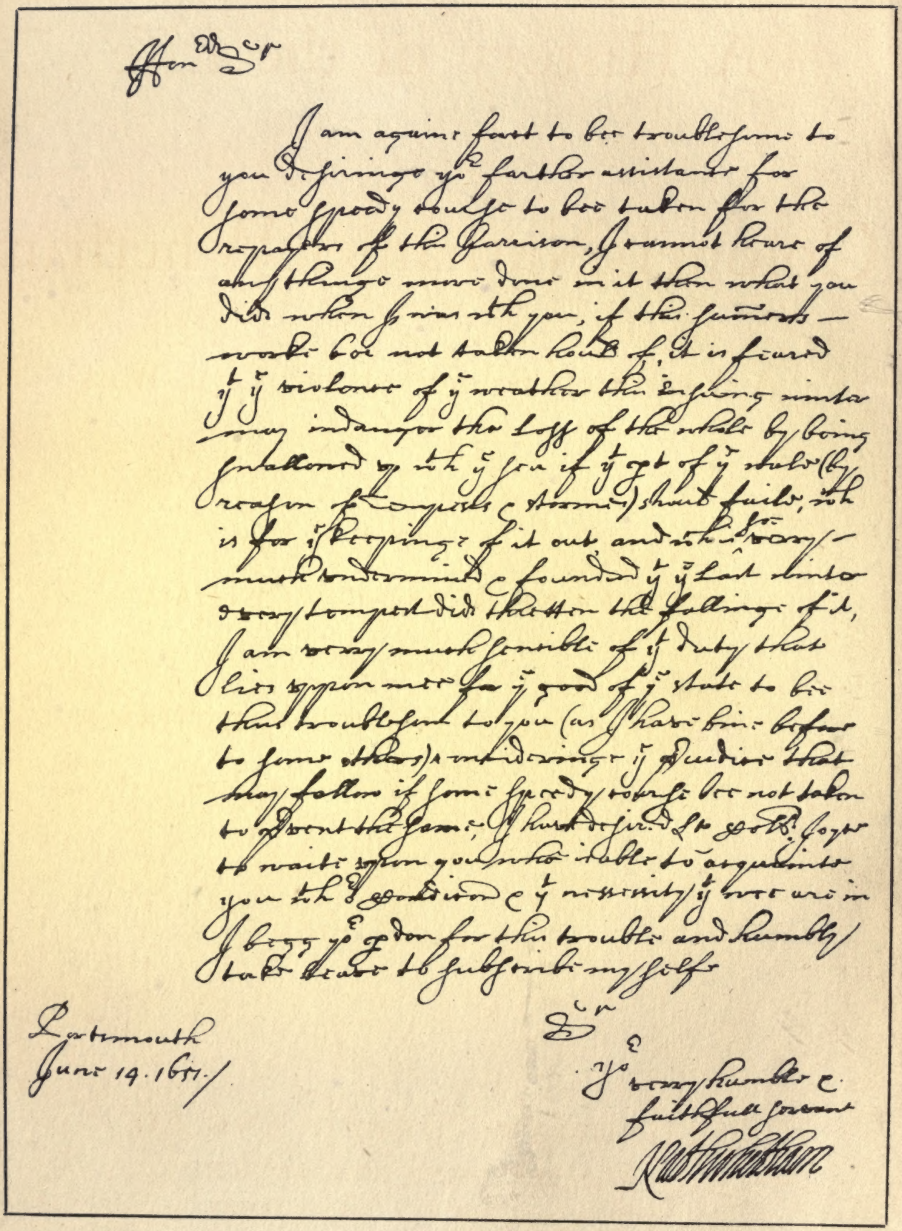
A HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

COLONEL NATHANIEL WHETHAM



Facsimile of a Letter from Colonel Nathaniel Whetham to Nicholas Love, Member of the Council of State. (See page 131.)

(Reduced to two-thirds the natural size.)

A History of the Life

of

Colonel Nathaniel Whetham

A Forgotten Soldier of the Civil Wars

BY

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AND

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE investigations of which the following pages are the outcome were begun as a contribution to family history, with no idea of publication. But, as new material came to light, the writers were fascinated by the study of the records of the seventeenth century. Then, as the personality of the man emerged from the obscurity of ancient manuscript and faded pamphlet, it was thought possible that others might feel an interest in a career which, to some extent, was typical of those of the less prominent soldiers of the Commonwealth. Finally, it was felt that the part played by Colonel Whetham in the confused and shifting combinations of 1659 threw light on the changes which cleared the way for the freely elected Parliament of 1660, and enabled the country, by an overwhelming voice, to recall its exiled King.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES FROM WHICH THIS BOOK IS COMPILED

I. PRINTED

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1642-1660.
Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls.
Lords Journals.
Commons Journals.
Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, especially that on the Leyborne-Popham MSS.
Clarendon State Papers.
Thurloe's State Papers. 7 vols.
Clarke Papers. Edited by C. H. Firth.
Shaftesbury Papers. Edited by W. D. Christie.
Scotland and the Protectorate. Edited by C. H. Firth.
Records of the Borough of Northampton. Vol. II.
Records of the Borough of Portsmouth. Edited by Robert East.

History of the Great Rebellion. By Lord Clarendon.
Chronicle of the Kings of England. By Sir Richard Baker, 1684.
Whitelock's Memorials, 1682.
Ludlow's Memoirs. Edited by C. H. Firth.
Diary of Thomas Burton, M.P.
Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars. Collected by F. Maseres.
Diary of Samuel Pepys.
Anglia Rediviva. By Joshua Sprigge.
Life of General Monck. By Thomas Gumble, D.D.
Life of General Monck. By Thomas Skinner, M.D.
Contemporary Newspapers and Pamphlets.

History of the Great Civil War. By S. R. Gardiner.
History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. By S. R. Gardiner.

Cambridge Modern History. Vol. IV.
Cromwell's Army. By C. H. Firth.
Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans. By C. H. Firth.
England under the Stuarts. By G. M. Trevelyan.
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Memorials of John Hampden. By Lord Nugent.
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Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury. By G. W. Cooke.
Monk, an Historical Study. By M. Guizot.
Monk. By Julian Corbett.

II. MANUSCRIPT

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Commonwealth Exchequer Papers (in bundles).
Close Rolls.
Chancery Proceedings.
British Museum. Harleian MSS., 1144, etc.
Additional MSS., 4165, etc.
Additional Charters.
Sir Samuel Luke's Letter-Books. Egerton and Stowe MSS.
Thomas Rugge's Diary. Add. MSS. 10,116.
Sloane MSS. 970-6.
Bodleian Library, Oxford. Clarendon MSS.
Carte MSS.
Rawlinson MSS.
Worcester College, Oxford. Clarke MSS.
Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.
Northampton. Order Book of the Assembly.
Bakers' Company. Minute Book of the Court.
Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House, London.
Parish Registers of Broadwindsor, Burstock, Chard, Bridport, and St. Dunstan's-in-the-Fleet.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Gallant Prince Rupert's fiery track still across England runs,
And still her ruined castle walls re-echo Cromwell's guns.

But what of the men who marched and fought,
The men who toiled and died,
With names still borne by their grandsons' sons
Over our countryside?

Still in the Downs lie phantom ships, waiting a favouring breeze,
That loosened in the Dutchman's grip the empire of the seas.

But what of the men who sailed with Blake
Under grey Channel skies?
What of the men who dressed their wounds,
And the women who closed their eyes?

And still the great Protector's name, which Europe learned to fear,
Which England loved and hated well, rings down from year to year.

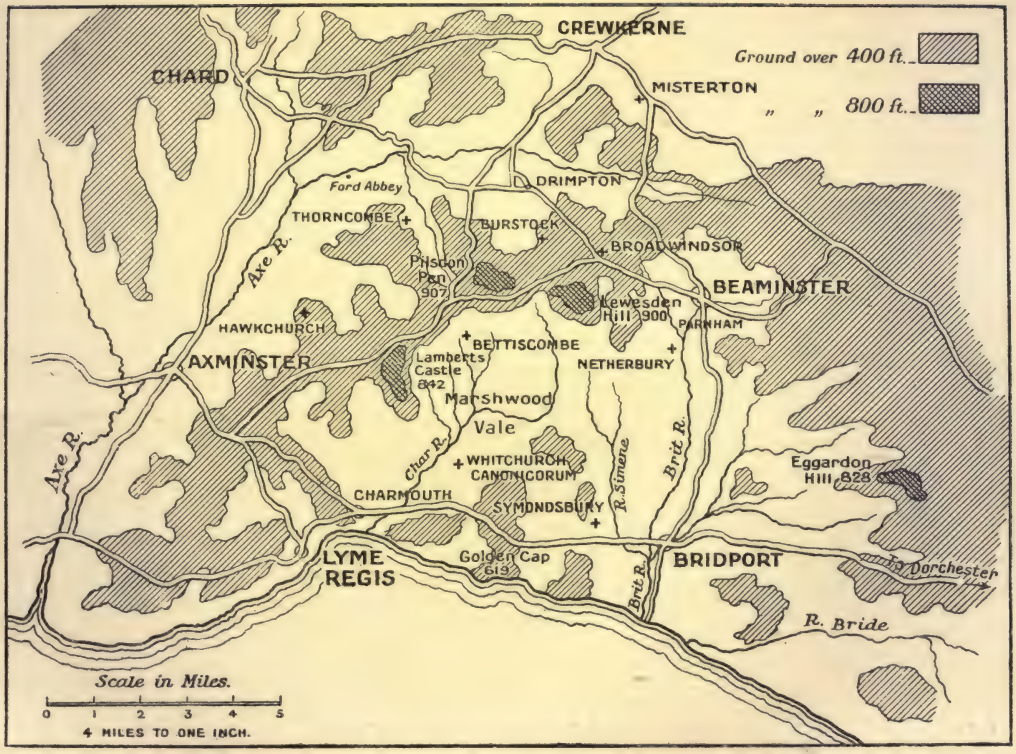
But what of the men who worked his will,
Holding both shire and town?
What of the men he trampled on,
Whom the other men held down?

And still we catch the far-off cheers, with underneath a groan,
When, at the hands of brave old Monck, King Charles got back his own.

But what of those who had waited long,
With ruined hearth and hall?
And what of the men who stood by Monck,
And broke the swordsmen's thrall?

Gay and gallant cavalier, who staked both lands and life;
Stern and steadfast puritan, who grimly faced the strife—

Those shadowy men who toiled and fought,
Those brave dead men who died,
Their fate unknown to their grandsons' sons
On their own green countryside!



Map of West Dorset

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

To the westward of the great chalk uplands of central Dorset, an amphitheatre of hills lies facing the sea. From Abbotsbury it sweeps northward, past the ancient British camp on Eggardon and the pleasant fields above Beaminster; thence southward, crowned by another series of entrenchments, till it ends in the cliffs round Lyme Regis and Charmouth. About the middle of the semicircle, the highest ground in Dorset rises in the twin hills of Lewesdon and Pilsdon, whose characteristic shapes serve as landmarks to sailors far out at sea.

From the top of Lewesdon the country below is seen spread out as on a map. Southward runs the valley of the Brit, a land of smiling villages and ancient manor-houses, of spacious farmsteads and stone-built cottages. Westward lies a flatter tract of grass land, Marshwood Vale, where the cold heavy clay of the lias becomes in winter an expanse of swamp, in spring a carpet of wild-flowers. At the end of each valley, and over the shoulders of the hills that bound them, gleam the blue waters of the bay.

On the northern slopes of Lewesdon and Pilsdon, where Dorset meets Devon and Somerset, is a rougher, wilder country of tangled wood and running stream, moorland and gorse-grown pasture, comprised in the upland parishes of Burstock and Broadwindsor, two of the largest and most secluded in the county. In Burstock a hamlet is situated—now represented by a farm, a cottage, and a decayed water-mill—known as Whetham or Wheteham, an ancient manor, which in the reign of Edward II. was alienated in mortmain to the neighbouring Abbot and Convent of Ford.[1]

From this hamlet a family took the name of Whetham or Whetisham. In early Patent and Close Rolls we read of Whethams who bought and sold lands and manors here and there through the west of England.[2] In 1391 Johannes Whetham was Member of Parliament for Tavistock;[3] as late as 1478 another John Whetham acquired the manors of Weston and Norton Underedge;[4] but during the sixteenth century they seem, for the most part, to have held the rank of yeomen or tenant farmers.

A century later the family began to emerge again from obscurity. In the twenty-first year of the reign of King James I., Thomas Whetham was Recorder of Chichester and Member of Parliament for that borough;[5] while still another John, returning to the neighbourhood of the name-place in the reign of

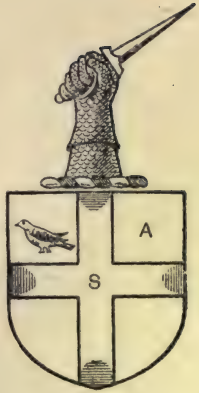
[1] Patent Rolls, 11 Edw. II., Oct. 1317.

