.

Lewis the fourteenth, after having long harassed and molested the Protestants, at last revoked entirely the edict of Nantz; which had been enacted by Harry the fourth for securing them the exercise of their religion; which had been declared irrevocable; and which, during the experience of near a century, had been attended with no sensible inconvenience. All the miseries, indignities and persecutions, were exercised against those unhappy religions; who became obstinate in proportion to the oppressions which they suffered, and either covered under a feigned conversion a more violent abhorrence to the catholic communion, or sought among foreign nations for that liberty, of which they were bereaved in their native country. Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported, together with immense sums of money, the secrets and manufactures, which had chiefly tended hitherto to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every where the most tragical accounts of the tyranny, exercised against them, and revived among the Protestants all those sentiments of the Liberty and persecution against popery, to which so many incidents of all ages had given too true a foundation. Near fifty thousand refugees fled over into England, and as they were driven from their representation to render the utmost honour and respect to popery, which they apprehended to be maintained by the King for the abolition of the protestant religion. When a Prince of French lineage and of a really independent mind Lewis could be engaged, by the necessity of a religious alliance, to give provocation, to embrace the catholic communion, the protestant states; what they desired, they asked, from James, and he complied in the year 1701. He was already been married to a protestant princess, and while she lived he could not think of contracting a second marriage; but she died, and he was obliged to marry Anne, the second daughter of the late King of France, who was a catholic. This new alliance, more than any other, had the effect to excite the animosity of the nation. All these symptoms of a declining empire, and a declining monarchy, opposed to

Chap. I. the avowed principles of his sect, and believed by the severe administration, which
1685. he himself had exercised against the Nonconformists in Scotland.

1685. The smallest approach towards the introduction of popery, must, in the present disposition of the people, have afforded reason of jealousy; much more so wide a step as that of dispensing with the tests, the sole security which the nation, being disappointed of the exclusion-bill, found provided against those dreaded innovations. Yet was the King resolute to persevere in his purpose; and having failed in bringing over the Parliament, he made an attempt, with more success, for establishing the dispensing power, by a verdict of his judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, had accepted a commission of colonel; and directions were given to his coachman to prosecute him for the penalty of five hundred pounds, which the law, establishing the tests, had granted to informers. By this feigned action, the King hoped, both from the authority of the decision, and the reason of the thing, to put an end to all questions with regard to his dispensing power.

Dispensing
power.

It could not be expected, that the lawyers, appointed to plead against Hales, would exert great force on that occasion: But the cause was regarded with such anxiety by the public, that it has been thorowly discussed in several elaborate discourses*; and could men divest themselves of prejudice, there want not sufficient materials, on which to form a true judgment. The claim and exercise of the dispensing power is allowed to be very antient in England; and tho' it seems at first to have been copied from papal usurpations, it may plainly be traced up as high as the reign of Henry the third. In the gothic government, men were more anxious to secure their private property than to share in the public administration; and provided no innovations were attempted on their rights and possessions, the care of executing the laws, and ensuring general safety was without jealousy entrusted to the Sovereign. Penal statutes were commonly intended to arm the Prince with more authority for that purpose; and being in the main calculated for promoting his influence and interest as first magistrate, there seemed no danger in allowing him to dispense with their execution, in such particular cases as might require an exception or indulgence. That practice had so much prevailed, that the Parliament itself had more than once acknowledged this prerogative of the Crown; particularly during the reign of Henry the fifth, when they enacted the law against aliens †, and also when they passed the statute of provisors ‡. But tho' the general

tence

* Particularly Sir Edward Herbert's defence in the State Trials, and Sir Robert Atkins's Inquiry concerning the dispensing power.

† Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. V. n. xv.

‡ Rot. Parl. 1.

Hen.

Chap. I.
1686.

famous trial of ship-money, Holborne, the popular lawyer, had, freely, and in the most express terms, made the same concession*. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of English law, had not only concurred with all other lawyers in favour of this prerogative; but seems even to believe it so inherent in the Crown, that an act of Parliament itself could not abolish it †. And he particularly observes, that no law can impose such a disability of enjoying offices as the King may not dispense with; because the King, from the law of nature, has a right to the service of all his subjects. This particular reason, as well as all the general principles, is applicable to the question of the tests; nor can the dangerous consequence of granting dispensations in that case be ever received before a court of judicature. Every prerogative of the Crown, it may be said, admits of abuse: Should the King pardon all criminals, law must be totally dissolved: should he declare and continue perpetual war against all nations, inevitable ruin must ensue: Yet these powers are entrusted to the Sovereign; and we must be contented, as our ancestors were, to depend upon his prudence and discretion in the exercise of them.

Tho' this reasoning seems founded on such principles as are usually admitted by lawyers, the people had entertained such violent prepossessions against the use, which James here made of his prerogative, that he was obliged, before he brought on Hales's cause, to displace four of the judges, Jones, Montague, Charleton and Nevil; and even Sir Edward Herbert, the chief justice, tho' a man of acknowledged virtue, yet because he here supported the pretensions of the Crown, fell under a great load of infamy. Men esteemed a dispensing, to be in effect the same with a repealing power; and they could not conceive, that less authority was requisite to repeal than to enact any statute. If one penal law was dispensed with, any other might undergo the same fate: And by what principle could even the laws, which define property, be afterwards secured from violation? The test act had ever been conceived the great barrier of the established religion under a popish successor: As such it had been insisted on by the Parliament; as such granted by the King; as such, during the debates with regard to the exclusion, recommended by the chancellor. By what magic, what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity? These questions were every where asked; and men, straitened by precedents and decisions of great authority, were reduced to question the antiquity of this prerogative itself, and to assert, that even the practice of near five centuries could not bellow on it sufficient authenticity ‡. It was not considered, that

* State Trials, vol. v. first edit. p. 171.

† Sir Robert Atkins, p. 21.

‡ Sir Edward Coke's Reports, twelfth report, p. 18.

Chap. I.
1706. a sacrifice of their religion. Sunderland, some time after, scrupled not to gain favour at this price. Rochester, the treasurer, tho' the King's brother-in-law, yet, because he refused to give this instance of complaisance, was turned out of his office: The Treasury was put in commission; and Bellasis was placed at the head of it. All the courtiers were disgusted, even such as had little regard to religion. The dishonour, as well as distrust, attending renegades, made most men resolve, at all hazards, to adhere to their antient faith.

State of Scot-
land. In SCOTLAND, James's zeal for profelytism was more successful. The earls of Murray, Perth, and Melfort were brought over to the Court religion; and the two latter noblemen made use of a very courtly reason for their conversion: They pretended, that the papers, found in the late King's cabinet, had opened their eyes, and had convinced them of the preference due to the Catholic religion. Queensberry, who discovered not the same complaisance, fell into total disgrace, notwithstanding his former services, and the unlimited sacrifices, which he had made to the measures of the Court. These merits could not even ensure him of safety against the vengeance, to which he stood exposed. His rival, Perth, who had been ready to sink under his superior interest, now acquired entire dominion; and all the complaints, exhibited against him, were totally obliterated. His faith, according to a saying of Halifax, had made him whole.

State of Ire-
land. BUT it was in Ireland chiefly, that the mask was wholly taken off; and that the King thought himself at liberty to proceed according to the full extent of his bigotted zeal, and his arbitrary violence. Ormond was recalled; and tho' the private and lord Granard, two protestants, still possess'd the authority of justices, the whole power was lodged in the hands of Talbot, the general, soon after created earl of Tyrconnel; a man, who, from the blindness of his prejudices and fury of his temper, was transported with the most immeasurable ardour for the Catholic cause. After the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were given by Tyrconnel to disarm all the protestants, under pretext of securing the public peace, and keeping their arms in a few magazines for the use of the militia. Next, the army was new-modelled; and great numbers of officers were dismissed, because it was pretended, that they or their fathers had served under Cromwel and the Republic. The injustice was not confined to them. Near three hundred officers more were afterwards broke; tho' many of them had purchased their commissions: About four or five thousand private soldiers, because they were Protestants, were dismissed; and being stripp'd even of their regimentals, were turned out to starve in the streets. While these violences were carrying on, Clarendon, who had been named lord lieutenant, came over; but he quickly found, that, as he had refused to give the King the d'stred pledge of fidelity, by changing

Chap. I.
1685.

hended. But in the present delicate and interesting situation of the church, there was little reason to expect, that orders, founded on no legal authority, would be rigidly obeyed by preachers, who saw no security to themselves but in preserving the confidence and regard of the people. Instead of avoiding controversy, according to the King's admonition, the preachers every where declaimed against popery; and among the rest, Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, particularly distinguished himself, and affected to throw great contempt on those who had been induced to change their religion by such pitiful arguments as the Romish missionaries could suggest. This topic, being supposed to reflect on the King, gave great offence at court; and positive orders were issued to the bishop of London, his diocesan, immediately to suspend Sharpe, till his Majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The prelate replied, that he could not possibly obey these commands, and that he was not empowered, in such a summary manner, to inflict any punishment even upon the greatest delinquent. But neither these obvious reasons, nor the most dutiful submissions both of the prelate and of Sharpe himself, could appease the court. The King was determined to proceed with the utmost violence in this cause. The bishop himself he resolved to punish for disobedience to his arbitrary commands; and the expedient which he employed for that purpose, was of a nature at once the most illegal and most alarming.

AMONG all the engines of authority formerly employed by the Crown, none had been more dangerous or even destructive to liberty, than the court of high commission, which, together with the star-chamber, had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of Parliament; where a clause was also inserted, prohibiting the erection, in all future times, of that court or any of a like nature. So head-long and imperious was James in his councils, that this law was esteemed no obstacle; and an ecclesiastical commission was anew issued, by which seven * commissioners were vested with full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. On this court were bestowed the same inquisitorial powers, possessed by the former court of high commission: They might proceed upon bare suspicion; and the better to set the law at defiance, it was expressly inserted in their patent itself, that they were to exercise their jurisdiction, notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary. The King's design to subdue the church was now sufficiently known; and had he been able to establish the authority of this new-erected court, his success was infallible. A more sensible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion; and happily the contest could not be
 tried

Court of ecclesiastical commission.

* The persons named were the archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft; the bishop of Durham, Crew; of Rochester, Sprat; the earl of Rochester, Sunderland, chancellor Jenkins, and lord chief justice Herbert. The archbishop refused to act, and the bishop of Cheller was substituted in his place.

Chap. I. judgment, to enact that iniquitous law against Irish cattle, found it necessary, in
1677. order to obviate the exercise of this prerogative, which they desired not at that time entirely to deny or abrogate, to call the importation of that cattle a nuisance.

Tho' the former authority of the King was great in civil affairs, it was still greater in ecclesiastical; and the whole despotic power of the popes was often believed, in virtue of his supremacy, to be devolved to him. The last Parliament of Charles the first, by depriving the King and convocation of the power of framing canons without consent of Parliament, had somewhat diminished the supposed extent of the supremacy; but still very considerable remains of it, at least very important claims, were preserved, and were occasionally made use of by the Sovereign. In 1662, Charles, pleading both the rights of his supremacy and his suspending power, had granted a general indulgence or toleration; and in 1674 he renewed the same edict: Tho' the remonstrances of his Parliament obliged him, on both occasions, to retract; and in the last instance, the triumph of law over prerogative was esteemed very great and memorable. In general, we may remark, where the exercise of the suspending power was agreeable and useful, the power itself was the less questioned: Where the exercise was thought liable to exceptions, men not only opposed it, but proceeded to deny altogether, as they had good reason, the legality of the prerogative on which it was founded.