[2] Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1309, 1478; Cal. Close Rolls, 1339, 1347; Cal. Feudal Aids, i. p. 241; Cal. Inquisitions, vol. i., Hen. VII.; Add. Charters, Brit. Mus., 35,088 and 35,089.

[3] MS. book of Members of Parliament at the Record Office.

[4] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1478.

[5] Browne-Willis, *Notitia Parliamentaria.*



IPSE JEHOVAH SCUTUM.

PEDIGREE OF WHETHAM OF BROADWINDSOR

FROM ABOUT 1480 TO 1650

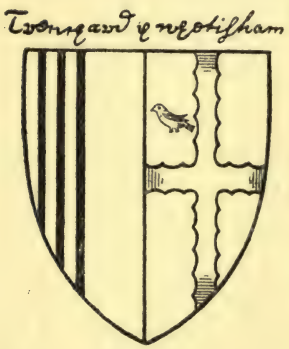
(Harleian MS. 1144).

- John Whetesham or Whetham, of Milton Abbas, Dorset. = —— Hickes.
  - Thomas Whetham, of Milton Abbas. = —— Mantell.
    - John Whetham, of Drimpton, Dorset. = (Edith) Peare.
      - Thomas Whetham, of Drimpton. = Dorothy Hooper.
        - John Whetham, of Broadwindsor. = Eleanor Wykes.
          - John.
          - Deborah.
        - Robert Whetham.
        - James Whetham, of Trull, Somerset. = Ann Whithorne.
          - Joseph.
          - John.
          - James.
          - Mary.
        - Joseph Whetham, of Co. Bucks.
        - Ann.
        - Nathaniel Whetham, of London. = Joan Shorter.
          - Nathaniel.
          - Joseph.
      - Hercules.
      - James.
      - William.

Elizabeth, acquired a considerable amount of property in the parish of Broadwindsor.

We are able first to trace a connected history of the family from a pedigree registered at the College of Arms during the Interregnum by William Ryley, Lancaster Herald. A contemporary copy of this pedigree still exists among the Harleian collection of manuscripts at the British Museum,[1] though the original, probably destroyed at the Restoration, is no longer to be found at the College of Arms.

The coat of arms tricked in the Harleian copy of the pedigree—Argent a cross sable, in the first quarter a martlet of the second—seems to have been in use from an early period, for, although it does not appear in the Visitations of Dorset, it was impaled (the cross being engrailed) with the coat of Trenchard in the windows of the ancient manor-house of Wolveton, near Dorchester, long before the date of the pedigree, and was placed there to commemorate a marriage between a Trenchard and a Whetisham.[2]



The accuracy of the pedigree is confirmed by the will of John Whetham, the second of that name mentioned therein.[3] John Whetham was buried on

[1] Harl. MS. 1144, f. 2.

[2] Harl. MS. 1427, f. 20 a. Arms of Trenchard: Party per pale, the first paly of six arg. and sa., the second az.

[3] P.C.C. 68, Harte. See also Will of John Peare, 1617 (P.C.C. 59, Weldon); and Chancery Proceedings, James I., W. 1/40, Whetham *v.* Peare.

March 10th, 1604; that is, in the modern style, March 21st, 1605. His will was dated "the third daye of Maye and in the second yeare of the Reigne of our Sowereigne Lorde Kinge James"; that is, 1604. As fortune had favoured him in this world's goods, the will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the Archbishop having the right of securing the fees for such wills in supersession of the claims of the inferior Courts of the Archdeacon and Bishop. Hence John Whetham's will is preserved at Somerset House, London. In accordance with the good custom of the time it begins:—

"In the name of God amen. I John Whetam of Drempton within the parishe of Broadwinsor in the Countie of Dorsett being sicke and weake in bodye but of whole and perfect remembrance (thanks be given to god) do make and ordaine this my Testament conteyninge my last Will in manner and forme following Inprimis I geve and bequeathe my sowle into the hands of almighty god my Creator beseachinge him for his Sonne my Redeemer's sake to receive me into his glorious kingdome and my bodye to be buryed in the Christian Buryall of Broadwinsor."

John Whetham appoints his wife Edith sole executrix and residuary legatee. He gives legacies of money to his children Grace, Hercules, Joan, James, and to the five children of his eldest son Thomas, namely, John, Robert, James, Joseph, and Ann. He leaves his estate in his house and lands, held on a lease for the term of four thousand years, to his two sons Thomas and William. Thomas is to have "all that parte of my dwelling house from the entrie towards the northe

easte," and William "the parte Sowthe west from the entrie . . . the entrie and well without the back door shall be in common between them according to theire severall uses." He then divides his enclosed lands. Thomas is to have Brearth, Wheateclose, Horrie Mead, Common Close; William is given Broad Close, Field Close, Hippett Mead, and Pathclose. William is to have the right of digging and carrying marl from one

John Whetham's House
DRIMPTON

of Thomas's fields, to be used "on anne parte or parcell of grounde w^{ch} I have before given him and not elsewhere."

It seems difficult to conceive an arrangement more likely to lead to family quarrels, and, although such a custom is still not unknown in West Dorset, in this case the natural result seems to have followed, for within a year we find William Whetham at Bridport, where his brother James also lived.[1] William's daughter Tamasin was baptized there on March 12th, 1605/6.

[1] Will of John Peare; also Parish Registers.

He served as Churchwarden in 1614 and 1615, and as Bailiff in 1618, 1623, 1628, and 1635.[1] He witnessed the grant of Arms to Bridport Borough by the Heralds who visited Dorset in 1623, and, according to the Parish Registers, "Mr. William Whetham was buried" on the tenth day of January 1637. Thus he never returned to live on his share of his father's estate.

Between the sealing of old John Whetham's will and the death of the testator, another son was born to Thomas Whetham and Dorothy Hooper his wife. The Burstock Parish Registers for the year 1604 record—

"Nathaniell sone to Thomas Whetham baptized the XXVth daye of November."

BURSTOCK CHURCH

Place-names, even those of fields, possess a wonderful permanence. Each generation learns from its fathers

[1] Hutchins's *Dorset*, vol. ii., Bridport.

to call the familiar enclosures by the customary names. Thus, although some redistribution between fields and farms has occurred during the three hundred years which separate us from the date of John Whetham's death, it is possible to identify his house from the names of the fields associated with it, as well as from its aspect and arrangements. The division into two is still evident within. Thomas's share lies to our right as we face the front of the house; it is enlarged by a projecting block of building behind. William's south-west part lies to our left. The pump, which still draws water from the ancient well, is now covered in by an addition of later date, but the remainder of the house is much as it must have been three centuries ago.

The home of Nathaniel Whetham's childhood stands at the corner where, coming from Broadwindsor, the roads to Chard and Crewkerne part. From the windows and door at the back, looking north-west, a wide-spreading view is obtained across the valley of the Axe to the hills beyond.

To one looking across the same valley in the opening years of the seventeenth century, the country must have worn an aspect very different from that it wears to-day. Now, the whole land is parcelled out into enclosures, grass and arable interspersed, with an occasional coppice, kept to grow timber for the fences, undergrowth for hurdles and cover for game. Then, at least half the country was unenclosed, open spaces of moor or rough grass alternating with patches of oak trees or thorn scrub descended from the primeval forest.

A few grass closes, with gardens and orchards, clustered round each village. Beyond were the arable fields, some perhaps separately enclosed, but others still undivided as in the Middle Ages, and worked in common. Beyond these again lay unfenced tracts, used as grazing ground, often by the inhabitants of several villages.

The country life in which the boyhood of Nathaniel Whetham was passed differed much from that of the present day. In the first place, it was much more isolated. Roads were few and bad. Each parish was told by law to keep its own roads by statute labour, and each parish vied with the next in neglect of the obligation. Communication was slow and difficult, and was carried on for the most part on horseback. Thus the village was more dependent on its own resources than the village of to-day.

But the very isolation made the life more interesting. Each homestead, or at all events each manor, to a large extent was self-supporting. The inmates lived on the produce of their own fields and flocks, and made most articles of necessity or convenience in their own homes. Spinning and weaving were carried on in the houses, especially in the winter months, and many village industries, now vanished or vanishing, were in full activity. Each manor possessed its own mill, in hilly country usually worked by water power; from the mill the lord of the manor often obtained a considerable addition to his revenue. When houses were built, the materials at hand were the cheapest—in fact, the only ones available. Instead of fencing their fields with wire and covering their barns with corrugated

iron, our forefathers protected the growing thickset hedge with honest wooden posts and rails, and built a lasting roof with home-grown oak and quarried slabs of stone,—not from artistic sensibility, be it understood, but from the more effective pressure of economic causes.

Familiarity with the detail of life in such a community would supply a perfect education for a growing boy. At an early stage of development a close acquaintance with the duties of a household gives a more enlightening and more enthralling training to an opening mind than the artificial problems of the school, useful though those problems are at a later age. But watching and sharing the full and varied life of a village, before the specialisation of industry had robbed it of half its self-reliance, must, to an intelligent child, have given an ideal training for mind and hand and eye.

In such a life there was no room for idling. In the intervals of school-time we may imagine the boy helping his father's men with the lighter work of the farm—leading the hay-carts from the grass closes, or the loads of corn from the more distant arable fields ; in the autumn helping to salt the meat which, in those days, had to feed the homestead from Christmas to Midsummer ; or watching the flocks grazing on the unfenced wastes beyond the pastures of the village.

On these wastes, too, game was fairly plentiful. The total population of the country was only some three or four millions, and on the unenclosed land any one, with little danger of interference, might take rabbits,

hares, pheasants, or partridges. During the ensuing two hundred years it became necessary to prevent the extinction of game by limiting the right of taking it to the larger landowners, but early in the seventeenth century wild animals could still fairly hold their own, and every country boy could indulge his natural propensity for sport, and develop thereby his powers of observation and his eye for country in a way that no other training could give.

Throughout the long centuries of her history, England has possessed the advantage of a more intimate connection between country and town than has fallen to the lot of some other lands. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the framework of our modern world was making, this intercourse was especially marked. In the eighteenth century, when a standing army and a permanent royal navy gave a career for their younger sons, the gentry were able to avoid sending them into trade; but in the seventeenth century such openings did not exist, and a greater mixture of classes was the result. When the family possessions were insufficient to give a living to all the sons, the younger branches of ancient families became yeomen, or were apprenticed to a trade in the neighbouring town, if their talents did not fit them to enter a learned profession. The sons of yeomen, too, entered trade in large numbers, and with the sons of the gentry gave to the town-bred population a leaven which proved most useful and invigorating to civic life.

The strong local feeling which distinguished the Middle Ages was now broadening slowly. The nation,

instead of the town or village, tended to become the economic, as it had already become the political, unit. Some places, it is true, still refused to admit as apprentices others than the sons of freemen or people from the immediate neighbourhood, and indeed the feeling against strangers continues in some villages even till to-day. But most of the larger towns had already adopted more liberal ideas, and many of them welcomed Protestant refugees from France or Flanders. London and Norwich in particular gained by the continual infusion of new blood, and accepted apprentices from all over the country, though the standard was maintained at a high level by restricting the privilege to the sons of gentry and yeomen.[1]

At a time when infant mortality was enormously high and combined with periodic visitations of plague to keep down the population, the Whetham family were unusually successful in rearing their children. Nathaniel Whetham's grandfather John Whetham and his grandmother Edith Peare had six children living at the date of John's will, and Nathaniel's father and mother are credited with five sons and a daughter in the pedigree already quoted.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance to the country as a whole of a constant supply of large families born of vigorous stock, trained both in mind and body in healthy homes, and driven to serve God in Church or State by the pressure of insufficient paternal inheritance. To the younger sons of the gentry, clergy, and yeomen, England owes an immense debt of gratitude.

[1] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (1904), pp. 44, 45.

It was clear that some of Thomas Whetham's sons must leave home to make their own way in the world. At all times when records exist, we find Whethams pushing outwards from the somewhat bare and poor uplands, the original home of the race. Down into the fertile vale of Taunton Deane; southward towards the sea by Netherbury and Bridport; away to the distant cities of Bristol and London they pass, till, at the end of the eighteenth century, the parent stem fails, and Burstock and Broadwindsor know them no more.

Of the four sons of Thomas Whetham named in the will of their grandfather, the two eldest, John and Robert, remained in the home parishes as yeomen or tenant farmers, John at Broadwindsor and Robert at Drimpton. James went to live at Trull, a village near Taunton, and acquired some considerable amount of property. Joseph is said in the pedigree to live in Buckinghamshire, with which county there was an old family connection,[1] and, in a deed of purchase of a farm at Trull, is described as "Joseph Whetham of the Inner Temple, Gentleman."[2] In Buckinghamshire he lived on terms of close friendship with a family named Shorter, settled in the neighbourhood of Staines and Colnbrook.[3]

The influence of Joseph Whetham and his friends is seen in the choice of a career made by or for

[1] The Manors of Edworth, Beds, and Ledburn and Oving, Bucks, were granted to William Whetham in 1496. See Add. Charters, 35,088 and 35,089, Brit. Mus.

[2] Close Rolls, 1648, No. 3409.

[3] See Will of John Shorter, proved 1644 (P.C.C., O.W.); Chancery Proc., Car. I. H. 117/129; *History of Wraysbury*, by G. W. J. Gyll (1862), p. 275.

the young Nathaniel. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to one Edward Tirrell or Terrill, the baker to the Inner Temple, and probably a relative of the Buckinghamshire family of that name. Edward Tirrell had married Joanna, daughter of Henry Shorter of Colnbrook, an uncle of that Sir John Shorter whose granddaughter, the beautiful Catherine Shorter, married in 1700 Sir Robert Walpole the statesman, and became the mother of Horace Walpole.

At this period the City Companies were the real and effective authorities over the trades, the names of which they still bear. In the Minute-Book of the Court of the Bakers' Company (1617 to 1648), records of Nathaniel Whetham are to be found.[1]

He was apprenticed in 1620 or 1621, for, although this transaction is not itself indexed, an entry in May 1630 states that he took up his freedom in the Company, and paid an extra fine for not having done so for two years after his articles of apprenticeship terminated. In 1632 he was appointed to be "housekeeper," an office which is said to be the equivalent of the modern "steward," who is supposed to superintend the hospitality of the Society.

The trade guilds still exerted a legal and most effective control over urban industry. No one but a freeman of the guild was allowed to exercise the trade, and the only admission to the freedom was by the

[1] The clue to Whetham's early life in London was given by a reference in Collins's *Account of the Restoration* (see below, Chap. IX.; and Hist. MSS. Commission Report, Leyborne-Popham MSS. p. 209).

We wish to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. F. C. Lingard, Clerk to the Bakers' Company, who allowed us to see the books.

long and often weary road of an apprenticeship for seven years.

Seven years was undoubtedly a period of unnecessary length in the case of many trades, and the rigid regulations exerted a restrictive influence on the growth of industry. But the system had many advantages; not least that it secured domestic discipline in the years when that discipline is most wanted. In this respect it was better than the more elaborate, artificial, and costly methods of technical education towards which we are now struggling out of the chaos left by the breakdown of the apprentice system.

Edward Terrill, Nathaniel Whetham's master in "the art and mystery of white-baking," was a man of substance and education, and must have had considerable influence over the character, opinions, and fortunes of his apprentice during their seven years of association. His will is dated 26th June 1632. In it he leaves bequests of money to various relatives, and forty shillings apiece to his then apprentices. He gives his collection of history books to be shared equally between his two brothers, and his father's great seal ring to a godson and namesake. Five pounds are assigned to provide a repast for such of the Wardens or Commonalty of the Company of Whitebakers as shall attend his funeral, and the sum of three pounds six shillings and eightpence is given to an aunt for "the great pains she hath taken" at the time of his long illness. The residue of his property, with the house No. 3 Crane Court, Fleet Street, goes to his beloved wife Johanna. Moreover, till within the last thirty years the poor of St. Dunstan's benefited directly by his

charity. He ordained that one dozen loaves of penny wheaten bread were to be distributed every Sunday in the parish church, the execution of the legacy being charged on his house in Crane Court. The bread was commuted at some more recent date for an annual payment of fifty-two shillings made by the occupier of the house to the Churchwardens.

In the home of this man, evidently a person of some knowledge and culture, Nathaniel Whetham spent seven of the most impressionable years of his life. From the age of sixteen to that of three-and-twenty he must have been brought into daily contact with his master and his master's family.

At the end of his term of apprenticeship he did not take up the freedom in the Company of Whitebakers to which he was entitled. It is not possible to enter fully into the reasons which determined him to refrain from that step; but two facts throw some light on the question. During the next two years he was engaged actively in the affairs of a Company promoted to found a colony in America; and, on the death of Edward Terrill in 1632, he married the widow within four months. Not unreasonably we may surmise that Whetham found it well for his peace of mind not to continue longer in the neighbourhood of Mistress Johanna Terrill, and contemplated emigration for reasons other than those more usually given to justify that proceeding in the seventeenth century.

In the London to which Nathaniel Whetham came as a boy about 1620, great movements were stirring, and English politics and religion had become separated

already by the main lines of cleavage which still divide them after nearly three hundred years.

When James Stuart ascended the throne of the Tudors it might almost be said of England as of the mythical Rome of old—

> Then none were for a party, then all were for the State.

During the long reign of Elizabeth nearly all men had become agreed in support of her general policy, and, in the realm of religion, moderate Puritanism was merely one point of view in the National Church. The momentous choice between the continued comprehension of this moderate Puritanism in the National Church, and its divergence into separate and definite sects, lay in the hand of one man.

Had James been wiser and more broad-minded, and able to realise either the issues at stake or the temper of his people, the result might have been different. But he told the Puritan clergy that he would "make them conform themselves, or else harry them out of the land," and thereby settled the future history of England and America. The process of "harrying" begat a spirit of opposition in return, and the mild and reasonable Puritans of 1604, separated from the main current of national religious life, split into factions, some of which, joining the rigid Presbyterians or the fanatical sectaries, developed into the ignorant and intolerant bigots of 1640, whose determination to turn the religious and political dispute with Charles I. into an uncompromising attack on the Church drove the best men in the country unwillingly into the King's camp and made the Civil War possible.

One of the immediate effects of James's policy was seen in the rapid increase of colonisation in America. While the earlier settlements were formed by adventurous spirits, inspired by hopes of lands or gold or trade, after the early years of the new reign the emigration assumed a definitely religious aspect. In 1620 the *Mayflower* landed a hundred pioneers of the movement at Plymouth in Massachusetts. Other settlements followed, and in 1629 they were combined by a Charter of Charles I. given to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.

Many smaller Companies sprang up during the succeeding years, and in connection with one of them we hear again of Nathaniel Whetham.[1] About the year 1629 an Association was formed in London called "The Company of Husbandmen" or "The Company of the Plough." On June 26th, 1630, the Company obtained a Patent, which is quoted in an abstract of title prepared in 1686:

"The Earle of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for themselves and the rest of the Councell of Plimouth by indents dated 26 June the 6 year of the reign of Charles I., grant unto Bryan Binckes, John Dye, John Smith and others their associates, two Islands in the River Sagedahock near the south side thereof about sixty miles from the sea, and also a tract containing forty miles in length and forty miles in breadth upon the south side of the River Sagedahock, with all Bayes, Rivers, Ports, Inlets, etc., together with all Royalties and Priveleges within the precincts thereof."

This grant covers lands which would now include a

[1] V. C. Sanborn, *Genealogist*, xix. 270 (1903).

large and valuable tract in South-Eastern Maine, taking in the present city of Portland—poor consolation, perhaps, to the families of the original holders, who abandoned their territories and lost their rights over them.

On the strength of their Patent the Company bought a small ship of 60 tons, which they called *The Plough*. They furnished her with ordnance, stores, and provisions, and ten or twelve of the Company set sail. The others, among whom was Whetham, remained for the time in England to obtain new recruits and funds. During the spring of 1632 they despatched two more ships with stores and men. The total capital of the Company was £1400, and it seems that each £10 adventured gave the right to nominate one colonist, while £20 admitted a wife and family.

Either some mistake was made about the Patent, or else Sir Ferdinando Gorges repented him of the liberality with which he had signed away so many square miles of territory, for some of the London members of the Company wrote by one of the later ships to their friends who had sailed in *The Plough* :—

"We have had much to do about our Patent . . . there was one Bradshaw that had procured letters patent for a part (as we suppose) of our former grant ; and so we think still, but he and Sir Ferdinando think it is not in our bounds. . . . We cannot possibly relate the labour and trouble we have had to establish our former grant ; many rough words we have had from Sir Ferdinando at the first, and to this hour he doth affirm that he never gave consent that you should have above 40 miles in length and 20 in breadth, and

saith that his own hand is not to your Patent if it have any more. So we have shown our good wills and have procured his love and many promises that we shall have no wrong."

The reader is struck with surprise at this sudden change of attitude on the part of the redoubtable Sir Ferdinando, but the next sentence throws light on the process by which his rough words were softened into love.

"We bestowed a sugar-loaf upon him of some 16 shillings price, and he hath promised to do us all the good he can."

One can only wonder that the scruples of Sir Ferdinando Gorges were overcome so easily and cheaply. Even after his conversion, however, he acted with caution, for the letter proceeds :—

"We can procure nothing under his hand, but in our hearing he gave order unto Mr. Ayres to write unto Captain Neale of Pescatoway, that Bradshaw and we might be bounded, that we may not trouble each other ; and hath given the captain command to search your Patent ; what it is you have under my Lord's hand and his. This controversy must be ended between yourselves and such governors of their Pemaquid as they have appointed."

And a very pretty quarrel those unfortunate governors would have had to settle had the respective Patents been worth going to law about. Meanwhile one gathers that the delightful Sir Ferdinando, having packed the disputants off to the New World, kept the purchase money for both Patents, and sat down to enjoy his sugar-loaf in peace.

The original colonists who sailed in *The Plough* met with bad fortune in America. They reached the Sagedahock some time during the winter of 1630-1, and made an attempt at settlement. But at that time the land was wild and sterile, and the season of the year made the worst of the situation. The ardour of the colonists seems to have cooled rapidly, for they are next heard of, early in July, arriving at the established and prosperous settlements near Boston. After taking in supplies they started for the West Indies, apparently to make another attempt at colonisation. Failure again resulted, however, for, after three weeks' interval, the ship arrived once more at Boston, "so broke she could not return home."

The slowness of communication in those days is well illustrated by the fact that, more than a year later, the Company in London were sending new ships to America and writing letters in complete unconsciousness that their colony had ended in ignominious failure.

The unlucky passengers of *The Plough* seem to have stayed on in Massachusetts; and, on the arrival of the second ship, the assets of the Company were turned over to the Courts. The members of the Company settled in various parts of the country, but did not separate without mutual recriminations. Apparently every one seized any part of the Company's property he could secure—an ejected Puritan divine, whom the colonists had taken with them to minister to their spiritual needs, being especially successful in this respect.

Another member of the Company, named Dummer, laid hands on the Patent itself as security for his claims, and took it back with him to England in 1638.

The other patentees recovered it by a grant of 800 acres at Casco Bay, and then sold it in 1643 to Alexander Rigby, of Rigby, in Lancashire, a Parliamentary commander. Rigby appointed one George Cleeve his Deputy-Lieutenant of "The Province of Ligonia." Cleeve was met by the opposition of the authorities of Massachusetts, who wished to obtain control over the whole of Maine. Appeals were then made to the English Courts. In 1646 the Earl of Warwick and the Commissioner for Settling the Affairs of Foreign Plantations gave a judgment in favour of Rigby; but in 1686, after much further litigation, the whole province of Maine was granted to Massachusetts. *The Plough* Patent was thus abrogated, and disappears from history.

The story of "The Company of Husbandmen" serves to illustrate the origin of the English plantations in America and the enterprise of the men by whom those plantations were founded. We have heard much of the Colonies which succeeded—are not their histories written in the school-books of the United States?—but it may be well to remember that those that lived were the survivors in a struggle for existence in which others went under, and that here, as in different matters, the failure of the many seems to have been a necessary basis for the success of the few.

Simultaneously with the collapse of his venture in colonisation, the circumstances which may have led Nathaniel Whetham to contemplate emigration changed. The Parish Registers of St. Dunstan's record that on the 10th of August 1632 "Edward Terrill was buried out of Fleet Street."

The apprentice who marries his master's daughter is

a favourite character in old English plays. Nathaniel Whetham improved on the orthodox plot. In old editions of Burke's *Landed Gentry*, Colonel Nathaniel Whetham heads the pedigree of the family of Whetham of Kirklington Hall, Nottinghamshire. In that work he is said to marry, on December 12th, 1632, "Joanna, daughter of Henry Shorter, Esquire, of Horton, County Buckingham, and widow of Edward Terrill of St. Dunstan's."

The substantial accuracy of the date is verified by the registers of the parish, for, although no entry of the marriage can be found, on September 25th, 1633, we read :

"Nathaniell, the sonne of Mr. Nathaniell Whittom, was baptized out of Fleet Street."

Three other sons were born at successive intervals of two years. Thomas was baptized on the 12th of August 1635, but was buried in the following March. On July 29th, 1637, John was baptized, and Joseph on August 28th, 1639. John was buried on the 20th of January 1642/3, just as his father was starting for the wars, leaving the two sons, Nathaniel and Joseph, who survived their father but a few years. It will be noticed that all the sons are given names common in their father's family. We may surmise that our future soldier was already master in his own—or his wife's—house.