JAMES, much more imprudent, head-strong, and arbitrary than his brother, issued anew a proclamation, suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. He was not deterred by the consideration, that this scheme of indulgence was already blasted by two fruitless attempts; and that in such a government as that of England, it was not sufficient that a prerogative be approved of by a few prejudiced lawyers and antiquarians: If it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was still exerted, the victory over national liberty was equally signal, as if obtained by the most flagrant injustice and usurpation. These two considerations indeed would rather serve to recommend this project to James; who deemed himself superior in vigour and activity to his brother, and who certainly thought, that his people enjoyed no liberties but by his royal concession and indulgence.

In order to procure a better reception for his edict of toleration, the King, finding himself opposed by the church, began to pay great court to the Dissenters; and he thought, that, by playing one party against another, he would easily obtain the victory over both; a refined policy which it much exceeded his capacity to execute. His intention was so obvious, that it was impossible for him ever to gain the sincere confidence and regard of the Nonconformists. They knew, that the genius of their religion was diametrically opposite to that of the Catholics, the
sole

Clap. I.
1087.

THE English well knew, that the King, by the constitution of their government, thought himself intitled, as indeed he was, to as ample authority in his southern, as in his northern kingdom; and therefore, tho' the declaration of indulgence published for England was more cautiously worded, they could not but be alarmed by the arbitrary treatment, to which their neighbours were exposed. It is even remarkable, that the English declaration contained clauses of a strange import. The King there promised, that he would maintain his loving subjects in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands as of any other. Men thought, that, if the full establishment of popery was not at hand, this promise was quite superfluous; and they concluded, that the King was so replete with joy on the prospect of that glorious event, that he could not, even for a moment, refrain himself from expressing it.

state of
Ireland.

BUT what afforded the most alarming prospect, was the violent, and precipitant conduct of affairs in Ireland. The furious Tyrconnel was now vested with full authority; and carried over with him as chancellor one Fitton, a man who was taken from a jail, and who had been convicted of forgery and the basest crimes, but who compensated for all his enormities by a headlong zeal for the Catholic religion. He was even heard to say from the bench, that the Protestants were all rogues, and that there was not one among forty thousand who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. The whole strain of the administration was suitable to such sentiments. The Catholics were put in possession of the council table, of the courts of judicature, of the bench of justices. In order to make them masters of the Parliament, the same violence was exercised that had been practised in England. The charters of Dublin and of all the corporations were recalled; and new charters were granted, subjecting the corporations to the absolute will of the Sovereign. The Protestant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced, and the latter sect, as they always were the majority in number, were now invested with the whole power of the kingdom. The act of settlement was the only obstacle to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyrconnel had formed a scheme for calling a Parliament, in order to reverse that act, and empower the King to bestow the whole lands of Ireland on his catholic subjects. But in this outrageous scheme he met with opposition from the moderate Catholics in the King's council. Lord Bellasis went even so far as to affirm with an oath, "that that fellow in Ireland was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." The decay of trade, from the desertion of the Protestants, was represented; the sinking of the revenue; the alarm communicated to England: And by these considerations the King's resolutions were for some time suspended; tho' it was easy to foresee, from the usual tenor of his conduct, which side would at last preponderate.

BUT

But the King was not contented with this writing, which was drawn from the imprudence of his conduct: He was resolved, that all his subjects should witness it. He publicly sent the earl of Castelnaine ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the Pope, and to receive his legations to the catholic communion. Never man, who came on to support an unchristian, met with so many neglects and even affronts, as Castelnaine. The Pope's disdain of being pleased with this forwardness, convinced, that a Christian monarch, with full consideration, could never possibly be Protestant. And James was obliged, in a violent quarrel with the French monarchy, a quarrel which rendered his interest more at the disposal of England, he bore little regard to James, whom he believed to be closely united with his most capital enemy.

Their only proof of complaisance, which the King received from his Allies, was his sending a nuncio into England, in return for the embassy. By a strict Parliament any communication with the Pope was declared high treason. Yet Charles the second did the King pay to the law, that he gave the nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor. The duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, because he refused to assist at this ceremony, was dismissed from his employments. The nuncio resided openly in London during all his reign. The most considerable bishops were publickly consecrated in the King's chapel, and that, not for the title of vicars apostolical, to exercise the episcopal functions in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay Catholics in England, were printed and dispersed by the express allowance and permission of the King. The number of clergy of that communion appeared at Court in the habits of their order, and none of them were to manifest as to haire, that, in a little time, they began to fill in great numbers the capital.

When the king, by a law in the next open parliament, declared, that he would preserve the protestant religion, he was obliged to retract from the declaration, which he had made in the second session of the same parliament, that he would preserve the protestant religion, by virtue of his prerogative, equal to any law, which should be made in that behalf, but he would gladly have taken the same declaration, if it had been made by act of parliament, and he knew, that he would then have had the assistance of the protestant parliament security to the Catholics. He had employed them to express their dissent from the law, at many private conversations, which were afterwards made publick, by every expedient that reflects on the protestant religion.

In this parliament, Charles the second, in a speech, which he made to the commons, declared, that he would preserve the protestant religion, by virtue of his prerogative, equal to any law, which should be made in that behalf, but he would gladly have taken the same declaration, if it had been made by act of parliament, and he knew, that he would then have had the assistance of the protestant parliament security to the Catholics. He had employed them to express their dissent from the law, at many private conversations, which were afterwards made publick, by every expedient that reflects on the protestant religion.

Chap. I.
1687.

whole magistracy. The church party, therefore, by whom the Crown had been hitherto so remarkably supported, and to whom the King visibly owed his own succession, were deprived of all authority; and Dissenters first in London, and afterwards in every other town, were substituted in their place. Not contented with this violent and dangerous innovation, certain regulators were appointed to examine the qualifications of electors; and directions were given them to exclude all such as adhered to the test and penal statutes*. Queries to this purpose were openly proposed in all places, in order to try the sentiments of electors, and judge of the proceedings of the future Parliament. The power of the Crown was at this time so exorbitant; the revenue, managed by James's frugality, so considerable and independant; that if he had embraced any national party, he had been ensured of infallible success, and might have carried his authority to what extent he pleased. But the Catholics, to whom he had entirely devoted himself, were not the hundredth part of the people. Even the protestant Nonconformists, whom he so much courted, were little more than the twentieth; and what was worse, reposed very little confidence in the unnatural alliance contracted with the Catholics, and in the principles of toleration, which, contrary to their usual practice in all ages, seemed at present to be adopted by that sect. The King therefore, finding little hopes of success, protracted the election of a Parliament, and proceeded still in the exercise of his illegal and arbitrary authority.

THE whole power in Ireland had been committed to the Catholics. In Scotland, all the ministers, whom the King chiefly trusted, were converts to that religion. Every great office in England, civil and military, was gradually transferred from the Protestants. Rochester and Clarendon, the King's brothers-in-law, tho' they had been ever faithful to his interests, could not, by all their services, atone for their adherence to the national religion; and had been dismissed from their employments. The prostitute Jefferies himself, tho' he had sacrificed honour and justice and humanity to the Court; yet because he refused also to give up his religion, was very fast declining in favour and interest. Nothing now remained but to open the door in the church and universities to the intrusion of the Catholics. It was not long before the King made this violent effort; and by constraining the prelacy and established church to seek protection in the principles of liberty, he at last left himself entirely without friends and adherents.

* The elections in some places, particularly in York, were transferred from the people to the magistrates, who, by the new charter, were all named by the Crown. See John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 201. This was in reality nothing different from the King's naming the members. The same act of authority had been employed in all the burroughs of Scotland.

FARINIERI, a French, well-known scholar, was recommended by the King's mandate to the University of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts; and as it was then for the University to confer that degree on persons eminent for learning, with out regard to their religious doctrine, had even a liberal Liberty, the University to the King's order, for the King's order, that a young nobleman, with the better intention, to comply. But the same day could not see that there was a great difference between the compliance, and the consent of the King, and when he returned on to Cambridge, would naturally be the number that he returned for him. They therefore refused to obey the King's mandate, and were sent to appear before the court of ecclesiastical commissioners. The vicar-chancellor was suspended; but as the university chose a man of spirit to succeed him, the King thought proper for the present to drop his pretensions.

THE attempt upon the university of Oxford was prosecuted with more insupportable obliquity, and was attended with more important consequences. The university had lately in their unanimous decree made a solemn profession of passive obedience and non-resistance; and they would show their fidelity, when their turn came to practise that doctrine, which, tho' in its original extent, it be contrary both to reason and to nature, is apt to mix with the most essential principles from the latter principle. The professor of Magdalen college, one of the richest towns in England, dying about this time, a man known for his piety and firmness, a new convert, but one, who, besides his religion, had no other respects, tho' qualified as required by the statutes for accepting that office. The fellows of the college, in a humble yet submissive application to the king, desired that his mandate, that he should be preferred as a reward, the day after the death of the deceased, that he might be allowed to practise his religion, tho' it was contrary to the laws of the country. Dr. H. was accordingly chosen, and at the first assembly of the university, he made a very proper and judicious speech, in which he declared, that he would not be prevailed upon to do any thing, that was contrary to the laws of the country, tho' it might be necessary to do so, in order to preserve the peace of the kingdom. He then proposed, that the king should be desired to give him a dispensation, that he might be allowed to practise his religion, tho' it was contrary to the laws of the country. The king, who was then in the country, was informed of this, and gave him a dispensation, that he might be allowed to practise his religion, tho' it was contrary to the laws of the country. The king, who was then in the country, was informed of this, and gave him a dispensation, that he might be allowed to practise his religion, tho' it was contrary to the laws of the country.

Chap. I.
1687.

ing his life time, deprive him of his office, and substitute any other in his place: that, even if there was a vacancy, Parker, by the statutes of their founder, could not be chosen; that they had all of them bound themselves by oath to observe these statutes, and never on any account to accept of a dispensation; and that the college had at all times so much distinguished itself by its loyalty, that nothing but the most invincible necessity could now oblige them to oppose his Majesty's inclinations. All these reasons availed them nothing. The president and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in possession of the office. This act of violence, of all those committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the most openly illegal and arbitrary. When the dispensing power was the most strenuously insisted on by court lawyers, it had still been allowed, that the statutes, which regard private property, could not be infringed by that prerogative: Yet in this instance it appeared, that even these were not now secure from invasion. The privileges of a college are attacked: Men are illegally dispossessed of their property, for adhering to their duty, to their oaths, and to their religion: The fountains of the church are attempted to be poisoned; nor would it be long, it was concluded, ere all ecclesiastical, as well as civil preferments, would be bestowed on such as, negligent of honour, virtue, and sincerity, basely sacrificed their faith to the reigning superstition. Such were the general sentiments; and as the universities have an intimate connexion with the ecclesiastical establishments, and mightily interest all those who have there received their education, this arbitrary proceeding begot an universal discontent against the King's administration.