Whetham, who now had taken up his freedom in the Company of Whitebakers, settled down to practise his trade, and himself became baker to the Inner Temple. Almost immediately after his marriage he began taking apprentices. In 1633 we find recorded in the Minute-Book of the Court of the Bakers' Company that—

"Nathaniell Whittham hath taken Anthony Dyer, the sonne of Anth. Dyer of the City of Westm. in the County of Middlesex, Gent., to be his apprentice for seaven years."

In the same year he takes "Arthur Wilkinson, sonne of Gabriell Wilkinson of Woobourne in the County of Bucke"; while another Buckinghamshire apprentice appears in 1638 in the person of "John, sonne of Ralphe Winksfield of Chalfount . . . Yeoman."

Edward Lawne, of the "City and County of Yorke," and Richard, son of "Richard May, late of Shrewsbury," were bound apprentices in 1638 and 1639; while in 1641 the form of entry changes:

"Richard, the sonne of Richard Finshall of Woobourne in the County of Bucke, yeoman, hath come before the Master and Wardens and acknowledged himself to be the apprentice of Nathaniell Whettam for seaven years from our Lady day next after, the date of his indentures being dated the seaven & twentieth day of January 1641, and pays iiij^{li}."

Evidently the business flourished, since apprentices came so readily to learn their trade. It is evident, too, that Whetham was now possessed of property, and was looking out for suitable investments—a difficulty greater in that age than in our own. On February 8th, 1640, he lends money on mortgage.[1] One hundred pounds lawful English money were paid for about seven acres called Urchins Mead, at Pinner or Harrow, with the stipulation that, if one hundred and four pounds were repaid before the following 11th of September in the common dining-hall of the Inner Temple, the

[1] Close Rolls xvi., Car. I., 3231.

bargain should be null and void. Thus the mortgage value of the land was about fourteen pounds an acre, equivalent to about forty or fifty pounds nowadays, and the rate of interest was eight per cent per annum.

CHAPTER II

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

THE great civil war between Charles I. and his Parliament is the most striking phenomenon in the domestic history of England. The form of government which arose from the ashes of war passed away and left no permanent trace on our constitution; the Commonwealth and Protectorate make but an interlude in the evolutionary drama of constitutional and ecclesiastical history. Yet England can never be as she would have been had the war remained unfought. In the war and in the preceding political struggle through the reigns of James and Charles, we see modern English parties crystallising out of the half-fluid state in which the opinions and convictions of the people were left by the Renaissance and the Reformation. Hence it is that the Civil War is still a subject of controversy, that Englishmen still take sides as Royalists or Parliamentarians.

Had the preceding struggle been confined to political and constitutional questions, it is probable that Charles would have been forced to grant the more moderate demands of his opponents, and been obliged to keep the agreement both in spirit and in letter. For, on

political issues, there was no appreciable Royalist party in the country, and no effective army could have been raised by the Court alone. Even the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford—a measure of much more than doubtful justice—passed the Commons by two hundred and four votes to fifty-nine.

But in the seventeenth century the political question was involved in—even overshadowed by—the religious question. The Elizabethan settlement, Protestant in its essence, had been modified gradually by the tendency of the first two Stuarts to avoid the danger of Puritan predominance by favouring the growing High Church party. James and Charles had given by degrees an almost exclusively High Anglican colouring to the Bench of Bishops. James had made impossible the comprehension of the more pronounced Puritans in the Church of England, and the policy of Charles and Laud was threatening to exclude what would now be termed the Evangelical party. The bulk of the nation grew thoroughly alarmed, and, terrified by real Irish massacres and imaginary Popish plots, began to believe that a return to the days of Queen Mary was upon them.

The vast majority of all classes of the people were satisfied with the Elizabethan settlement, and were ready to adopt any moderate measures limiting the power of the Bishops to modify that settlement in the direction of Roman doctrines or practices. Here again there was no appreciable party in the country in support of the King.

Till the autumn of 1641 the Parliamentarians could have carried the country with them. When the King went to Scotland in August of that year, Lords and

Commons, without serious opposition, passed ordinances to secure the strongest garrisons of the country for the Parliament. This was an illegal assumption of administrative authority ; but it was carried out with the consent of such men as Falkland, Culpepper, and Hyde, who afterwards were among the pillars of the royal cause. If the King had tried to raise his standard a year earlier than he did, the moderate Episcopalians would have opposed him, and, had it come to war, would have fought for the Parliament.[1]

But while the King was being outwitted by his northern subjects, the moderate party in Parliament were involved by their "root and branch" allies in an attack on the Book of Common Prayer. Men who were ready enough to face a change in the government of the Church, and had no love for the Ritualistic tendencies of the Bishops, thereupon took alarm. After the summer recess the temper of the House had changed. Men saw where Pym was leading them, and refused to follow. The threatened proscription of the Prayer-Book had done what Charles himself could never have effected—it had created a Royalist party. Civil war now became inevitable, and the only useful efforts of either side were thenceforth directed towards putting their opponents in the wrong, and securing the control of the militia before the outbreak of actual hostilities.

The King's party had now been recruited by all the moderate Episcopalians, except those few who, like Ralph Verney, preferred to face exile rather than take part in a struggle in which neither side seemed to them to be in the right.

[1] See Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 217.

The King's opponents may be divided roughly into two groups—the Presbyterians and the Independents or Sectaries. The Presbyterians, represented in Parliament by Pym and his majority, upheld the ideal of a National Church as firmly as did Laud and the High Church Bishops, though they hoped to reform the existing organism on Puritan lines. But, in contradistinction to the rigid orthodox Presbyterianism of the Scots, the English party wished the government of the Church to be placed in the hands, neither of priest nor presbyter, but of Parliamentary lay Commissioners. This solution would at all events have avoided the narrow clerical tyranny enjoyed by the Scots. "To make King and Church responsible to Parliament was the real aim of the Presbyterian party."[1]

Had the Presbyterians prevailed, no dissent, either Episcopalian or Independent, would have been tolerated. But it should be said for them that, when the country by an overwhelming voice rejected their outward scheme at the Restoration (though accepting to a great extent their inner object, the supremacy of Parliament), they themselves accepted the verdict. The vast majority remained loyal members of the Church of England, though they could not have their own way in determining the ostensible form of Church government or the doctrines to be put foremost. With very few exceptions they maintained no separate organisation, and contributed little to the growth of English dissent.

The Independents believed no national solution to be possible or desirable, and wished each congregation to go on its way unchecked. Weak at first, they came

[1] Gardiner, ii. 67.

to the front as the struggle continued, because among them alone were to be found men who knew how to finish the war. The governments of the Commonwealth and Protectorate were imbued with their principles, and they remain the characteristic products of English Puritanism. The number of sects into which they divided forced them to adopt some ideas of religious toleration. But, for the most part, it was toleration of Puritanism only. Cromwell's brutal speech to the clergyman reading Divine Service in Ely Cathedral, "Cease your fooling, sir, and come down," represented their attitude to Anglicanism, while broken stained glass and desecrated altars marked their track across the country. They stood for liberty of sectarian association within the limits of Puritanism; but for the germ of intellectual freedom—of honest search of truth for its own sake—we must turn at that time to the moderate Royalist divines, to the broad-minded Fuller, to the scholar and rationalist Chillingworth.

If it be true that the war could not have been finished without the Independents, who alone were ready to crush the King, it is no less certain that it could not have been begun without the Presbyterian nobles and gentry, who held by the Parliament and supplied natural leaders to their forces. They were pushed aside by the more extreme men as the war continued, but they alone could have got together the army which fought the first campaign and gave a chance for the Independents to rise to positions of influence by natural ability, force of character, or fervour of conviction.

Few indeed of those who, in 1642, set forth "to live or die with the Earl of Essex" would have wished to do either one or the other had they foreseen to what their resolution was to lead. Essex and the moderate Presbyterians fought to extort from the King a treaty granting the objects for which they struggled. History proves them to have been in the right—save for one miscalculation. A firm treaty with the King would have been the one course which could have given them security for the permanence of the constitutional and ecclesiastical development they had in view. But they failed to realise that the character of Charles I. made impossible the "accommodation with His Majesty" for which they fought. With Charles's earnest and conscientious conviction that it was his divinely appointed duty to maintain his prerogative untouched, and his unscrupulous use of men, means, and promises to uphold it, an honest compromise was impossible. But, till the capture of the King's correspondence at Naseby, his inveterate duplicity was not understood; and, on the facts before them, Essex and his friends showed true political insight in fighting for a treaty. Had such a treaty been made, and had Charles been capable of keeping it, the cause for which Essex took up arms would not have been swamped by the measures of triumphant revolution, and swept away for ever when the nation returned at the Restoration to its true course of constitutional development.

Nathaniel Whetham did not approve of the High Church tendencies of the Bishops, and for some time had been accustomed to attend the services of Puritan

ministers of Presbyterian opinions.[1] The course he took in 1659 shows that he was still acting with the Presbyterians, though probably with the left wing rather than with the moderate party, who by that time were converted to the cause of the monarchy. But at the outbreak of the war we have no means of knowing whether he belonged to the party of Essex, or to the more advanced section of the Presbyterians, whose natural military and political leader was Fairfax.

But neither his letters nor his recorded speeches show the religious fanaticism which marked the sectaries or other extreme Puritans. They reveal him as a man of affairs, anxious to do the duty which came to his hand honestly and thoroughly; a man of the type of Monck—a soldier and administrator loyal to his commission, and not meddling in politics or religion more than he could help.

Many clear-sighted men foresaw the evils that would result from the complete victory of either side. Such opinions were expressed in a letter from Thomas, Lord Savile, to Lady Temple,[2] written on February 23rd, 1642/3, after the war had lasted some months :—

"I would not have the King trample on the Parliament, nor the Parliament lessen him so much as to make a way for the people to rule us all. I hate Papists so much that I would not have the King necessitated to use them for his defence nor owe them any obligation. I love religion so well that I would not have it put to

[1] Leyborne-Popham MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Report, p. 209.
[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1642-3.

the hazard of a battle. I love liberty so much that I would not trust it in the hands of a conqueror. For as much as I love the King, I should not be glad he beat the Parliament, though they were in the wrong. I would do all good offices to the Parliament . . . if they would give me leave."

Many of the finest characters among those who took up arms on one side or the other, did so with a sense of divided sympathies—men like Sir Edmund Verney and Lord Falkland. But it is impossible not to recognise the high ideals and lofty characters of the best spirits who, without hesitation of heart, played leading parts on either side in the great struggle, before the more violent partisans had come to the front, and Chillingworth could describe men as divided into publicans and sinners on the one side and scribes and pharisees on the other. What can be nobler than the oft-quoted words written, when they were in command of opposing armies in the west, by Sir William Waller to Sir Ralph Hopton :[1]

"My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person. But I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. . . . That great God who is the searcher of my heart knows with what a sad sense I go upon this service, and with what a perfect hatred I detest this war without an enemy. . . . We are both upon the stage, and must act such parts as are assigned to us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour, and without personal animosities."

That is a letter of which every Englishman may

[1] Clarendon State Papers, fol. ed., ii. p. 155.

be proud, whether he believes in the cause for which Waller fought, or holds with the brave and true-hearted Sir Bevil Grenville that every man's sword should leap from its sheath "when the King of England's standard waves in the field upon so just an occasion."

When the King and his personal followers retired to York in January 1641/2, both parties began active preparations for war. There was no standing army, and the militia or trained bands were the only military force even potentially in being. Hence the eight months which elapsed before the King raised his standard were devoted to attempts to capture the militia. The King issued constitutional and legal commissions of array, and the Parliament passed unconstitutional and illegal militia ordinances. Both sides thought it worth while to contend that they were the true defenders of the ancient constitution, and thus appeal to the conservative instincts of Englishmen. The King proclaimed that his object was to uphold the laws, and to confirm all the just powers and privileges of Parliament. His opponents raised their army ostensibly for "the defence of the King and Parliament," the pretext being that the King was to be rescued from bad advisers who were leading him astray.

But the time was past to consider precedents or questions of strict legality. Promptness in action, and not constitutional right, was now the effective force. Parliament formed committees of local gentry in each county, and the position at the opening of hostilities depended largely on the skill, energy, and foresight of these local committees. Cromwell in particular, the

leading spirit of the eastern committees, rose to the occasion. Suspected Royalists, among them his own uncle, were disarmed, places of strength secured, and East Anglia made the backbone of the military power of the Parliament. This was the first of the determining factors of all the campaigns of the war.

Secondly, the Navy declared for the Parliament, and gave to them the command of the sea, and the revenues to be derived from customs on sea-borne commerce. Charles had paid his sailors badly or not at all, and discontent was rife in the royal fleet, still smarting under the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh and the disgrace of the abortive expedition to Cadiz. Moreover, the Protestant traditions of Drake remained a power amongst the seamen. The popularity of the Earl of Warwick, appointed Admiral by the Houses, was thus able to carry with him the allegiance of the crews, who mutinied against the few officers loyal to the King.