THE next measure of the Court was an insult still more open on the whole ecclesiastics, and rendered the breach between the King and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is strange, that James, when he felt, from the sentiments of his own heart, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over him, should yet be so infatuated as never once to suspect, that it might possibly have a proportional authority over his subjects. Could he have profited from repeated experience, he had seen instances enough of their strong aversion towards that communion, which, from a violent, imperious disposition, he was determined, by every possible expedient, to introduce into his kingdoms.

1688.

THE King published a second declaration of indulgence, almost in the same terms with the former; and he subjoined an order, that immediately after divine service, it should be read by the clergy in all the churches. As they were known universally to disapprove of the use made of the suspending power, this clause, they thought, could be meant only as an insult upon them; and they were sensible

that,

and so prudent and cautious in its expression. As the petition was delivered him in private, he summoned them before the council; and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The bishops saw his intention, and seemed long desirous to decline answering: But being pushed by the chancellor, they at last owned the petition. On their refusal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the Crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for the seditious libel, which it was pretended, they had composed and uttered.

THE people were already aware of the danger, to which the prelates were exposed; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting and animating spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals, whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly of those blessings, which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour, by the most lowly submissive deportment; and still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure.

THEIR passage, when conducted to their trial, was, if possible, attended with greater crowds of anxious spectators. All men saw the dangerous crisis, to which affairs were reduced, and were sensible, that the issue could not possibly be put on a more favourable cause, than that in which the King had so imprudently engaged. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates stood aloof) attended the prisoners to Westminster Hall; and such crowds of gentry followed the procession, that scarce any room was left for the populace to enter. The lawyers for the bishops were Sir Robert Sawyer, Sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Trebe,

and

and Sommers. No cause, even during the prosecution of the popish plot, was ever heard with so much zeal and attention. The popular torrent, which, of itself, ran fierce and strong, was now further irritated by the opposition of the government.

The council for the high prelates, that they were allowed subjects, if they might themselves be aggrieved in any particular, to address themselves by petition to the king, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the law prescribed them, a down-bow to present petitions to the king, had long before been used. However, it was observed, that the petitioners, who were contrary to the law, was never pretended to be done by the prince and law, which would have the great mischiefs of the compliance and submission of subjects: That when any person found commands to be imposed upon him, which he could not obey, it was more respectful to offer to the Prince his reasons for refusal, than to remain in an obstinate and refractory silence: That it was no breach of duty in subjects, even though not expressly called upon, to conceive their sense of public mischiefs, if it will in every one had to intimate a concern: That the bishops in the present case were called upon, and must either express their approbation by compliance, or their disapprobation by petition: That it could be no fault on to deny the prerogative of suspending the laws; because there really was no such prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: That even if the prerogative was real, it had yet been the property disputed before the whole nation, both in Westminster-hall, and in both houses of Parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of punishing the denial of it as criminal: That the prelates, instead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his Majesty, and had even delivered their petition for secrecy, and except by the confession extorted from the subjects before the council, it was almost impossible to prove them the authors: And that though the petition was afterwards printed and dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved, that they had the least knowledge of that publication.

These reasons were convincing in themselves, and were seconded with a very powerful assistance by the evidence. Eleven some of the bishops, and ten more, who had signed the petition, declared themselves in favour of the petitioners. The names however, from what cause is not certainly known, took a very ill success, and the petitioners, desirous to be quit at one time, the whole petition, the names of the petitioners. But when it was afterwards reflected, that some of the petitioners, who were called to it, the whole petition, was so vast, that it could not be carried into the city, and that it propagated with an extraordinary velocity through the

Chap. I.
1688.

EVER since Monmouth's rebellion, the King had, every summer, encamped his army on Hounslow-heath, that he might both improve their discipline, and by so unusual a spectacle over-awe the mutinous people. A popish chapel was openly erected in the midst of the camp, and great pains taken, tho' in vain, to bring over the soldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the priests had made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the Irish officers, whom the King introduced among them, served rather, from the aversion borne them, to weaken his interest in the army. It happened that the very day, on which the bishops' trial was finished, the King had reviewed the troops, and had retired into lord Feverham, the general's, tent; when he was surprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultuous joy. He suddenly enquired the cause, and was told by Feverham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but so much the worse for them."

THE King was still determined to rush forward in the same course, where he was already, by his precipitate career, so fatally advanced. Tho' he knew, that every order of men, except a handful of Catholics, were enraged at his past measures, and still more terrified with the future prospect; tho' he saw that the same discontents had reached the army, his sole resource during the general disaffection: Yet was he incapable of changing his measures, or even of remitting his violence in the prosecution of them. He struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops: He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen, who had not read his declaration; that is, the whole church of England, two hundred excepted: He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madaura: And he is even said to have nominated the same person to the see of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compassion rather than of anger: And is really surprizing in a man, who, in other respects, was not deficient in sense and accomplishments.

10th of June.
Birth of the
Prince of
Wales.

A FEW days before the acquittal of the bishops, an event happened, which, in the King's sentiments, much overballanced all the mortifications, which he had received on that occasion. The Queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This blessing was impatiently longed for, not only by the King and Queen, but by all the zealous Catholics both abroad and at home. They saw, that the King was past middle age; and that on his death the

succession

succession must devolve on the Prince and Princess of Orange, two zealous Protestants, who would soon replace every thing on the ancient foundations. Now therefore were offered at a very high rate a male heir to the Protestants were unsatisfied, particularly on the Larento, by the daughters of Modena; and the loss was chiefly attributed to that priest's office. But in proportion as the event was agreeable to the Catholics, it increased the dislike of the Protestants, by depriving them of that agreeable fiction, on what distant prospect, in which at present they flattered themselves. Calumny even went so far as to ascribe to the King the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death support the catholic religion in his dominions. The nation almost universally believed him capable, from bigotry, of committing any crime; as they had seen, that, from like motives, he was guilty of every imprudence: And the affections of nature, they thought, would be easily sacrificed to the superior motives of propagating a catholic and orthodox faith. The present occasion was not the first, when that calumny had been propagated. In the year 1682, the Queen, then Duchess of Yorke, had been pregnant; and rumours were spread, that an imposture would, at that time, be put up on the nation: But happily, the infant proved a female, and thereby spared the party all the trouble of supporting their most improbable fiction *.

* The English nation is not so weak as to suppose, the Objections, which that time were made, of the Queen's being incapable of bearing a male child, were not at that time made; and the same calumny when once banished, should not be renewed with such success.

C H A P. II.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange.—He forms a league against France, —refuses to concur with the King, —resolves to oppose the King, —is applied to by the English. —Coalition of parties. —Prince's preparations. —Offers of France to the King, —rejected. —Supposed league with France. —General discontents. —The King retracts his measures. —Prince's declaration —The Prince lands in England. —General commotion. —Desertion of the army, —and of Prince George, —and of the Princess Anne. —King's consternation, —and flight. —General confusion. —King seized at Feversham. —Second evasion. —King's character. —Convention summoned. —Settlement of Scotland. —English convention meets. —Views of the parties. —Free conference betwixt the Houses. —Commons prevail. —Settlement of the Crown. —Manners and sciences.

1688.

WHILE every motive, civil and religious, concurred to alienate from the King every rank and denomination of men, it might be expected, that his throne would, without delay, fall to pieces by its own weight: But such is the influence of established government; so averse are men from beginning hazardous enterprises; that had not the nation received succour from abroad, affairs might long have remained in their present delicate situation, and the King might at last have prevailed in his rash, and ill concerted projects.

Conduct of
the Prince of
Orange.

THE Prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with the Lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct; agreeable to that sound understanding, with which he was so eminently endowed. He made it a maxim to concern himself very little in English affairs, and never by any measure to disgust any of the factions, or give umbrage to the Prince, who filled the throne. His natural inclination, as well as interest, led him to employ himself with assiduous industry in the affairs of the continent, and to oppose the grandeur of the French Monarch, against whom he had

long

Chap. II.
1688.

No characters are more incompatible than those of a conqueror and a persecutor; and Lewis soon found, that, besides his weakening France by the banishment of so many useful subjects, the refugees had enflamed all the protestant nations against him, and had raised him enemies, who, in defence of their religion as well as liberty, were obstinately resolved to oppose his progress. The city of Amsterdam and other towns in Holland, which had fallen into a dependence on France, being terrified with the accounts, which they every moment received, of the furious persecutions against the Hugonots, had dropped all private factions, and had entered into an entire confidence with the Prince of Orange *. The protestant Princes of the empire had formed a separate league at Magdebourg for the defence of their religion. The English were anew enraged at the blind bigotry of their Sovereign, and disposed to embrace the most desperate resolutions against him. From a view of the state of Europe during this period, it appears, that Lewis, besides fullying an illustrious reign, had wantonly by this persecution raised invincible barriers to his arms, which otherwise it had been very difficult, if not impossible, to resist.

THE Prince of Orange knew how to avail himself of all these advantages. By his intrigues and influence a league was formed at Aulbourg, where the whole empire united in its defence against the French Monarch. Spain and Holland became parties in the alliance. The accession of Savoy was afterwards obtained. Sweden and Denmark seemed to favour the same cause. But tho' these numerous states composed the greater part of Europe, the league was still deemed imperfect and unequal to its end; so long as England maintained that neutrality, in which she had hitherto persevered.

JAMES, tho' more prone to bigotry, was more sensible to his own and to national honour than his brother; and had he not been confined by the former motive, he would have maintained with more spirit the interest and independance of his kingdoms. When a prospect, therefore, appeared of promoting his religious schemes by opposing the progress of France, he was not averse to that measure; and he gave his son-in-law room to hope, that, by concurring with his views in England, he might prevail with him to second those projects, which the Prince was so ambitious of promoting.

A MORE tempting offer could not be made to a person of so enterprizing a character: But the objections to that measure, upon deliberation, appeared to him insuperable. The King, he observed, had incurred the most violent hatred of his own

* D'Avaux, 24th of July, 1681; 10th of June. 15th of October, 11th of November, 1688. vol. iv. p. 30.

Refuses to
concur with
the king.

WHEN this letter was published, as it soon was, it inspired great courage into the Protestants of all denominations, and served to keep them united in their opposition to the encroachments of the Catholics. On the other hand, the King, who was not contented with a simple toleration for his own religion, but was resolved, that it should enjoy great credit, if not an absolute superiority, was extremely disgusted, and took every occasion to express his displeasure, as well against the Prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algerine pyrates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to dispose of their prizes. He revived some complaints of the East India company with regard to the affair of Bantam*. He required the six British regiments in the Dutch service to be sent over. He began to put his navy in a formidable condition. And from all his movements, the Hollanders entertained apprehensions, that he sought only an occasion and pretext for making war upon them.

THE Prince in his turn resolved to push affairs with more vigour, and to preserve all the English Protestants in his interests, as well as maintain them firm in their present union against the Catholics. He knew, that the men of education in England were, many of them, retained in their religion more by honour than by principle†; and that, tho' every one was ashamed to be the first profelyte, yet, if the example was once set by some eminent persons, interest would every day make considerable conversions to a communion, which was so zealously promoted by the Sovereign. Dykvelt therefore was sent over as envoy to England; and the Prince gave him instructions, besides publicly remonstrating with the King on his conduct both at home and abroad, to apply in his name, after a proper manner, to every sect and denomination. To the church party he sent assurances of favour and regard, and protested, that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopal government. The Nonconformists he exhorted not to be deceived by the fallacious caresses of a popish Court, but to wait patiently, till, in the maturity of time, laws, enacted by Protestants, should give them that toleration, which, with so much reason, they had long claimed and demanded. Dykvelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers, with which their religion and liberty were so nearly threatened.

MANY of the most considerable persons, both in church and state, made secret applications to Dykvelt, and thro' him to the Prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert too, tho' a man of great expence, and seemingly of little religion, had thrown up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the Prince

* D'Arvill, 21st of January, 1687.

† Burnet.

Ch. p. II.
178.

Resolves to
oppose the
King.

Is applied to
by the King
178.

Chap. II. time laid asleep in England; and rival parties, forgetting their animosity, had secretly concurred in a design of opposing their unhappy and misguided Sovereign. 1688. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had acquired great popularity by deserting, at this time, the Catholic religion, in which he had been educated, left his regiment, mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds, and made a tender of his sword and purse to the Prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, had taken a journey for the same purpose. Lord Mordaunt was at the Hague, and pushed on the enterprize with that ardent and courageous spirit, for which he was so eminent. Even Sunderland, the King's favourite minister, is believed to have entered into a correspondence with the Prince; and at the expence of his own honour and his master's interest, to have secretly embraced a cause, which, he foresaw, was likely soon to predominate*.

THE Prince was easily determined to yield to the applications of the English, and to embrace the defence of a nation, which, during its present fears and distresses, regarded him as its sole protector. The great object of his ambition was to be placed at the head of a confederate army, and by his valour to avenge the injuries, which himself, his country, and his allies had sustained from the haughty Lewis. But while England remained under the present government, he despaired of ever forming a league, which would be able, with any probability of success, to make opposition against that powerful Monarch. The ties of affinity could not be supposed to have great influence over a person of the Prince's rank and temper; much more, as he knew, that they were at first unwillingly contracted by the King, and had never since been cultivated by any essential favours or good offices. Or should any reproach remain upon him for violating the duties of private life; the glory of delivering oppressed nations would, he hoped, be able, in the eyes of all reasonable men, to make ample compensation. He could not well expect, on the commencement of his enterprize, that it would lead him to mount the throne of England: But he undoubtedly foresaw, that its success would establish his authority in that Kingdom. And so egregious was James's temerity, that there was no advantage, so great or obvious, which that Prince's indiscretion might not afford his enemies.

THE Prince of Orange, thro'out his whole life, was peculiarly happy in the situations, in which he was placed. He saved his own country from ruin, he restored the liberties of these kingdoms, he supported the general independency of

* D'Avaux was always of that opinion. See his Negotiations 6th and 20th of May, 19th, 27th of September, 22d of November, 1688. But it is pretended, that that lord always suggested moderate counsels to the King; a sure proof, if true, of his fidelity. See his defence.

Chap. II.
1688.

States. But as the cardinal kept possession of many of the fortresses, and had applied to France for succours, the neighbouring territories were all in motion; and thus the preparations of the Dutch and their allies seemed intended merely for their own defence against the enterprizes of Lewis.

ALL the artifices, however, of the Prince could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the sagacity of the French court. D'Avaux, Lewis's envoy at the Hague, had been able, by a comparison of circumstances, to trace the purposes of the preparations in Holland; and he instantly informed his master of the discovery. Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James; and accompanied the information with a very important offer. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet; and to send over any number of troops, which James should judge requisite for his security. When this proposal was rejected, he again offered to raise the siege of Philipsbourg, to march his army into the Netherlands, and by the terror of his arms to detain the Dutch forces in their own country. This proposal met with no better reception.

Offers of
France to the
King.

Rejected.

JAMES was not, as yet, entirely convinced, that his son in law intended an invasion upon England. Fully persuaded, himself, of the sacredness of his own authority, he fancied, that a like belief had made deep impression on his subjects; and notwithstanding the strong symptoms of discontent which broke out, such an universal combination in rebellion appeared to him no way credible. His army, in which he trusted, and which he had considerably augmented, would be easily able, he thought, to repel foreign force, and to suppress any sedition among the populace. A small number of French troops, joined to these, might tend only to breed discontent; and afford them a pretext for mutinying against foreigners, so feared and so hated by the nation. A great body of auxiliaries might indeed secure him, both against an invasion from Holland, and against the rebellion of his own subjects; but would be able afterwards to reduce him to total dependence, and render his authority entirely precarious. Even the French invasion of the Low Countries might be attended with very dangerous consequences; and would suffice, in these jealous times, to revive the old suspicion of a combination against Holland, and against the protestant religion; a suspicion, which had already produced such discontents in England. These were the views suggested by Sunderland; and it must be confessed, that the reasons, on which they were founded, were sufficiently plausible; as indeed the situation, to which the King had reduced himself, was, to the last degree, delicate and perplexing.

STILL Lewis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own. By the suggestion of Skelton, the King's minister

minister at Paris, orders were sent D' Avaux to remonstrate with the States in Lewis's name against these preparations, which they were making to invade England. The strict amity, foster'd by French minister, which subsists between the two monarchs will make Lewis regard every attempt against his ally as an act of hostility against himself. This remonstrance had a very bad effect, and put the States in a dilemma. What is this a lance, they ask'd, between France and England, which has been to one or y^e consular dominions? Is it of the same nature with the former; meant for our destruction and for the extinction of the protestant religion? If so, it is high time for us to prepare for our own defence, and to oppose all those projects, which are form'd against us.

Even James was displeas'd with this officious step taken by Lewis for his service. He was not reduc'd, he said, to the condition of the cardinal of Furlenberg, oblig'd to seek the protection of France. He call'd Sackton, and threw him into the Tower for his rash conduct. He solemnly disavow'd D' Avaux's memorial, and protest'd that no alliance subsist'd between him and Lewis, but what was public and known to all the world. The States, however, still continu'd to appear in respect to that article, and the English, examining the proposal agreed that a sovereign prince liv'd, that a protestant was concern'd with Lewis for his inexcusable fabrication. Parliament, it was said, was to consist of thousands of starv'd ambitious monarchs; England was to be fill'd with French and Irish troops; and every man, who was not willing to follow the Romish party, was by the oblig'd Princes declar'd to be a heretic.

The schismatics were every where stirr'd up, and inclin'd extremely to augment the schismatics, of which both the protestant and catholic Empires were made a prey by the numerous intrusions. The protestants began to murmur because the clergy, the aristocracy, a Roman Catholic, and a Jesuit, had seiz'd upon the throne, and the protestant religion was in danger. The protestants, who could not bear any more, and the schismatics, who did not see that they would not get a good deal of the benefit of the protestant religion, were both inclin'd to join together. The English, who were not inclin'd to the schismatics, and the protestants, who were not inclin'd to the schismatics, were both inclin'd to join together. The schismatics, who were not inclin'd to the protestants, and the protestants, who were not inclin'd to the schismatics, were both inclin'd to join together. The schismatics, who were not inclin'd to the protestants, and the protestants, who were not inclin'd to the schismatics, were both inclin'd to join together.

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Chap. II.
1688.

hered. They were all cashiered; and had not the discontents of the army on this occasion become very apparent, it was resolved to have tried and punished those officers for mutiny.

THE King made a trial of the dispositions of his army, in a manner still more undisguised. Finding opposition from all the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the kingdom, he resolved to appeal to the military, who, if unanimous, were able alone to serve all his purposes, and enforce universal obedience. His intention was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes; and accordingly, the major of Lichfield's drew out the battalion before the King, and told them, that they were required either to enter into his Majesty's views, in these particulars, or to lay down their arms. The King was surprized to find, that, two captains and a few popish soldiers excepted, the whole battalion immediately embraced the latter part of the alternative. For some time, he remained speechless; but having recovered from his astonishment, he commanded them to take up their arms; adding with a sullen, discontented air, "That for the future, he would not do them the honour to ask their advice."

3d of Sep-
ember.

The King re-
tracts his
measures.

WHILE the King was dismayed with these symptoms of general disaffection, he received a letter from the marquis of Albeville, his minister at the Hague; which informed him with certainty that he was soon to look for a powerful invasion from Holland, and that Pensionary Fagel had at last acknowledged, that the scope of all the Dutch preparations was to transport forces into England. Tho' James could reasonably expect no other intelligence, he was astonished at the news: He grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand: His eyes were now opened, and he found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. His ministers and counsellors, equally astonished with himself, saw no resource but in a sudden and precipitant retraction of all those fatal measures, by which he had created himself so many enemies, foreign and domestic. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common security: He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws: He restored the charters of London and of all the corporations: He annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission: He took off the bishop of London's suspension: He re-inflated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college: And he was even reduced to caress those bishops, whom he had so lately prosecuted and insulted. All these measures were regarded as symptoms of fear, not of repentance. The bishops, instead of promising succour, or suggesting comfort, recapitulated to him all the instances of his mal-administration, and advised him thenceforwards to follow more salutary council. And as intelligence arrived of

Chap. II.
1688.

gine, that he had formed other designs than to procure the full and lasting settlement of the religion, liberty, and property of the subject. The force, which he intended to bring with him, was totally disproportioned to any views of conquest; and it were absurd to suspect, that so many persons of high rank, both in church and state, would have given him so many solemn invitations for such a pernicious purpose. Tho' the English ministers, terrified with his enterprize, had pretended to redress some of the grievances complained of; there still remained the foundation of all grievances, that upon which they could in an instant be again erected, an arbitrary and despotic power in the Crown. And for this usurpation there was no possible remedy, but by a full declaration of all the rights of the subject in a free Parliament.

21st of Octo-
ber.

So well concerted were the Prince's measures, that, in three days, above four hundred transports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, stores, horses were embarked; and the Prince set sail from Helvoet-Sluice, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men. He first encountered a storm, which drove him back: But his loss being soon repaired, the fleet put to sea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made sail with a fair wind towards the west of England. The same wind detained the King's fleet in the river, and enabled the Dutch to pass the Straits of Dover without molestation. Both shores were covered with multitudes of people, who, besides admiring the grandeur of the spectacle, were held in anxious suspense by the prospect of an enterprize, the most important, which, during some ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The Prince had a prosperous voyage, and landed his army safely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder-treason.

General com-
motion.