The importance of sea-power to the Parliament cannot be overestimated. It secured commerce and the customs. It prevented free communication between the King and his friends on the Continent. It gave control over the foreign policy of England. Besides all this, it contributed directly to the successful outcome of the war by supporting seaport garrisons in the Royalist territories. The local forces on which, till 1645, both sides relied could never be held together, if their leaders attempted to advance into strange country leaving behind them their homes at the mercy of a raid from a hostile garrison. Hence Hopton could not leave Devon with Plymouth unsubdued, and Newcastle

turned back from Lincolnshire to watch the garrison of Hull. These delays, together with Charles's own check in front of Gloucester, destroyed the promising Royalist combination of 1643, and turned the issue of the war.

The third important factor in the struggle was the devotion of London to the Parliament. Many leading citizens were Royalist, but, on the whole, the feeling of the city was overwhelmingly against the King. London governed herself, and had no sympathy with absolutist ideas, whether of Charles I. or of the military despots of the Commonweath. Hence, in 1642 the wealth which the possession of London gave was cast into the scale on the side of the Parliament. First by voluntary contributions, and later on by the surer and more productive means of forced assessments, London helped to finance the Civil War.

The King had not the ready money necessary to equip and pay a professional standing army. The merchants were against him, and all the chief seaports were in the hands of his enemies. His best supporters, the country gentry, could only give him their plate and what rent they could collect from tenants often disaffected. But the Parliament might have raised at once the army "merely their own," which Waller foresaw was necessary in 1643, and Fairfax and Cromwell organised in 1645. Instead of that course, for the first two years the Parliament depended on local levies, raised and paid by their own counties. The natural result followed. As soon as troops were ordered or requested to leave their own neighbourhood, to join one of the field armies on which the real issue depended,

the local committee protested that their county was being left at the mercy of the enemy, and the men usually settled the matter by deserting and making their way home again.

The city of London raised men as well as money for the service of the Parliament. Besides the infantry of the trained bands, companies of dragoons were embodied. As major of these dragoons and captain of one of their companies, Nathaniel Whetham first saw service.[1] Doubtless the country life of his boyhood made him fitter for such duties than were some of the other citizens.

The dragoons were mounted infantry who acted strategically with the regular horse. They were mounted either on horses of their own, or occasionally behind the cavalry troopers. For the most part they fought on foot, for, although they carried long swords like the troopers, their principal weapon was a shnaphanse or flintlock musket, made shorter than the clumsy matchlock of the infantry. Their duties were those of reconnaissance and outpost work, while in presence of an enemy they seized advanced positions in attack and fought rearguard actions in retreat.[2]

The King raised his standard at Nottingham on August 22nd, 1642, and in September moved towards the Welsh border. The magic of his name and the ancient loyalty of the country gradually swelled his following till it became a respectable army. Essex advanced slowly to meet him, but Charles evaded the

[1] Compare Leyborne-Popham MSS., Hist. Com. Report, p. 209; Cal. State Papers, Dom., Nov. 17, 1642; and Whetham's letter quoted below, p. 41.

[2] C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*.

Parliamentary commander and started towards London. At Edgehill in Warwickshire he turned and fought the first battle of the war. Rupert on the right chased the opposing Roundhead horse off the field; but the cavalry on the left were defeated, and the Royal infantry were rolled up by the outflanking movement, which recurred in almost all the battles that followed. The result was indecisive, but the King was able to continue his march. It seems as though the road to London lay open, and the King's decision not to advance on the capital has been attributed by some to the advice of those members of his council who had no wish to see him enter London as a conqueror.[1] Instead of marching on London, the Royal army, after receiving the submission of Banbury Castle, entered Oxford on October the 29th, and there the King established his headquarters. Essex, passing to the north of Oxford, got between it and London. While new negotiations, hopeless from the first, were going on, the King moved towards London, but was stopped by Essex's army, strengthened by levies from the city, at Turnham Green.

The strategic character of the war was now fixed. The Thames valley became the shortest road between the rival headquarters, Oxford and London. The Parliament held the south and east, the King drew his strength from the north and west. Oxford was an advanced post, as well as the Royalist headquarters; hence it was necessary to protect it as much as possible by covering it with outlying fortresses, such as Donnington, Brill, and Banbury Castle, which were met by the Parliamentary garrisons of Windsor, Newport

[1] Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*, p. 307.

Pagnell, and Northampton. These garrisons served as a check on Oxford, and a threat to Banbury. It is to this central field of action that we must turn our attention.

In November 1642, Robert, Earl of Warwick, "captain-general of the army then levied in London and the counties thereabouts," signed a commission for Richard Browne to be colonel of all the companies of dragoons raised by the city of London.[1]

This Richard Browne, Whetham's first commander, was his neighbour in London in the parish of St. Dunstan's. He was a wood-merchant, living in Fetter Lane, and the baptism of his children is recorded from time to time in the parish register. At first he is described therein simply as Mr. Richard Browne, but in 1643 he blossoms suddenly with military honours. We read—

"Bridget, the daughter of Sergeant-Major-General Browne and Bridget his wife, was baptized on 6th May."

Browne, like many other of the Presbyterian leaders in the first Civil War, was opposed to extreme measures against the King, and suffered for his moderation under the Commonwealth and Protectorate. He was imprisoned for five years, but was released in time to work for the Restoration, after which he was knighted by Charles II., and was Lord Mayor of London in 1660.

In 1643, however, such honours, like the Royalist sympathies which led to them, were still among the

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1642.

surprises of the future. Sergeant-Major-General Browne was one of the most prominent, if he could not be said to be one of the most efficient, of the Parliamentary commanders, and to him were entrusted the London Dragoons.

In Oxford the King maintained a large force, which was always ready to make raids on the surrounding country, or even to threaten a serious advance on London. To meet these dangers a considerable number of troops were kept by the Parliament, not only in the important garrisons we have named, but also quartered in the smaller places between Oxford and London. Several companies of the dragoons raised by the city were scattered about in this neighbourhood.

Even while the grand operations of the war were going on elsewhere, constant bickering occurred in this part of the field. In particular, whenever Prince Rupert was at Oxford, the Parliamentary commanders had to be on the alert. No morning broke, but the fiery Prince might appear at the head of his hard-riding cavaliers, swoop on an isolated detachment, and carry a score or two of Roundhead prisoners back to Oxford, with plunder from the town or village which, however unwillingly, had sheltered them.

In command of the Parliamentary forces at Aylesbury was Colonel Arthur Goodwin, the friend and neighbour of John Hampden. Some of the letters written by and to Goodwin are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and from them we get a good idea of the difficulties experienced by the commanders early in the war in holding their troops together, and in preventing local levies whose pay was in

arrear, or not forthcoming at all, from taking unauthorised toll of the surrounding country.

"We are all most abominable plunderers," writes Goodwin to his son-in-law Lord Wharton, "as bad as Prince Robert. . . . I am ashamed to look an honest man in the face."[1]

Major Whetham's company of dragoons was placed under the immediate orders of Colonel Goodwin, and was stationed at some place near Aylesbury, probably as an outpost in one of the villages towards Oxford. Whetham soon found that his men were so disaffected, and so anxious to return to their comfortable homes in London, that he dare not leave them even to wait upon his Colonel for orders. About the end of January 1642/3 he wrote to Goodwin explaining his difficulties.[2] The letter is endorsed "Serg^{t} Major Witham 1642."[3] It is addressed—

"To his much Honour^{d} and Noble Commander Coll. Goodwin Commander in cheife of the forces at Alsbury these present.

"Most Noble S^{r}

"I beeseech you to excuse mee in that I doe not waite uppon you for orders accordinge to my duty, the ground whearof meerely arisinge from my care to the states good, for if I should bee but a small while absent our dragooners would for the most part all bee gone w^{ch} as I conceive would bee preiuditiall to us, in in-

[1] Carte MSS. Bod. Lib. 103 f. 91.

[2] Carte MSS. 103 f. 125. The approximate date of the letter is fixed by the reference to the death of Whetham's son, who was buried on January 20.

[3] "Sergeant-Major" is the equivalent of our "Major," as "Sergeant-Major-General" corresponds with the present rank of "Major-General."

couraginge our Enimies and Discouraginge us to heare that our forces disband, besides the loss the state would suffer in regard of theire horse and armes, w^{ch} yet notwthstandinge for all my care of them and Engagem^{ts} for them are some allredy gone as my Leiftn^{t} this bearer can more fully informe you : Truly S^{r} my most humble & honourable Esteem of yo^{r} selfe and my unfayghned respect to the cause brought mee first onto you, and though I left a sonne dead over night and a sorrowfull woman havinge longe had a wounded contience and troubled spirit (and then much more increased by that temporall afflicion) yet I most willingly in the morninge left all to obay orders I rec. to waite uppon you ; w^{ch} I hope together wth yo^{r} owne goodnes & Charity may perswade you of the faithfulnes of him to doe you service who unfaighnedly desires to bee yo^{r} humble (though unworthy) servant,

"NATH. WHETHAM."

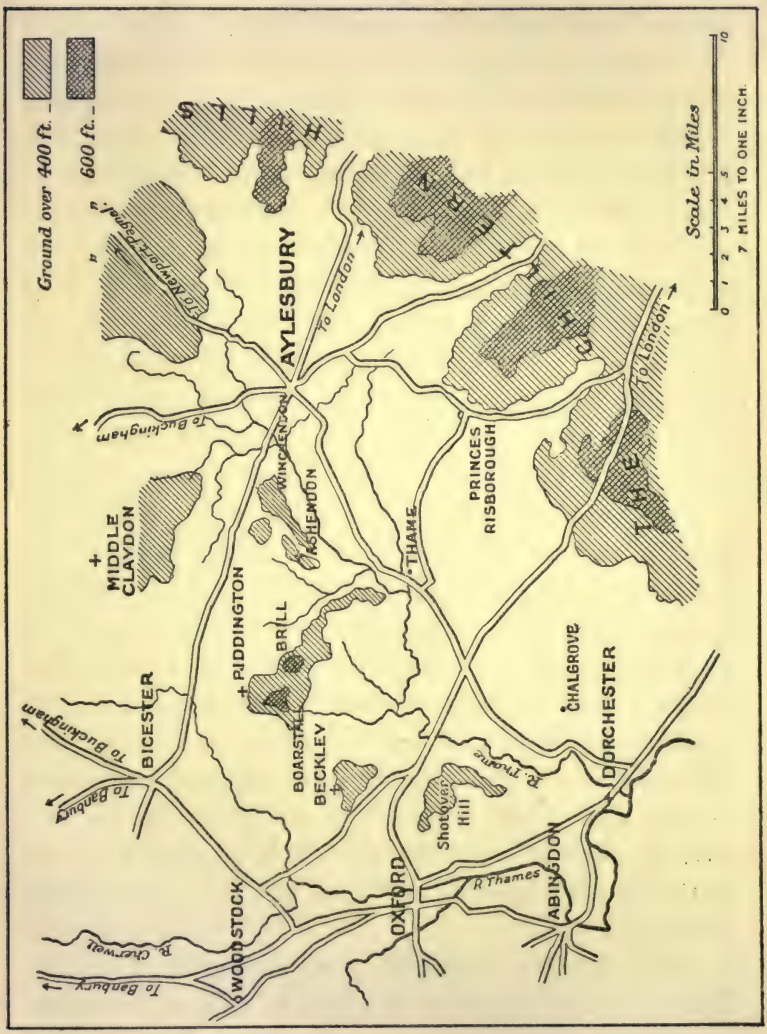
Very soon after this glimpse into the nature of the duties which Whetham had undertaken, and into the private sorrows he had left to face them, we find Browne's dragoons employed in an abortive and badly-managed attack on the Royalist garrison of Brill, a well-fortified place in Buckinghamshire, on high ground ten miles west of Aylesbury.[1]

On the 24th of January, Essex wrote giving his consent to the scheme,[2] and active preparations were pushed forward. The country was too deep for heavy guns

[1] *The Latest Intelligence of Prince Rupert's Proceedings in Northamptonshire, and also Col. Goodwin's at Brill*, London ; printed Feb. 2, 1642.