THE Dutch army marched first to Exeter; and the Prince's declaration was there published. That whole county was so terrified with the executions, which had ensued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no body for several days joined the Prince. The bishop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to Court intelligence of the invasion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbishopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was universally believed, of bestowing it on some Catholic. The first person, who joined the Prince, was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees, the earl of Abington, Mr. Russell, son to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire, the earl of Danby seized York, the earl of Bath governor of Plymouth, declared

clared for the Prince, the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination, into which the nation had entered against the measures of the King. Even those who took not the field against him, were able to embarrass and embarrass his counsels. A petition for a new Parliament was signed by twenty-four bishops and peers of the greatest distinction, and was presented to the King. No one thought of opposition or resistance against the invader.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection, which, from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. The officers seemed all disposed to prefer the interests of their country and of their religion before those principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly esteemed the most sacred ties by men of that profession. Lord Colchester, son to the earl of Rivers, was the first officer, who deserted to the Prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovell made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner. Lord Combar, son to the earl of Chichester, was more successful. He attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and he actually brought a considerable part of them to the Prince's quarters. Several instances of disaffection informed Everham, the general, that they could not in confidence fight against the Prince of Orange.

Lord Cherkemint had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the King's bounty. Yet even this person could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever regarded him as a son. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the King, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. The conduct was a regular failure to public virtue of every duty in private life, and in every respect afterwards, the most unprincipled, the most disinterested, and most public spirited behaviour to render it punishable.

The King had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this fatal news. That Prince, tho' a severe enemy, had ever appeared a warm, friendly, and sincere friend; and he was extremely shocked with this, as well as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. He remained none, in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, he concluded it full of treachery, and being surrounded by those whom he had most valued and obliged, he had no other expedient left, but to bid them live or die with him. Part of his army was

Chap II.
1688.

plexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London: A measure, which could serve only to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery.

BUT Churchhill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant over the family of Prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy King, who was already staggering with the violent shocks, which he had received. Andover was the first stage of his Majesty's retreat towards London; and there, Prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and some other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night-time, and retired to the Prince's camp. No sooner had this news reached London, than the Princess Anne, pretending fear of the King's displeasure, withdrew herself in the company of the bishop of London and lady Churchhill. She fled to Nottingham; where the earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection.

and of Prince
George,

and of the
Princess Anne.

THE late King, in order to gratify the nation, had entrusted the education of his nieces entirely to Protestants; and as these Princesses were esteemed the chief resource of the established religion after their father's defection, great care had been taken to instill into them, from their earliest infancy, the strongest prejudices against popery. During the violence too of such popular currents, as now prevailed in England, all private considerations are commonly lost in the general passion; and the more principle any person possesses, the more apt is he, on such occasions, to neglect and abandon his domestic duties. Tho' these causes may account for the Princess's behaviour, they had no way prepared the King to expect so astonishing an event. He burst into tears, when the first intelligence of it was conveyed to him. Undoubtedly he foresaw in this incident the total expiration of his royal authority: But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent laid hold of his heart; when he found himself abandoned in his uttermost distress by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the most tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" It is indeed singular, that a Prince, whose chief blame consisted in imprudences and misguided principles, should be exposed, from religious antipathy, to such treatment, as even Nero, Domitian, or the most enormous tyrants, that have disgraced the records of history, never met with from their friends and family.

King's con-
fession,

So violent were the prejudices, which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, upon her disappearance,

appearance, to have put her to death: And it was fortunate, that the truth was timely discovered; otherwise the populace, even the King's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and Catholics.

THE King's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was not such as could procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it; but seemed in this emergence as much depressed with adversity, as he had before been vainly elated by prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new Parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them.

THE Queen, observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment, from which, she was told, the Queens of England were not exempted. The popish courtiers, and above all, the priests, were aware, that they would be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment was the smallest penalty, which they must expect from national resentment. They were therefore desirous of carrying the King along with them; whose presence, they knew, would still be some resource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whose restoration, if it ever happened, would again re-entrate them in power and authority. The general defection of the Protestants made the King regard the Catholics, as his only subjects, on whose council he could rely; and the fatal catastrophe of his father afforded them a plausible reason for making him apprehend a like fate. The infinite difference of circumstances was not, during man's present distraction, sufficiently weighed. Even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles the first could not be deemed a national deed: It was perpetrated by a fanatic army, pushed on by a daring and enthusiastic leader; and the whole kingdom had ever entertained, and did still entertain, a most violent abhorrence against that enormity. The situation of public affairs, therefore, no more resembled what they were forty years before, than the Prince of Orange, either in birth, character, nature, or connexions, could be supposed a parallel to Cromwell.

Chap. II.
1688.

THE emissaries of France, and among the rest, Barillon, the French ambassador, were busy about the King; and they had entertained a very false notion, which they instilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public settlement, and beget universal confusion, than his desertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange had with good reason embraced a contrary opinion; and he esteemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the nation, so long as the King kept possession of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he was determined to use every expedient, which might intimidate the King, and make him desert that throne, which he himself was alone enabled to fill. He declined a personal conference with the King's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them: The terms, which he proposed, implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty: And he stopped not a moment the march of his army towards London.

THE news, which the King received from all quarters, helped to continue the panic, into which he was fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Colonel Copel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himself master of that important fortress; and threw into prison lord Langdale, the governor, a Catholic; together with lord Montgomery, a nobleman of the same religion. The town of Newcastle received the lord Lumly, and declared for the Prince of Orange and a free Parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged it in the same measure. The Prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and received with great applause by that loyal University, who also made an offer of their plate to the Prince. Every day, some person of quality or distinction, and among the rest, the duke of Somerset, went over to the enemy. A very violent declaration was dispersed in the Prince's name, but not with his participation; where every one was commanded to seize and punish all Papists, who, contrary to law, pretended either to carry arms, or exercise any act of authority. It may not be unworthy of notice, that a merry ballad, called Lilliballero, being at this time published in derision of the Papists and the Irish, it was greedily received by the people, and was universally sung by all ranks of men, even by the King's army, who were strongly seized with the national spirit. This incident both discovered, and served to encrease, the general discontent of the kingdom.

THE contagion of mutiny and disobedience had also reached Scotland, whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Balcarras, the treasurer, were withdrawn, in order to re-inforce the English army. The marquis of Athole, together with the viscount Tarbat, and others, finding the opportunity favourable, began

to intrude against Parli's, the chancellor; and the Professors and other members of the school from all quarters to be assembled. The king, in the opinion of the great officers of justice, thought it expedient to have a council of the judges, as it was the most lawful and orthodox method of proceeding; and he accordingly sent word to the King's palace. All the Judges, with the Justices of the Peace, even those that were enemies to the king, were assembled together, and the same day, as of authority to the king, and yet so that they might think themselves, now made appealant to the Prince of Orange, of the sole authority of law and liberty.

The King every moment alarmed, more and more, with the prospect of a general insurrection, not daring to repose trust in any but those who were obliged to take oaths, and himself agitated by indignation towards ministers, by claims of infidelity, impelled by his own fears and those of others, precipitately embraced the resolution of withdrawing to France; and he sent off by the Queen and the Infant Prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French Monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Phillips, a new convert; and made the rest of his way to a ship, which waited him near the mouth of the river. As of this measure had not been the most gratified to his enemies, so an affair which he could not but have carefully considered, and which he had all the while and nothing could equal the surprize, which filled the city, the court, the king, &c. upon the discovery of this strange event. Men beheld, all on a sudden, the reins of government thrown up by the hand which held them; and saw none, who had any right, or even pretension, to take possession of them.

That more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, the King appointed, or any one, who should, in his absence, exercise any part of the royal authority, to throw the great seal into the river; and he recalled all those writs, which had been issued for elections to the new Parliament. It is often reported, that the sole motive, which inspired him to this sudden desertion, was his reluctance to meet the new Parliament, and his resolution not to submit to those terms, which he thought would seem requisite for the security of their liberties and their religion. But it must be considered, that his subjects had just deserted him, and entirely lost his confidence; that he might reasonably be supposed to entertain fears for his liberty, if not for his life; and that the conditions would not possibly be moderate, which the nation, sensible of his inflexible temper, enraged at the violation of their laws and the danger of their religion, and for seeing his retreat, and for being in part of pension, would, in his present circumstances, exact from him.

Chap. II.
1688.

By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace were now masters; and there was no disorder, which, during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult and destroyed all the mass-houses. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassador, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had disguised himself, in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused, that he died in a little time afterwards. Even the army, which should have suppressed those tumults, would, it was apprehended, serve rather to encrease the general disorder. Feversham had no sooner heard of the King's retreat, than he disbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country.

In this extremity, the bishops and peers, who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the state (for the privy council, composed of the King's creatures, was totally disregarded) thought proper to assemble, and to interpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the marquess of Halifax their speaker: They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: They issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons: And they made applications to the Prince, whose enterprize they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated.

THE Prince on his part was not wanting to the tyde of success, which flowed in upon him, nor backward in assuming that authority, which the present exigency had put into his hands. Besides the general popularity, attending his cause, a new incident made his approach to London still more welcome. In the present trepidation of the people, a rumour arose, either from chance or design, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and had commenced an universal massacre of all the Protestants in England. This ridiculous belief was spread all over the kingdom on one day; and begot every where the deepest consternation. The alarm bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they saw at a distance the smoke of the burning cities, and heard the groans of those who were slaughtered in their neighbourhood. It was surprizing, that the Catholics did not all perish, in the rage which naturally succeeds such popular panics.

WHILE every one, either from principle, interest, or animosity, turned their back on the unhappy King, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived, that he had been seized by the populace at Feversham, while he was making his escape in disguise; that he had been very much abused, till he was known; but that the gentry had then interposed and protected him, tho' they still

ing seized at
everham.

refused to consent to his escape. This resolution threw all parties into confusion. The Protestants Zetted in with order, that the King should approach no nearer than Rochester; but the negligence of the Duke of Devon was already arrived in London, where the populace, more than ever, bewailed the King's unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, and the insolence of the Court, raised a clamour.

Devon, the King's chief adviser, had the art on war paid him by the military or any person, and that they had all of them been previously engaged on a point equal to that of the Catholics; and they knew, that they were now become the criminal in the eyes by their late public applications to the Prince of Orange. He himself showed not any symptoms of flight, nor discovered any intention of resigning the reins of government, which he had once thrown aside. His authority was now plainly expired; and as he had exercised his power, while possessed of it, with very precipitant and haughty councils, he relinquished it by a despatch, equally precipitant and puffed.

No time remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they should dispose of his person. Besides, that the Prince may justly be supposed to have pursued more generally than to think of offering violence to an unhappy Monarch, to really retreat to him, he knew, that nothing would so effectually promote his own views as the King's retreat into France, a country at all times so dangerous to the English. It was determined, therefore, to push him into that measure, which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. The King having sent Lord Feverham on a civil message to the Prince, desiring a conference for an accommodation in order to the public settlement, that nobleman was put in arrest, under pretext of his wanting a passport: The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the King then lodged, and to displace the English: And Halifax, Sarsbury, and Deland, brought a message to the Prince, which they delivered to the King in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the Dutch General Lauderdaek's. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, a town near the sea coast. It was perceived, that the artifice had taken effect; and that the King, grieved with this harsh treatment, had renewed his former resolution of leaving the kingdom.