[2] Carte MSS. Bod. Lib. 103 f. 121.

to be moved, and Goodwin was obliged to march with



two light five- or six-pounders, called sacres, as his only battering train. Unknown to Goodwin, the

garrison had been reinforced on the previous day, and the commander, Sir Gilbert Gerard, had about six hundred men under his orders.[1]

Goodwin arranged that Colonel Homsted's regiment should lead the attack, with Colonel Browne's dragoons as supports. After an ineffectual artillery preparation, Homsted's men advanced within musket-shot, but, as no breach had been made in the walls, they could only shoot at the heads of the enemy. Some attempt at a storm seems to have been made, but any chance of success it had apparently was destroyed by contradictory orders issued on the spot by a "Scots commander." Homsted's regiment refused to renew the attack, and, after a confused fight of about two hours' duration, the Parliamentary forces retreated. They were pursued by the garrison for some four miles, but only a few stragglers were taken. This looks as though the retreat had been covered efficiently. It is probable, or certain, that the mounted infantry would be used as rearguard; and it may well be that in the trying and difficult duty of holding back a victorious pursuing force Whetham got his first experience of close contact with an enemy. The total loss was reported to London as two men, while Oxford rejoiced over the destruction of seventy Roundheads. It is possible that the truth lay between the estimates of the two sanguine correspondents.

The curtain now descends on Nathaniel Whetham, and we see no more of him till it rises again a few months later on a wider stage, whereon he is disclosed as Governor of the important garrison of Northampton.

[1] Lord Nugent's *Memorials of John Hampden*, p. 363.

Evidently the Major of dragoons had proved himself to be a good soldier and capable administrator.

Meanwhile the fortune of war went well for the King. Waller's army was destroyed at Roundway Down, and Bristol surrendered to Prince Rupert. At the beginning of August the Parliamentary cause was at its lowest ebb ; three Royalist armies were preparing to march on London from the West, the North, and the Midlands. Doubtless the King would have triumphed had not Plymouth, Hull, and Gloucester held out for the Parliament. Hopton could not prevail on his West-countrymen to leave their homes at the mercy of the garrison of Plymouth, and Newcastle was forced to turn back to press the siege of Hull. Charles could not advance unsupported, and stopped to attack Gloucester. The Royalist combination was destroyed.

The Parliament made desperate efforts to meet the crisis. Essex's army was reinforced by all the London trained bands which could be spared, and furnished with all the supplies which could be raised. Marching through Aylesbury it hastened towards Gloucester, and arrived in time. The King raised the siege ; but, with true strategy, interposed his army between his enemies and London. Essex evaded him by a feint to the north, and then attempted to reach London by passing to the south of Oxford ; but again the King interposed, and barred his way at Newbury. Tactically the first battle of Newbury was indecisive ; but failure of ammunition made the King withdraw from the field in the night. The army of the Parliament reached Reading, and re-established its line of communication with its base at London.

CHAPTER III

NORTHAMPTON

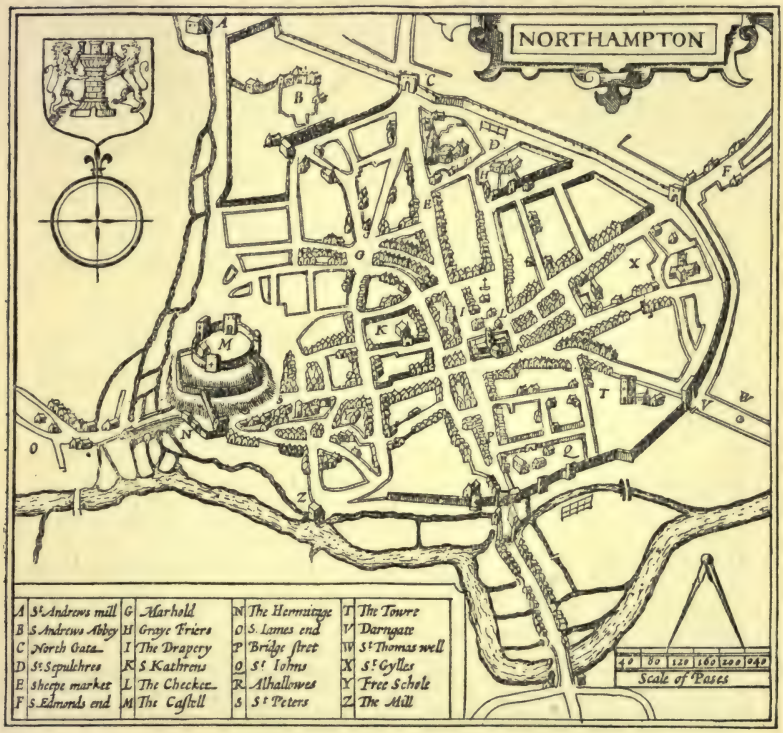
In 1640 Northampton was defended by walls dating from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. They were broad enough to allow six persons to walk abreast along them. Five main gates gave access to the town—the North-gate, the South-gate, the East-gate, the West-gate, and the Derne-gate or Darn-gate,[1] which led down to the mills and sluices of the river Nene. The four fortified gate-houses had rooms over the archways. The South-gate, leading to the London Road, was some distance from the bridge. The space between them, outside the walls, became occupied by houses which would give cover to an enemy trying to storm the town, and, with a suburb called Cotton End, beyond the bridge, was a source of anxiety to the garrison when a siege was impending.[2]

The local stone was of a soft nature, and the walls and gates were a constant expense to the town. Grants of murage, or the right to levy tolls to pay for the building or repair of the walls, were made by Henry III. and Edward I., the latter grant probably being used to

[1] Probably an old name for Water-gate; compare the root in the word Derwent.

[2] *Records of Northampton*, vol. ii.

replace the old Anglo-Norman rampart with a more modern wall. In 1594 a plan of assessment was adopted for repairs to the fortifications, and during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. the freedom of the



NORTHAMPTON IN 1610

town was conferred on those who undertook to repair a perch length of the wall. Each bailiff, too, had to repair a perch of wall at his own expense.

Notwithstanding these regulations, in September 1642 the walls were in a bad state; for, in a letter to his late master in London, Nehemiah Wharton, a

volunteer from the city who marched with Essex's army, says that the walls of Northampton "are miserably ruined, though the country abounds in mines of stones."[1]

The general feeling in Northampton was strongly in favour of the Parliament, and in January 1641/2, when the shadow of approaching war was beginning to darken the land, the gates were repaired at the cost of the town, and made ready to be shut. Between two of the piers of both the south and east bridges was a gap closed by a drawbridge, and now "Chaines and great postes to them" were ordered "to chaine up the bridges."

When the Royal standard was raised at Nottingham, Northampton was garrisoned at once for the Parliament, and placed under the command of Lord Brooke, son of the Earl of Warwick. Some apprehension of a siege was entertained, for the Municipal Assembly ordered that "the fee farm rent and other money be laid out in corn and coals to be laid up in store in case the town is besieged, which is much feared." The trees standing beyond the west bridge were cut down and sold, to prevent them from giving cover to an enemy.[2] The town was attacked by a party of Royalists in August 1642, but two pieces of ordnance drove them off with the loss of twenty men.

Northampton then became the place of concentration of the main army of the Parliament; and on the ninth of September the Earl of Essex arrived and took com-

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Sept. 7, 1642.

[2] MS. "Book of the Orders of the Assembly," from 1616 to 1744, preserved among the Municipal Records of Northampton, and kindly shown us by the Town-Clerk. Part of this book has been printed in *Northampton Records*.

mand. He soon moved into Worcestershire, and the walls and fortifications were again a pressing anxiety to the townsfolk. Their alarm when they felt themselves deserted by the great army which, gathering in their streets, had given them such a sense of security and importance, is reflected in the "Book of the Orders of the Assembly" for the 15th of November 1642. It is ordered that one hundred pounds "of lawful English money" shall be raised by assessment, for the fortification of the town and outworks, and the protection of the inhabitants, their goods and chattels, "in these times of danger & civill warrs."

At this moment it seems that the actual defence of the town as well as the care of the fortifications was left in the hands of the citizens, for another entry states that it was ordered by the Assembly that eight bailiffs and forty-eight other persons shall every night by turns oversee the walls and guards. As a matter of fact, till the King's arrival at Oxford had settled the strategic character of the war, Northampton was in no more danger of attack than any other town. Its importance at a later date arose from its position as an outpost of the Parliamentary Eastern Association, and its situation on the flank of the direct roads between Oxford and the north.

But while the defence of their town was left to the inhabitants, the municipal authorities did not neglect to provide moral as well as physical safeguards. "To prevent disorder of the towne & for the comfort of the assemblie," Edward, Earl of Manchester, was chosen Recorder in the room of Richard Lane, Esq., though in what exact manner his Lordship was expected to

minister to the comfort of the Assembly does not appear.

As soon as Oxford became the King's headquarters, the importance of Northampton was evident to others than the townsfolk. Essex lay with a wasting army between Oxford and London. Strong enough to prevent any attack on the capital, he was powerless to prevent Royalist movements in other directions. In January 1642/3, while the useless negotiations for peace were still going on, a gathering Royalist concentration alarmed the Parliamentary commanders. Essex watched it from Windsor, and on the 18th wrote to Goodwin at Aylesbury, "I fear this storme loucks toward Northampton." [1] That particular storm broke elsewhere, but Northampton continued to be an anxiety, and a month later Essex wrote again : [2]

"Collonel Goodwynn,—I desire upon y^r^ Receipt hereof to send some discredt man over to Northampton w^th^ this Enclosed to the Comittee there and direct him how he may sattisfie himself of what forces there is there and what may possibly bee spared for a while from Coventry and allsoe what strength there is in Banbury & how it stands fortified, that I may be fully sattisfied what to direct if there be occation. In w^ch^ I desire you would take some pains for my best sattisfaction. In w^ch^ you might bee very private & return mee yo^r^ opinion w^th^ such other as you can well trust. Lett this bee done speedyly & I shall rest—Your assured frend, ESSEX.

"Windsor, 23^th^ Feb. 1642
at 8 o'clock att night."

[1] Carte MSS. 103 f. 118.

[2] Carte MSS. 103.

Soon after the date of this letter Major Whetham was appointed Governor of Northampton, and took charge of the defence of the town and the minor operations of the war in its neighbourhood. Perhaps he was the discreet man chosen by Goodwin to execute the orders received from the Lord General.

The headquarters of the garrison were situated at the Castle, and there doubtless Major Whetham resided. But some of the soldiers were quartered on the townspeople.

More vigorous efforts were now made to hasten the repair of the fortifications. In May 1643 it was "ordered that every housekeeper send an able bodyed man every day in the afternoon to be employed on the works for the defence of the Towne." It is probable that in this regulation we have the stimulating influence of the new Governor beginning to make itself felt. In June it was agreed to provide at the expense of the town "skout horses with their furniture and able men to ryde out upon them as skouts from tyme to tyme." Two more grants for the fortifications, each of one hundred pounds, were made on the 21st of July and the 4th of October.

It is interesting to compare the difficulty with which a few hundred pounds were raised by the voluntary vote of the Assembly, and the summary manner in which contributions were levied at a later date when the country was in the power of the regular army. Mr. Elisha Coles's manuscript account-book for the "Fortificacon of Northton" in 1651 shows that the sum of £1327 : 19 : 8 was raised from the town and neighbour-

hood, beginning with seventeen shillings from Mr. Sam Martyn, Mayor.[1]

But in 1643 the relative position of the civil and military authorities was very different from that which they occupied in 1651, and we may imagine that Major Whetham had some difficulty in persuading the Assembly to vote him enough money or labour to put the place into a state of defence, and in instilling some notions of discipline into the local forces which must have supplied his only garrison. Clearly, however, he succeeded, for he drove off with ease the first attack he had to meet, and in a letter sent by one of the inhabitants to London describing the encounter we read that the writer "never saw men more jocund to goe to a sport than the souldiers were to goe to take up their quarters about the Towne for the defence of it."[2]

The account of this affair gives us our first definite view of Nathaniel Whetham as Governor of Northampton.