He lingered, however, some days at Rochester, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed desirous of an invitation still to keep possession of the throne. He was undoubtedly sensible, that, as he sat at this, seated so much to his people's loyalty, and in confidence of their obedience, he could not the least violence to their principles and principles to had, he had not been finding his government, gone too far into the other extreme, and had justly responded to the

Chap. II.
1688.

of all sense of duty or allegiance. But observing, that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own councils, he submitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earnest letters from the Queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and he arrived safely at Ambleteuse in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain's. Lewis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard; a conduct, which, more than his most signal victories, contributes to the honour of that great Monarch.

Second eva-
sion.
23d of De-
cember.

King's cha-
racter.

THUS ended the reign of a Prince, whom, if we consider his personal character rather than his public conduct, we may safely pronounce to have been more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of those qualities which form a good citizen: Even some of those, which, had they not been swallowed up in bigotry and arbitrary principles, serve to compose a good Sovereign. In domestic life, his conduct was irreproachable, and is intitled to our approbation. Severe, but open in his enmities, steady in his councils, diligent in his schemes, brave in his enterprizes, faithful, sincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men: Such was the character, with which the duke of York mounted the throne of England. In that high station, his frugality of public money was remarkable, his industry exemplary, his application to naval affairs successful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealousy of national honour laudable: What then was wanting to make him an excellent Sovereign? A due regard and affection to the religion and constitution of his country. Had he been possessed of this essential quality, even his middling talents, aided by so many virtues, would have rendered his reign honourable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency, which he possessed, became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

THE sincerity of this Prince (a virtue, on which he highly valued himself) has been much questioned in those re-iterated promises, which he made of preserving the liberties and religion of the nation. It must be confessed, that his reign was one continued invasion of both; yet is it known, that, to his last breath, he persisted in asserting, that he never meant to subvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privileges to his catholic subjects. This question can only affect the personal character of the King, not our judgment of his public conduct. Tho' by a stretch of candour we should admit of his sincerity in these professions, the people were equally justifiable in their resistance of him. So lofty was the idea, which he had entertained of his *legal* authority, that it left his subjects little or no right to liberty, but what was dependant on his sovereign will and pleasure. And such was his zeal of profelytism, that, whatever he might have intended, he plainly stopped not at toleration and equality: He confined all power,

Chap. II.
1688.

invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city. This was the most proper representative of the people, which could be summoned during the present emergence. They unanimously voted the same address with the Lords: And the Prince, being thus supported by all the legal authority, which could possibly be obtained in the present critical juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. A most profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the Prince's administration was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received his orders: The army, without murmur or opposition, allowed him to new-model them. And the city supplied him with a loan of two hundred thousand pounds.

Convention
summoned.

1689.

7th of January.
Settlement of
Scotland.

THE CONDUCT of the Prince with regard to Scotland, was founded on the same prudent and moderate maxims. Finding, that there were many Scotchmen of rank at that time in London, he summoned them together, laid before them his intentions, and asked their advice in the present emergency. This assembly, consisting of thirty noblemen and about fourscore gentlemen, chose duke Hamilton for president; a man, who, being of a temporizing character, was determined to pay court to the present authority. His eldest son, the earl of Arran, professed an adherence to King James; a usual policy in Scotland, where the father and son, during civil commotions, are often observed to take opposite sides; in order to secure at all adventures the family from forfeiture. Arran proposed to invite back the King upon conditions; but as he was vehemently opposed in this motion by Sir Patric Hume, and seconded by nobody, the assembly made an offer to the Prince of the present administration, which he willingly accepted. To anticipate a little in our narration; a convention, by circular letters from the Prince, was summoned at Edinburgh on the twenty-second of March; where it was soon visible, that the interest of the malecontents would entirely prevail. The more zealous Royalists, regarding this assembly as illegal, had forbore to appear at elections; and the other party were returned from most places. The revolution was not, in Scotland as in England, affected by the coalition of Whig and Tory: The former party alone had over-powered the government, and were too much enraged by the past injuries, which they had suffered, to admit of any composition with their former masters. So soon as the purpose of the convention was discovered, the earl of Balcarras and viscount Dundee, the leaders of the Tories, withdrew from Edinburgh; and the convention having passed a vote, that King James, by his bad administration, and his abuse of power, had *forfeited* all title to the crown,

the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was invested with the whole power of the administration: That the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of King James had rendered him as unfit to sway the English scepter, as if he had fallen into lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourse to the same remedy: That the election of one King was a precedent for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or what was worse, into a turbulent and seditious Monarchy: That the case was still more dangerous, if there remained a Prince, who claimed the crown by right of succession, and disputed, on so plausible a ground, the title of the present Sovereign: That tho' the doctrine of non-resistance might not, in every possible circumstance, be absolutely true, yet was the belief of it extremely expedient; and to establish a government, which should have the contrary principle for its basis, was to lay the foundation of perpetual revolutions and convulsions: That the appointment of a regent was indeed exposed to many inconveniencies; but so long as the line of succession was preserved entire, there was still a prospect of putting an end, some time or other, to the public disorders: And that scarce any instance occurred in history, especially in the English history, where a disputed title had not in the issue, been attended with much greater ills, than all those, which the people had sought to shun, by departing from the lineal successor.

THE leaders of the whig-party, on the other hand, asserted, that, if there was any ill in the precedent, that ill would result as much from the establishing a regent, as from the dethroning one King, and appointing his successor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and rashly embraced by the people, be less the source of public convulsions than the other: That if the laws gave no express permission to depose the Sovereign, neither did they authorize the resisting his authority, or separating the power from the title: That a regent was unknown, except where the Prince, by reason of his tender age or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that case, his will was supposed to be involved in that of the regent: That it would be the height of absurdity to try a man for acting upon a commission, received from a Prince, whom we ourselves acknowledge to be the lawful Sovereign; and no jury would decide so contrary both to law and to common sense, as to condemn such a criminal: That even the prospect of being delivered from this monstrous inconvenience was, in the present situation of things, more distant than that of putting an end to a disputed succession: That allowing the young Prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; he would be educated in principles destructive of the constitution and established religion; and he would probably leave a son, liable to the same insuperable objection: That if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage, which could not

Chap. II.
1689.

ruling party, having united with the Tories, in order to bring about the revolution, had so much deference for their new allies, as not to insist, that the crown should be declared *forfeited*, on account of the King's mal-administration: Such a declaration, they thought, would imply too express a censure of the old tory principles, and too open a preference of their own. They agreed therefore to confound together the King's abusing his power and his withdrawing from the kingdom; and they called the whole an *abdication*; as if he had given a virtual, tho' not a verbal, consent to his dethronement. The Tories took advantage of this obvious impropriety, which had been occasioned merely by the complaisance or prudence of the Whigs; and they insisted upon the word, *desertion*, as much more significant and intelligible. It was retorted on them, that, however that expression might be justly applied to the King's withdrawing himself, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, while they warped their principles from regard to their antagonists, and from prudential considerations, lost the praise of consistence and uniformity.

THE managers for the Lords next insisted, that even allowing the King's abuse of power to be equivalent to an abdication, or in other words, to a civil death, it could operate no otherwise than his voluntary resignation or his natural death; and could only make way for the next successor. It was a maxim of English law, *that the throne was never vacant*; but instantly upon the decease of one King was filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predecessor. And however young or unfit for government the successor, however unfortunate in his situation, tho' he were even a captive in the hands of public enemies; yet no just reason, they thought, could be assigned, why, without any default of his own, he should lose a crown, to which, by birth, he was fully intitled. The managers of the Commons might have opposed this reasoning by many specious and even solid arguments. They might have said, that the great security for allegiance being merely opinion, any scheme of settlement should be adopted, in which, it was most probable, the people would acquiesce and persevere. That tho' upon the natural death of one King, whose administration had been agreeable to the laws, many and great inconveniencies would be endured rather than exclude his lineal successor; yet the case was not the same, when the people had been obliged, by their revolt, to dethrone a Prince, whose illegal measures had, in every circumstance, violated the constitution. That in these extraordinary revolutions, the government returned to its first principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public interest by expedients, which, on other occasions, might be deemed violent and irregular. That the recent use of one extraordinary remedy, familiarized the people to the practice of another, and more reconciled their minds

to such licences than if the government had run on in its usual tenor. And that King James, having carried abroad his son, as well as withdrawn himself, had given such just provocation to the kingdom, had voluntarily involved it in such difficulties, that the interells of his family were justly sacrificed to the public settlement and tranquillity. Tho' these topics seem reasonable, they were entirely borne by the whig managers; both because they implied an acknowledgment of the infant Prince's legitimacy, which, it was agreed, to keep in obscurity, and because they contained too express a condemnation of every principle. They were contented to maintain the vote of the Commons by shifts and evasions; and both sides parted at last without coming to any agreement.

But it was impossible for the public to remain long in the present situation. The perseverance, therefore, of the Lower House obliged the Lords to comply; and by the desertion of some Peers to the whig party, the vote of the Commons, without any alteration, passed by a final majority in the Upper House, and received the sanction of every part of the legislature, which then subsisted.*

It happens unluckily for those, who maintain an original contract between the magistrate and people, that great revolutions of government, and new settlements of civil constitutions, are commonly conducted with such violence, tumult and disorder, that the public voice can scarce ever be heard; and the opinions of the citizens are at that time less attended to than even in the common course of administration. The present transactions in England, it must be confessed, are a very singular exception to this observation. The new elections had been carried on with great tranquillity and freedom: The Prince had ordered the troops to depart from all the towns, where the voters assembled: A tumultuary petition to the two Houses having been presented, he took care, that the petition was calculated not to be advantageously effectually to suppress it: He entered into no intrigues, either with the electors, or the members: He kept himself in a total silence, and let his subjects in no way concerned in these transactions: And to tar from Franking himself with the clamours of parties, he distanced even to his own councils on this, which would have only been sent to him. This conduct was highly meritorious, and if ever deserved veneration and magnanimity; even tho' the Prince unfortunately, thro' the whole course of his life, and on every occasion, was noted for an address too bold, dry, and distant, that it was very difficult to him, to conceal any inwardly, that it might or hurt or praise it.

At last, the Prince desired to break silence, and to express himself in a private manner, his sentiments on the present situation of affairs. He called together Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Danby, and a few more; and he told them, that having

Chap. II.
1689.

been invited over to restore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and had at last happily effected his purpose : That it belonged to the Parliament, now chosen and assembled with freedom, to concert measures for the public settlement ; and he pretended not to interpose in their determinations. That he heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government : Some insisted on a regent ; others were desirous of bestowing the Crown on the Princess : It was their concern alone to prefer that plan of administration which was most agreeable or advantageous to them. That if they chose to settle a regent, he had no objection : He only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be the regent, nor ever to engage in a scheme, which, he knew, would be exposed to such insuperable difficulties. That no man could have a juster or deeper sense of the Princess's merit than he was impressed with ; but he would rather remain a private person than enjoy a crown, which must depend on the will or life of another. And that they must therefore make account, if they chose either of these two plans of settlement, that it would be totally out of his power to assist them in carrying it into execution : His affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for so precarious a dignity, or even to allow him so much leisure as would be requisite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

THESE views of the Prince were seconded by the Princess herself, who, as she possessed many virtues, was a most obsequious wife to a husband, who, in the judgment of the generality of her sex, would have appeared so little attractive and amiable. All considerations were neglected, when they came in competition with what she esteemed her duty to the Prince. When Danby and others of her partizans wrote her an account of their schemes and proceedings, she expressed great displeasure ; and even transmitted their letters to her husband, as a sacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The Princess Anne also concurred in the same plan for the public settlement ; and being promised an ample revenue, was contented to be postponed in the succession to the crown. And as the title of her infant brother, in the present establishment, was entirely neglected, she might, on the whole, esteem herself, in point of interest, a great gainer by this revolution.

Settlement of
crown.

ALL parties, therefore, being agreed, the Convention passed a bill, where they settled the crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the Prince : The Princess of Denmark to succeed after the death of the Prince and Princess of Orange ; her posterity after those of the Princess, but before those of the Prince by any other wife. The Convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had, of late years, been disputed between King and people, were finally determined ; and the powers
of

of royal prerogative were more narrowly defined, than in any former period of the English government.

Thus we have seen, thro' the course of our reign, a continued struggle maintained between the crown and the people: Privilege and Prerogative were ever at variance: And both parties, besides the present object of dispute, had many latent claims, which, on a favourable occasion, they produced against their adversaries. Governments too steady and uniform, as they are freedom free, so are they, in the judgment of some, attended with another sensible inconvenience: They abate the active powers of men; depress courage, invention, and genius; and produce an universal lethargy in the people. Tho' this opinion may be just, the fluctuation and contest, it must be allowed, of the British government were, during this reign, much too violent both for the repose and safety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or not attended to, pernici-ously purposeless: And in the domestic administration there was felt a continued fever, either fierce or malignant; sometimes the most furious convulsions and disorders. The revolution forms a new epoch in the constitution; and was attended with consequences much more advantageous to the people, than the barely treating them in a legal administration. By deciding many important questions in favour of liberty, and still more, by that great precedent of deposing one King, and establishing a new family, it gave form and substance to popular principles, which has put the nature of the British constitution beyond all controversy. And it may truly be affirmed, with a very degree of exaggeration, that we must as much have ever since enjoyed, our civil liberties and government, at least the more substantial part of them, that we would know among the mankind.

It is easy with such views, as I shall endeavour to present, to see the necessity of some kind of a federal administration, or of some other method, by which the rights of the people, as well as the rights of the crown, may be preserved, and the crown be enabled to discharge her duty, as well as the people, in the most effectual manner. The inconveniences, which are attended by the present method, are the following.

Chap. II.
1039.

first reigns of that family (for in the main they were prosperous) proceeded in a great measure from the unavoidable situation of affairs; and scarce any thing could have prevented those events, but such vigour of genius in the Sovereign, attended with such good fortune, as might have enabled him entirely to overpower the liberties of his people. While the Parliaments, in these reigns, were taking advantage of the necessities of the Prince, and attempting every session to abolish, or circumscribe, or define, some prerogative of the Crown, and innovate in the usual tenor of government: Must it not be expected, that the Prince would defend an authority, which, for above a century, that is, during the whole regular course of the former English government, had been exercised without dispute or controversy? And tho' Charles the second, in 1672, may with reason be deemed the aggressor, nor is it possible to justify his conduct; yet were there some motives surely, which could engage a Prince, so soft and indolent, and at the same time, so judicious, to attempt such hazardous enterprizes. He felt, that public affairs had reached a situation, at which they could not possibly remain, without some farther innovation. Frequent Parliaments were become almost entirely requisite to the conduct of public business; yet these assemblies were still, in the judgment of the Royalists, much inferior in dignity to the Sovereign, whom they seemed better calculated to council than controul. The Crown still possessed considerable power of opposing Parliaments; and had not as yet acquired the means of influencing them. Hence a continued jealousy between these parts of the constitution: Hence the inclination mutually to take advantage of each other's necessities: Hence the impossibility under which the King lay of finding ministers, who could at once be serviceable and faithful to him. If he followed his own choice in appointing his servants, without regard to their parliamentary interest, a refractory session was instantly to be expected: If he chose them from among the leaders of popular assemblies, they either lost their influence by adhering to the Crown, or they betrayed the Crown, in order to preserve their influence with the people. Neither Hambden, whom Charles the first was willing to gain at any price; nor Shaftesbury, whom Charles the second, after the popish plot, attempted to engage in his councils, would renounce their popularity for the precarious, and, as they esteemed it, deceitful favour of the Prince. The root of their authority they still thought to lye in the Parliament; and as the power of that assembly was not yet uncontrollable, they still resolved to augment it, tho' at the expence of the royal prerogatives.

'Tis no wonder, that these events, by the representations of faction, have long been extremely clouded and obscured. No man has yet arose, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her, without covering or disguise, to the eyes of the prejudiced public. Even that party amongst

Chap. II.
1639.

WE shall subjoin to this general view of the English government, some account of the state of the finances, arms, trade, manners, arts, between the restoration and revolution.

THE revenue of Charles the second, as settled by the long Parliament, was put upon a very bad footing. It was too small, if they intended to make him independent in the common course of his administration: It was too large, and settled during too long a period, if they resolved to keep him in entire dependence. The large debts of the republic, which were thrown upon that Prince, the necessity of supplying the naval and military stores, which were entirely exhausted*; that of repairing and furnishing his palaces: All these causes involved the King in great difficulties immediately after his restoration; and the Parliament were not sufficiently liberal in supplying him. Perhaps too he had contracted some debts abroad; and his bounty to the distressed cavaliers, tho' it did not correspond either to their services or expectations, could not fail, in some degree, to exhaust his treasures. The extraordinary sums, granted the King during the first years, did not suffice for these extraordinary charges; and the excise and customs, the only constant revenue, amounted not to nine hundred thousand pounds a year, and fell very much short of the ordinary charges of the government. The addition of hearth-money in 1662, and of the other two branches in 1669 and 1670, brought up the revenue to one million three hundred fifty-eight thousand pounds, as we learn from lord treasurer Danby's account: But the same authority informs us, that the yearly expence of the government was at that time one million three hundred eighty seven thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds †, without mentioning contingencies, which are always very considerable, even under the most prudent administration. Those branches of revenue, granted in 1669 and 1670, expired in 1680, and were never renewed by the Parliament: They were computed to be above two hundred thousand pounds a year. It must be allowed, because asserted by all contemporary authors, of both parties, and even confessed by himself, that King Charles was somewhat profuse and negligent. But it is likewise certain, that a very rigid frugality was requisite to support the government under such difficulties. There is a familiar rule in all business, that every man should be payed, in proportion to the trust reposed in him, and to the power, which he enjoys; and the nation soon found reason, from Charles's dangerous connexions with France, to repent their transgression of that prudential maxim.

12

* Lord Clarendon's speech to the Parliament, Oct. 9, 1665.

† Ralph's History, vol. I. p. 283. We learn from that lord's Memoirs, p. 12, that the receipts of the Exchequer, during six years, from 1673 to 1679, was about eight millions two hundred thousand pounds, or one million three hundred sixty-six thousand pounds a year. See likewise, p. 169.

Chap. II.
1689.

ble. De Wit having proposed to the French King an invasion of England during the first Dutch war, that Monarch replied, that such an attempt would be entirely fruitless, and would tend only to unite the English. In a few days, said he, after our landing, there will be fifty thousand men at least upon us*.

CHARLES in the beginning of his reign had in pay near five thousand men, of guards and garrisons. At the end of his reign, he augmented this number to near eight thousand. James on Monmouth's rebellion had on foot about fifteen thousand men; and when the Prince of Orange invaded him, there were no fewer than thirty thousand regular troops in England.

THE English navy, during the greatest part of Charles's reign, made a great figure, both for numbers of ships, valour of the men, and conduct of the commanders. Even in 1678, the fleet consisted of eighty-three ships†; besides thirty, which were at that time on the stocks. On the King's accession he found only sixty-three vessels of all sizes‡. During the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell considerably to decay, by reason of the narrowness of the King's revenue: But James, soon after his accession, restored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The administration of the admiralty under Pepys, is still regarded as a model for order and œconomy. The fleet at the revolution consisted of one hundred seventy-three vessels of all sizes; and required forty-two thousand seamen to man it§. That King, when Duke of York, had been the first inventor of sea signals. The military genius, during these two reigns, had not totally decayed among the young nobility. Dorset, Mulgrave, Rochester, not to mention Osborn, served on board the fleet, and were present in the most furious engagements against the Dutch.

THE commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The only disturbance, which they met with, was from a few French privateers, who infested the channel; and Charles interposed not in behalf of his subjects with sufficient spirit and vigour. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a very considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and together with the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, which was effected during this reign, extended prodigiously the English empire

* D'Esb. des 20th of October, 1666.

† Pepys's Memoirs, p. 4.

‡ Memoirs of

English Hist., chiefly naval.

§ Lives of the Admirals, vol. ii, p. 176.

Chap. II.
1689.

this period lie under the imputation of Deism. Besides wits and scholars by profession, Shaftesbury, Halifax, Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Essex, Rochester, Sidney, Temple are supposed to have adopted these principles.

THE same factions, which formerly distracted the nation, were revived, and exerted themselves in the most ungenerous and unmanly enterprizes against each other. King Charles, being in his whole deportment a model of easy and gentlemanly

more than that of the period, which is our subject, offers us examples of the abuse of religion; and we have not been sparing to remark them: But whoever would thence draw an inference to the disadvantage of religion in general, would argue very rashly and erroneously. The proper office of religion is to reform men's lives, to purify their hearts, to enforce all moral duties, and to secure obedience to the laws and civil magistrate. While it pursues these salutary purposes, its operations, tho' infinitely valuable, are secret and silent, and seldom come under the cognizance of history. That adulterate species of it alone, which inflames faction, animates sedition, and prompts rebellion, distinguishes itself on the open theatre of the world, and is the great source of revolutions and public convulsions. The historian, therefore, has scarce occasion to mention any other kind of religion; and he may retain the highest regard for true piety, even while he exposes all the abuses of the false. He may even think, that he cannot better show his attachment to the former than by detecting the latter, and laying open its absurdities and pernicious tendency.