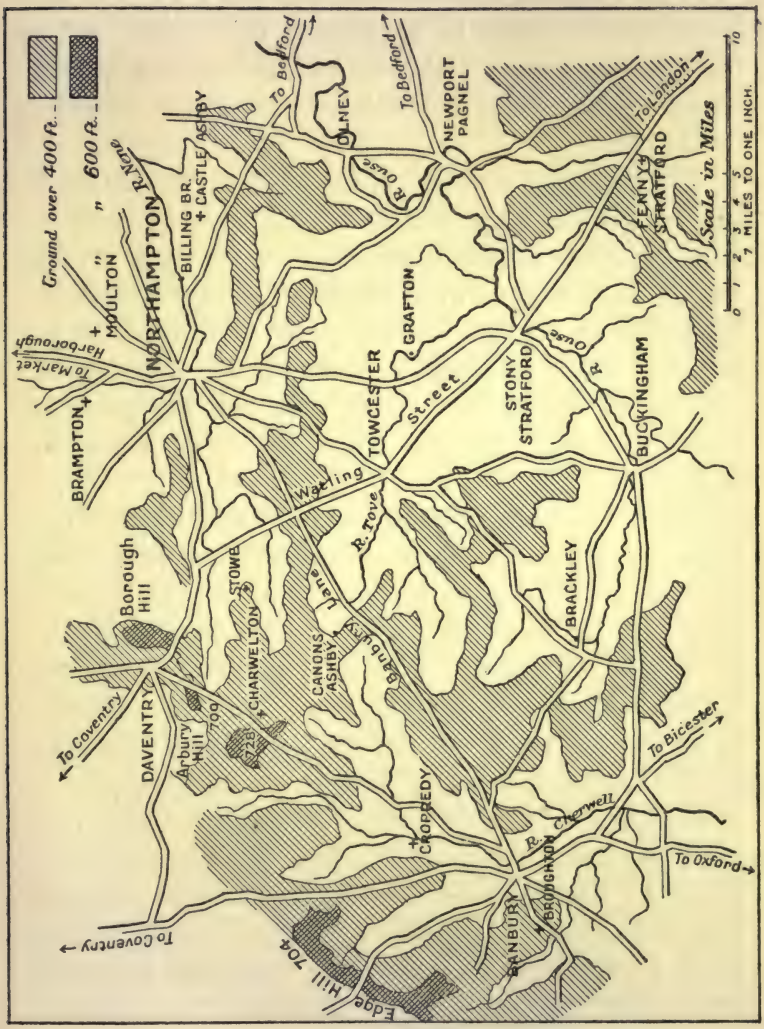
Prince Rupert was once more at Oxford, and on Sunday, October 15th, he and Colonel Hurry started with twenty-two troops of horse and seven hundred foot and marched towards Northampton, with the idea of seizing it, if such an enterprise proved possible. They had been in correspondence with some of the inhabitants of Royalist sympathies, and hoped to gain entrance to the north side of the town by treachery.

Apparently, however, the "skout horses" had not

[1] Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, Bundle 130, Public Record Office.

[2] *The True Informer*, No. 6, Saturday, October 21, to Saturday, October 28, 1643, "A True and Punctual Relation of the Severall Skirmishes performed between the Northamptonshire forces and a party of the King's Horse and Foot under Prince Rupert and Colonel Urry." Printed October 28, 1643.

been idle, for the garrison had good notice of their



approach. Major Whetham sent out a party of twenty-four horse to gain further intelligence and get in touch

with the enemy. This party met the Royalist scouts at Brampton Bridge, three miles north of the town, and killed one of them in a skirmish there. The main body of the Cavaliers then came up, and the Parliamentary horse retired towards Northampton, followed by the enemy.

Whetham had obtained information of the disaffection within the town, and had taken prompt steps to meet the danger. He seems to have put trustworthy guards at each gate, with directions to open none of them without his own orders. The party of horse he had sent out were told to return to the North-gate, and there Whetham himself took up his position to pass the night in the guard-room over the archway.

There was a bright moon, and we may imagine the suspense with which those on guard watched for the appearance of the party of horse. As the night wore away fears for their safety added to the anxiety, and it must have been almost a relief when they were seen, followed closely by the enemy, and calling to be let in at the North-gate, "at which Serjeant-Major Whetham kept the watch that night," because he had "a suspicion of some treachery . . . plotted by some in the Towne to let the enemy in there." Now was the dangerous moment: the Royalist horse hoped to enter the gate with the flying Roundheads. But the Governor was equal to the occasion. He had lined the wall with musketeers, and the pursuers were met by a volley of shot which stopped their advance at once, and drove them back till they halted about two musket-shots from the wall. Meanwhile the gate was opened for a

moment, and the Parliamentary troops admitted safely while the Royalists were still in confusion.

All hope of taking the town by a sudden rush was now over, but Rupert halted his troopers to watch the walls till he could regain touch with his foot. In those days unsupported infantry were helpless in open country against cavalry, and Rupert dared not risk missing his foot-soldiers. After about an hour the infantry began to arrive, and formed up near St. Andrew's Mills. The Royalist horse may have been stationed where the ground covered them from the walls, but now the garrison seem to have surprised them by opening fire with artillery, not from the walls, but from the high mounds within them. From the great mount "a cannoneer from the Towne," we are told, "discharged a piece of Ordnance at the enemies horse, and soon after that another from the North-mount and killed two of them."

Orders were then given for a retreat. The foot retired, according to our authority, "under favour of the hill without any hurt, and so marched away by Moulton-parke to Billing bridge, all this by the light of the Moone which shone clearly." Thus Rupert completed a circuit of Northampton, and crossed the Nene about three miles east of the town.

Apparently Whetham thought a pursuit of superior forces by night too hazardous an operation, even by moonlight, but as soon as it was day the horse of the garrison were ordered out. They followed the retreating enemy, and, we are informed, "took about forty of their stragglers prisoners, and some very good Warre-horses. The enemy marched away towards Newport-

pannell, where they are now fortifying, and intend making it a winter garrison, if they be not driven thence by the Lord General's forces."

The Lord General's army had been reinforced by the efforts of the Parliament with the special object of re-taking Reading, and now was in somewhat better trim. But Essex could not allow the Royalists to occupy Newport Pagnell undisturbed. The place was of great strategic value. Besides serving as an outpost for the Parliamentary territory of the eastern counties, it was situated at the junction of the main roads from London to Northampton, and Bedford to Oxford.

Essex's army was already in motion. For a time the hopes of capturing Reading were laid aside. The army reached St. Albans on the following Thursday. Thence it marched to Dunstable, and moved out to prevent the fortification of Newport. On the approach of these superior forces the Royalists abandoned their works and evacuated the town, which was occupied by Major-General Skippon on the 28th of October.

In place of Newport the Royal troops took possession of Towcester. In this way they blocked another main road, Watling Street, farther to the north-west, but the stoppage was less hurtful to the Parliament owing to the alternative road to the north from Newport through Northampton.

Skippon remained at Newport for some time as Governor. He had a considerable force at his disposal, and did not confine himself to mere garrison duty. Detachments were kept moving about the country to collect supplies and to prevent the Royalists

from so doing. Prince Rupert was still in the neighbourhood, and hearing of a party of Parliamentary troops quartered at Olney, he planned to attack them on the 4th of November. The surprise was less complete than Rupert hoped, but his attack succeeded so well that the precipitate flight of the Roundheads led him to fear that it was designed to lead him into an ambuscade. He refrained from following up his advantage, and gained little by the affair. Sometimes, it seems, a vigorous and whole-hearted flight may deceive an enemy who expects better things.

A few days later Skippon heard from his intelligence department that the Royal troops in the neighbourhood were lying along Watling Street, dispersed over ten miles of country, the centre of their lines being about Towcester. Seeing a chance of attacking them in detail, he concerted measures for a night attack with Whetham at Northampton. He ordered the Northampton forces to fall on "the enemies quarters that lay most remote to the North," while three regiments of his own horse prevented a concentration by surprising simultaneously the south-eastern end of the Royalist lines.

Again there was a moon when Whetham moved out that night. All went well. We read: "The Northampton Forces happened on the Lord of Northampton's Regiment about Stowes,[1] six miles from the Towne, set on them by breake of day, and slew three or four of them and took fourteen prisoners all horsemen, one a cornet to the Earle of Northampton, and lost not one of their owne."

[1] Upper Stowe and Church Stowe, six miles north-west of Towcester, not Stowe Park, seven miles to the south of the town.

The concerted attack in the south was made at Alderton near Grafton, four miles south-east of Towcester, and seems to have been equally successful, fifteen Cavaliers being killed and twenty-two taken, with many horses, "so that a horse-fayre was kept at Newport that day, and horses sold cheape for ready money"—always a scarce commodity with soldiers on active service.[1]

In August 1643, Gloucester had been saved by Essex and his army marching from London, and it was still garrisoned for the Parliament. The surrounding country, however, was at this time in the power of the Royalists, and convoys of supplies and munitions of war had to be sent from London or other places within the Parliamentary lines. It was necessary to avoid the country dominated by Oxford and the neighbouring subsidiary garrisons of the King's troops. From London the usual road seems to have passed to St. Albans, and thence either by Bedford or Newport Pagnell to Northampton, where the convoys waited for a favourable chance of proceeding to Warwick and then south-westward to Gloucester. From Newport or Northampton onwards the road was everywhere within striking distance of Banbury and Oxford, and it was sometimes requisite to wait a long while till it was safe to go on.

Such indeed was the position at the end of December 1643. A convoy was waiting at Northampton ready to proceed to Gloucester, but the Royal forces in the neighbourhood were too strong to allow a further

[1] "The Happy Successe of the Parliament's armie at Newport and other places," London, November 10, 1643; quoted in *The History of Newport Pagnell*, by F. W. Bull, Kettering, 1900.

movement to be made. It was determined to clear the way, and permanently to relieve the threat to the country and roads between Newport and Northampton, by capturing one or more of the smaller garrisons of Royalists in that neighbourhood. One of the most important and annoying of these garrisons was that of Towcester ; and to that place the attention of the Parliamentary commanders seems to have been directed in the first instance.

Major-General Skippon was still at Newport Pagnell, and on him the conduct of the operations rested. His first duty was to collect enough troops. For this purpose he drew on the country behind him, and on the field army now forming under the command of Lord Manchester in the Eastern Association. Moreover, London sent him a contingent of trained-bands, drawn partly or wholly from the "Orange and Green Regiments." A letter to their admiring friends in the city reports that some desperate enterprise is on foot, and that "the Londoners will be in it, as being willing to do some eminent service before they return."[1]

Skippon had now some 3000 troops under his hand at Newport, and was ready to move. He therefore concerted measures with Whetham, who was ordered to bring all the men he could spare from Northampton and meet Skippon on the road. On the night of Thursday, December 21st, about two o'clock, a thousand foot and four guns, with an advance guard and a rear guard of horse, started from Newport along the main road to the north-west, towards Towcester. For some ten miles they marched without incident and approached

[1] *Parliamentary Scout*, Friday, December 22, to Friday, December 29, 1643.

the town. We get an account of what happened from a letter published in London some days later.[1] The writer says : " But when we came within a mile of the said Towne of Toxiter wee met with a party of horse and foot that came from Northampton to our assistance, under the command of Colonell Wettam, whereupon wee faced about, and the party of the Orange Regiment, which before brought up the Reare, then marcht in the Van." Colonel Whetham had brought word that the garrison of Towcester had taken the alarm and were well prepared to meet any attack.[2] A short conference seems to have decided the Parliamentary commanders to abandon the attempt on Towcester as beyond their present power, and to divert the troops to Grafton Regis, where Lady Crane's house had been fortified, and, with the church, was garrisoned by the Royalists.

So the little army marched back along the Newport road, the men of the Orange Regiment of trained-bands proudly leading the van. After about two miles they turned to the left, and approached Grafton. Alas for the Londoners who wished to do some eminent service before they returned! Our honest scribe continues : " But when we came within sight of the house, the ould souldiers of my Lords outmarcht us and gave the onset on the house very couragiously and were as bravely answered."

This garrison too was on the alert, and the attack

[1] " A True Relation of the taking of Grafton House by the Parliament's Forces under the command of Sergeant-Major Skipton " was published on December 29, 1643, and is a copy of a letter written by W. B. from Newport Pagnell on December 25, 1643, to a friend in London. Reprinted in *History of Newport Pagnell*, by F. W. Bull, Kettering, 1900.

[2] Baker's *Northamptonshire.*

failed altogether to take them by surprise. The Parliamentary troops then opened a fire of musketry, which naturally made no impression on the walls. Two of the guns were hurried forward, but the walls proved too strong for them also. The first attack had failed, and there was nothing for it but to open a regular siege.

During the next day, therefore, huts were built to shelter the troops, and approaches were begun, the slow artillery duel of those days proceeding meanwhile. The Orange and Green Regiments, who went into the trenches on Saturday morning, found that, as they said, the garrison "had very long pieces and could reach us at a great distance." Nevertheless the gunners working with the Londoners managed to beat down with the fire of a five- or six-pounder a breastwork on the top of the house, and the defences of a window from which an annoying fire had been maintained.

On Sunday morning the trained-bands were relieved in the trenches by the Northampton forces under Colonel Whetham, and the attack seems to have been pressed closer. About two hours afterwards, the garrison sent out a drummer to sound a parley. Not recognising his object, some of the Parliamentary soldiers opened fire and wounded him, after which "regrettable incident" the garrison tried again with a trumpeter. This time they were understood, and a truce of half-an-hour to discuss terms of surrender was granted. An agreement was not come to immediately; but after another half-hour truce, terms were settled, and the garrison capitulated.

One hundred and eighty-seven men were taken,

besides several officers, among them Sir John Digby and Major Brookbank. About two o'clock on Sunday the besiegers entered the house, and allowed their soldiers to plunder it. Much wanton damage seems to have been committed, and on Christmas Day the house itself was fired "for the prevention of future inconveniences." After burning their huts, the Parliamentarians broke up their army, the Newport contingent marching back with their prisoners, and after a journey, "very weary by reason of the foulnesse of the weather and deepnesse of the way," arrived safely at their destination, "where," says the letter-writer, "we now lye expecting reliefe every day, that we may come and rest our selves."