It is no proof of irreligion in an historian, that he remarks some fault or imperfection in each sect of religion, which he has occasion to mention. Every institution, however divine, which is adopted by men, must partake of the weakness and infirmities of our nature; and will be apt, unless carefully guarded, to degenerate into one extreme or the other. What species of devotion to pure, noble, and worthy the Supreme Being, as that which is most spiritual, simple, unadorned, and which partakes nothing either of the senses or imagination? Yet is it found by experience, that this mode of worship does very naturally, among the vulgar, mount up into extravagance and fanaticism. Even many of the first reformers are exposed to this reproach; and their zeal, tho', in the event, it proved extremely useful, partook strongly of the enthusiastic genius: Two of the judges in the reign of Charles the second, scrupled not to advance this opinion even from the bench. Some mixture of ceremony, pomp, and ornament may seem to correct the abuse; yet will it be found very difficult to prevent such a form of religion from sinking sometimes into superstition. The church of England itself, which is perhaps the best medium among these extremes, will be allowed, at least during the age of archbishop Laud, to have been somewhat infected with a superstition, resembling the popish; and to have payed a higher regard to some positive institutions, than the nature of the things, strictly speaking, would permit. It is the business of an historian to remark these abuses of all kinds; but it belongs also to a prudent reader to confine the representations, which he meets with, to that age alone of which the author treats. What absurdity, for instance, to suppose, that the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and other sectaries of the present age, partake of all the extravagancies, which we remark in those, who bore their appellations in the last century? The inference indeed seems juster; where facts have been noted for several succeeding periods, to conclude, that they will be very modern and reasonable in the subsequent. For as to the nature of fanaticism to abolish all slavish submission to papal power; it follows, that as soon as the first ferment is abated, men are naturally in such sects left to the free use of their reason, and shake off the fetters of custom and authority.

manly behaviour, improved the politeness of the nation; as much as faction, which of all things is most destructive to politeness, could possibly permit. His courtiers were long distinguishable in England by their obliging and agreeable manners.

AMONG the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overspread the nation, during the Commonwealth and Protectorship, there were a few sedate philosophers, who in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reason, and established conferences for the mutual communication of their discoveries in physics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwell's sister, and was afterwards created bishop of Chester, promoted these philosophical conversations. Immediately after the restoration, these men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. But this patent was all they obtained from the King. Tho' Charles was a great lover of the sciences, particularly chymistry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and mistresses, by whom he was perpetually surrounded, engrossed all his expence, and lent him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His contemporary, Lewis, who fell short of the King's genius and knowledge in this particular, much exceeded him in liberality. Besides pensions conferred on learned men throughout all Europe, his academies were directed by rules and supported by salaries: A generosity, which does great honour to his memory; and in the eyes of all the ingenious part of mankind, will be esteemed an atonement for many of the errors of his reign. We may be surprized, that this example should not be more followed by Princes; since it is certain, that that bounty, so extensive, so beneficial, and so much celebrated, cost not that Monarch so great a sum as is often conferred on one single, useless, overgrown favourite or courtier.

But tho' the French academy of sciences was directed, encouraged, and supported by the Sovereign, there arose in England some men of superior genius, who were more than sufficient to cast the balance, and who drew on themselves and on their native country the regard and attention of all Europe. Besides Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians, Hooke, an accurate observer by microscopes, and Sydenham, the restorer of true physics; there flourished during this period a Boyle and a Newton; men, who trode, with caution, and therefore the more secure steps, the only road, which leads to true philosophy.

Boyle improved the pneumatic engine, invented by Otto Guericke, and was thereby enabled to make several new and curious experiments on the air as well as on other bodies: His chymistry is much admired by those acquainted with that art: His Hydrostatics contain a greater mixture of reasoning, an invention which is more than any other of his works; but his reasoning is still remote from truth by boldness and temerity, which had led him, by so many philosophers. Boyle was

a great partizan of the mechanical philosophy; a theory, which, by discovering some of the secrets of nature, and allowing us to imagine the rest, is so agreeable to the natural vanity and curiosity of men.

IN Newton this island may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius that ever arose for the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious, in admitting no principles but such as were founded on experiment; but resolute to adopt every such principle, however new or unusual: From modesty, ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and thence, less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions: More anxious to merit than acquire fame: He was from these causes long unknown to the world; but his reputation at last broke out with a lustre, which scarce any writer, during his own life-time, had ever before attained. While Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries of nature, he showed at the same time the imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity, in which they ever did and ever will remain.

THIS age was far from being so favourable to polite literature as to the sciences. Charles, tho' fond of wit, tho' possessed himself of a considerable share of it, tho' his taste of conversation seems to have been sound and just; served rather to corrupt than improve the poetry and eloquence of his time. When the theatres were opened at the restoration, and freedom was again given to pleasantry and ingenuity; men, after so long an abstinence, fed on these delicacies with less taste than avidity, and the coarsest and most irregular species of wit was received by the court as well as by the people. The productions at that time represented on the theatre were such monsters of extravagance and folly; so utterly devoid of all reason or even common sense; that they would be the disgrace of English literature, had not the nation made atonement for its former admiration of them, by the total oblivion to which they are now condemned. The duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal, which exposed these wild productions, seems to be a piece of ridicule carried to excess; yet in reality the copy scarce equals some of the absurdities, which we meet with in the originals.

THIS severe satire, together with the good sense of the nation, corrected, after some time, the extravagancies of the fashionable wit; but the productions of literature still wanted more of that correctness and delicacy, which we so much admire in the ancients, and in the French writers, their judicious imitators. It was indeed during this period chiefly, that that nation left the English behind them in the production of poetry, eloquence, history, and other branches of polite letters; and acquired a superiority, which the efforts of English writers, during the subsequent age, did more successfully contest with them. The arts and sciences

were imported from Italy into our island; early, indeed, planted, and made to grow more luxuriantly abroad. Spenser, Shilp, Jonson, Tasso, and others were not inferior to their contemporaries, who could not be reckoned on Milton, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Havelock, and Lauder, and to their countrymen, the poets of Charles the second, which some propose to be represented as our age; but regarded the progress of polite literature but too plainly, and it was to be feared, that the immeasurable licentiousness, which was the fruit of our luxury and avarice, was more destructive to the refined art, than even the wars, and other calamities of the preceding period.

Most of the celebrated writers of this age remain in a manner, equally perverted by indecency and bad taste; but none more than Dryden, both by reason of the greatness of his talents and the gross abuse which he made of them. His plays, excepting a few scenes, are utterly disfigured by vice or folly or both. His translations appear too much the offspring of haste and hurry; nor does his fabliaux are ill chosen tales, conveyed in an incorrect, tho' spiritless, version. Yet amidst this great number of loose productions, the refuse of our language, there are found some small pieces, his Ode to St. Cecilia, the greatest part of *Alfion* and *Achitophel*, and a few more, which discover so great genius, such richness of expression, such pomp and variety of numbers, that they leave us equally full of regret and indignation, on account of the inferiority or rather great absurdity of his other writings.

The very name of Rochester is offensive to modest ears; yet does his poetry discover such energy of style and such poignancy of satire, as give ground to imagine what so fine a genius, had he fallen in a more happy age and followed better models, was capable of producing. The ancient satyrists often used great liberty in their expressions; but their freedom no more resembles the licence of Rochester, than the nakedness of an Indian does that of a common prostitute.

Wycherley was ambitious of the reputation of wit and libertinism, and he obtained it: He was probably capable of reaching the same of true comedy, and instructive ridicule. Orway had a genius finely turned to the pabulum of the nation; he neither observes strictly the rules of the drama, nor the rules of morality, propriety and decorum. By one single piece the duke of Buckingham did a great service to his age and honour to himself. The errors of *the Country Girl*, and *Not common* were in age forgotten; but their grossness remains still in the ears of the people. The marquis of Halifax was a more relating, just and polite man, and an inferior in some respects to his countryman, but he was not distinguished in literature.

Chap. II.
1689.

OF all the considerable writers of this age, Sir William Temple is almost the only one, who kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness, which overwhelmed the nation. The style of this author, tho' extremely negligent, and even mixed with foreign idioms, is agreeable and interesting. That mixture of vanity, which appears in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the perusal of a book, but in conversation with a companion.

THO' Hudibras was published, and probably composed, during Charles's reign, Butler may justly, as well as Milton, be thought to belong to the foregoing period. No composition abounds so much as Hudibras in strokes of just and inimitable wit; yet are there many performances, which give as great or greater entertainment on the whole perusal. The allusions are often dark and far-fetched; and tho' scarce any author was ever able to express his thoughts in so few words, he often employs too many thoughts on one subject, and thereby becomes prolix after an unusual manner. It is surprizing how much erudition Butler has introduced with so good a grace into a work of pleasantry and humour: Hudibras is perhaps one of the most learned compositions, that is to be found in any language. The advantage, which the royal cause received from this poem, in exposing the fanaticism and false pretences of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The King himself had so good taste as to be highly struck with the merit of the work, and had even got a great part of it by heart: Yet was he either so careless in his temper, or so little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or, more properly speaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, who was a man of virtue and probity, to live in obscurity and dye in want. Dryden is an instance of a negligence of the same kind. His Absalom sensibly contributed to the victory, which the Tories obtained over the Whigs after the exclusion Parliaments: Yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him an establishment, which might exempt him from the necessity of writing for bread. Otway, tho' a profest Royalist, could not even procure bread by his writings; and he had the singular fate of dying literally of hung r. These incidents throw a great stain on the memory of Charles, who had discernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praise of true generosity.

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

CHARLES II's DECLARATION from BREDA.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction, and confusion, which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire, and longing, that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to contribute therunto: And that, as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right, which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us, and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet, and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and desired.

As to the end that fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by appealing to the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of King, and Peers, and People, to their just, ancient, and Fundamental rights; we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a full, and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to sign under our great seal of England, to all our subjects of whatsoever quality they be, who within ten days after the publication hereof, shall come to us, or to the place and time, and day by any post appointed thereto, to receive the same; and that the highest and best of our said subjects, except such as shall hereafter be appointed by the Parliament, shall only be excepted, from our said pardon, how many soever, relying upon the word of a King,

solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed againſt us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in judgement, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt indamage-ment of them, either in their lives, liberties, or eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) ſo much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or terms of diſtinction from the reſt of our beſt ſubjects; we deſiring, and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of diſcord, ſeparation, and difference of parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our ſubjects: whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themſelves, under our protection, for the reſettlement of our juſt rights, and theirs, in a free Parliament; by which, upon the word of a King, we will be adviſed.

AND becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the times, have produced ſe-veral opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animoſities againſt each other; which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood; we do declare a liberty to tender conſciences; and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an act of Parlia-ment, as, upon mature deliberation, ſhall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

AND becauſe in the continued diſtractions of ſo many years, and ſo many and great revolutions, many grants and purchaſes of eſtates have been made to and by many officers, ſoldiers, and others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon ſeveral titles; we are likewiſe willing that all ſuch differences, and all things relating to ſuch grants, ſales, and purchaſes ſhall be determined in Parliament; which can beſt provide for the juſt ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.

AND we do farther declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any act or acts of Parliament to the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full ſatisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and ſoldiers of the army under the command of general Monk; and that they ſhall be received into our ſervice upon as good pay, and conditions, as they now enjoy.

ers to the severall counties, cities, universities, burroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chusing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the twenty-second day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their severall letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

1. THAT the pretended power of suspending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal*. 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4. That levying of money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law. 7. That the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials of high treason ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redress of all grievances,

* It is remarkable, that the convention, even when they had the making of their own terms, could not condemn the dispensing power in general, which had been uniformly exercised by every former King of England. They only condemned it *in hoc, as it had been assumed and exercised of late.* But in the *Bill of Rights*, which passed about a twelvemonth after, they took care to fence more exactly against a branch of prerogative, by occupying with all regal liberty and limitations, and they included, in positive terms, all dispensing power in the crown.

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