The besiegers lost twenty men killed and ten wounded, besides nine hurt by an explosion of their own powder—a common accident in those days of matchlocks, a spark from which often caused disastrous results. Nevertheless, the writer's regiment did not lose a single man, though, as he is careful to explain, they were in "great danger and hazard," two men who came to them as spectators being killed at a shot, as well as a gunner working a sacre under their protection. Perhaps the brave Londoners knew how to take and keep cover.

No further attack seems to have been made on Towcester, but on the 21st of January the garrison was withdrawn by the King to add to the number of troops used by Rupert in an abortive attempt on the Parliamentary stronghold of Aylesbury.[1] The pressure on the country between Newport and Northampton was

[1] Gardiner, vol. i. p. 275.

thus lessened, but the farther road to Gloucester remained dangerous, and that town was more than once in difficulties.

It was at this time that Parliament, under pressure from the Scots, required all their armies to take the Covenant. On the 18th of March 1643/4, Northampton householders were warned to appear at the Market Cross with their arms at seven o'clock next morning to guard the town—the soldiers having to assemble to exercise and take the Covenant.[1]

In the same month Parliament made an attempt to reorganise the finances of the war, and ordered the town of Northampton to pay a regular assessment of £18 a week towards the support of the garrison. It is to be hoped that the Governor was able to enforce the payment.

But all through the war there was much delay in paying officers and men for their services. This often led to cases of hardship, which were sometimes brought to the notice of the Council of State by the petition of officers or their widows. Affixed to "Mrs. Ennis her Peticon," we find the following testimonial, written by Colonel Whetham in 1654,[2] but dealing with his time as Governor of Northampton :—

"These are to certify all whom it may concerne that Major Christopher Ennis did comand a troope of Horse at the Garrison of Newport Pagnell, wh troope, as I have been enformed, was for the most part of it by him raised at his owne proper charge &

[1] *Records of Northampton*, vol. ii.
[2] Letter-Book of Council, May 5, 1657.

expenses, w^th^ w^h^ hee did very eminent service in order to the p^r^servation of that Garrison and other places adiacent wheare the Parliam^t^ forces quartered, In w^ch^ services he received dangerous hurts & wounds neere to the hazard of his life, whearof I had notice, beeing then Gov^no^r of Northampton, & had much experience myself of his care & dilligence in the Parliam^t^ service, in testimony hearof I have heareunto set my hand this seventh January 1654.

"NATH. WHETHAM."

The country between Northampton and Banbury was subject to the attentions of the foraging parties of both sides, and must have suffered severely during almost the whole time of the war. Of the adventures of one such party records remain.[1]

On Thursday, April 18th, 1644, a force of about forty or fifty foot was sent out from Northampton by Colonel Whetham to collect money and supplies from the country towards Banbury. They took up their quarters in Sir John Dryden's house at Canons Ashby, about ten miles north-east from Banbury, and proceeded to levy contributions from the neighbourhood. News of their coming reached the Royalists at Banbury Castle, and two hundred foot from that garrison and twenty of the Earl of Northampton's horse arrived in the night and attacked them. The Parliamentarians retreated to the church, and, when beaten from the body of the building, held out in the steeple for some two hours. The Royalists are said to have set the steeple on fire, and thus forced the

[1] Mercurius Civicus, quoted in the *History of Banbury*, by A. Beesley, London, 1841; also Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 83.

defenders to surrender. The prisoners were marched to Banbury and confined in a barn in the town.

When the news of this disaster reached Northampton, Whetham offered to exchange some Royalists in his hands for the prisoners taken at Canons Ashby. This offer was refused—for what reasons we are not informed.

In the town of Banbury many were favourable to the cause of the Parliament, and Whetham seems to have obtained clear information as to the whereabouts of the prisoners and the method of guarding them. He determined to attempt the rescue of the captives under the guns of Banbury Castle. The next night five or six troops of cavalry stole out of Northampton and took the Banbury road. Riding twenty miles through the night, they broke in, doubtless piloted by friends within the town, surprised the guards at the barn, killed or captured some of them, and drove the rest back to the castle. Releasing the prisoners, the troopers mounted them on captured horses, and the whole party made good their retreat. The London report from which we hear of the affair says that thirty-two prisoners were brought away, and that the total loss was but one man taken. Little trust can be placed in estimates of numbers from a partial source, but there seems no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the main features of the account. The Royalists may well have regretted their refusal to exchange prisoners.

Besides playing a leading part in such expeditions as we have described, Colonel Whetham had to perform all the routine duties of his garrison. The garrisons of Northampton and Newport Pagnell were rightly treated as a defence to the whole Eastern Association,

and assessments of money were made throughout the eastern counties towards their support; but the main burden seems to have been borne by the town itself and the surrounding country.

The method of supplying the garrison may be seen in some manuscript account-books which found their way to the Exchequer, and are now preserved in the Public Record Office.[1] Probably they served as vouchers for the expenditure of money supplied from London or the Eastern Association.

One book is marked[2] "Samuel Hearne his Accompt for Provision for the Garrison of Northton." It gives the assessment in 1645 of the different parishes in the neighbourhood, arranged in hundreds, both for money and supplies of wheat, "masling," barley, pease, oats, bacon, beef, butter, and cheese. Besides the assessment in kind, extra provisions were purchased, and we learn the current prices paid for many articles of consumption :—

	£	s.	d.
For one quarter of white wheate . .	01	10	08
Half a quarter of Lammas wheate . .	00	17	04
One quarter of maslyn	01	08	00
Foure quarters of barley	04	12	00
75 pounds of butter	01	05	00

Cheese cost threepence the pound, while for a "Chamber to lay in provision" twelve shillings were paid.

Another book gives us the audited accounts of Mr. John Selby, master-gunner, who expends some

[1] Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, Bundle 130.

[2] This book might prove of interest to the local historian and genealogist. It contains the assessments of the villages and the names of their inhabitants.

£480 on such things as "Iron worke to the Great Guns, £00 : 07 : 00." Philip Cane, a contractor, gives an account of many repairs carried out for the garrison, payment of masons, carpenters, labourers, etc., and, later on, carriage of ammunition to Banbury for the siege of the castle.

The duties of a garrison were not confined to the obvious needs of supplying their own wants and defending the walls when attacked. In the Civil War, in particular, when supplies and recruits, whether volunteers or pressed men, were drawn by both sides from the actual theatre of the struggle, the possession of fortified posts, in which large forces, much beyond those needed for mere garrison duty, were stationed, gave command of the surrounding country, and meant an accession of strength in men, horses, money, and supplies. Each garrison was a recruiting agency, a supply depôt, and an office of taxation. Moreover, the network of garrisons throughout a great part of the country served as a means of regular communication with the commanders of the field armies and as local centres of the intelligence department.

At the beginning of the war no organised system of communication was in existence; and in October 1643 we find the Assembly at Northampton allowing twenty shillings to Captain Ball to defray the cost of going to London to deliver letters to the Parliament.[1] But in the following February a system of new posts was organised. Among other similar orders we find a letter from the Committee in London to Mr. Danby, dated February 27th, 1643/4:[2]

[1] MS. Book of the Assembly.

[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom.

"We have appointed one to be at your house at Northampton every Wednesday weekly to carry letters between this Committee and other parts of the kingdom. Being assured of your fidelity and good affections to the Parliament, we desire you to take care that such letters as you shall receive from hence, or for us, may be safely conveyed."

The work of recruiting and obtaining supplies and horses was delegated to the local Committees, who also possessed an ill-defined control over the troops when raised. Naturally continual friction arose, owing to the conflict of authority between the Committees and the governors of garrisons or the commanders of field armies in their district, and much waste of energy and temper resulted. Colonel Massey at Gloucester complains that orders have been sent by the Committee to his own officers to perform services without his knowledge; and Major-General Browne writes that his Committee have forbidden supplies to be given by the country people without their orders, and in consequence his troops are ready to starve.

Meanwhile new influences had been brought to bear on the war. The Royalist victories in the north and west, and the threat of troops brought from Ireland, had determined the Parliament to seek aid from their Scottish fellow-Puritans. At the price of taking the Covenant and giving a substantial subsidy, the help sought had been obtained, and on January 19th, 1644, the Scots crossed the Tweed.

The conduct of the war had hitherto been assumed by Parliament itself, acting executively by the House of Lords. To meet the changed circumstances, and to

give the Scots their fair share in the direction of the joint campaign, the executive power, carrying with it the command of the armies, was entrusted to a "Committee of Both Kingdoms."

But while the pressure of the Scots began to make itself felt in the north, Rupert, sweeping round the Midlands by way of the Welsh border, relieved Newark, and compelled most of the besieging army to capitulate. The changed conditions were felt almost immediately at Northampton, and early in June the Committee there complain that they are not able to defend the surrounding country or gather taxes, owing to the incursions of the Cavaliers from Stamford on the one side and Oxford and Banbury on the other.[1]

In the south, too, the Royal cause had prospered, and Hopton had advanced as far east as Arundel, which place, however, was retaken by Waller in January. On March 29th, Waller had defeated Hopton at Cheriton, and the tide turned. Manchester began to make head against the Royalists in Lincolnshire, and the King abandoned Reading and Abingdon in order to decrease his circle of garrisons, and give himself troops to act on interior lines from the central position of Oxford against the Parliamentary commanders; while Rupert was leading the bulk of the Royal forces to those operations in the north which ended on the fatal field of Marston Moor.

Essex and Waller, acting in concert, but with separate armies, nearly succeeded in shutting up the King in Oxford. After marching round that city in different directions, they met, but, instead of joining with Waller

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1644.

to crush the Royal army, Essex arranged to start for the west to relieve Lyme Regis, while Waller entered on a campaign of manœuvres with the King.

The Northamptonshire forces had been required to furnish contingents to the armies of both Essex and Waller. At the end of April two hundred horse and five hundred foot had been ordered to join Essex at Aylesbury.[1] When Essex marched into the west, the Northamptonshire men got more and more uneasy, and finally in July deserted in a body at Tiverton, and made the best of their way home again. It is a pleasure to note that the local Committee were directed from London to secure the chief offenders on their arrival.

Colonel Whetham's garrison supplied one hundred foot and eighty horse to Waller's heterogeneous army. On the 18th of June, a warning was sent to Northampton that the King was on the move and was then at Evesham, and all the forces at Northampton were ordered to be held in readiness for instant service. The alarm of the Committee of Both Kingdoms was well founded The balance of power, which a short time before was inclined towards the side of the Parliament, was now heavily weighted on the other by the ill-advised separation between Essex and Waller.

The King had already hurried back to Oxford and collected a force of five thousand foot and four thousand horse at Woodstock. Leaving Waller behind him, he pushed north-east towards Buckingham. Northampton and all the other garrisons which formed the rampart of the Eastern Association were now thoroughly alarmed, while a dash on London itself seemed feasible.

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., April 29, 1644.

Browne, with what improvised forces could be raised, was thrust forward into the country between London and the King, but, with some reason, the panic in the capital continued. However, the King delayed too long, and had to turn and fight Waller, who was coming up on his tracks. All the 28th day of June the opposing armies were manœuvring on the right and left banks of the Cherwell from Banbury to the north. On the 29th, Waller seized Cropredy Bridge, and a partial engagement ensued. The two armies then separated, neither caring to try further conclusions with the other. The King retired to Banbury, and Waller passed across the river to the north and marched by way of Towcester to Northampton. After halting there, he effected a junction with Browne, but the two commanders had their hands full in dealing with their mutinous soldiers. Browne's men in particular were described by Waller as "only fit for a gallows here and a hell hereafter." Waller saw clearly the inherent defects of a system of waging war by means of local levies whose hearts were in their cornfields or shops. He wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms a letter in which he developed the idea of the New Model Army, for which Cromwell usually gets the credit.

"My Lords," said Waller, "I write these particulars to let you know that an army compounded of these men will never go through with their service, and till you have an army merely your own that you may command, it is in a manner impossible to do anything of importance."

The King's absence alone saved Waller, Browne, and London. Charles had doubled back to Evesham, and

on the 7th of July he determined to pursue Essex to the west. From the point of view of the Parliamentary cause, Essex's western expedition was a bad blunder, and it met with the disaster it deserved. But the King was almost as ill-advised to follow him as Essex was to start. The mutinous troops of Waller and Browne would have been helpless before the King's army, and a heavy blow might have been dealt at the centre of Parliamentary power before succour could have arrived from the north. In fact, had the King moved promptly as soon as Essex started, his mere approach to London would have drawn, infallibly, Manchester's army south from Yorkshire, and the result of the day of the second of July on Marston Moor might well have been different. All through the Civil War the Parliament was as sensitive to threats on London and the Eastern Association as were the Federals to feints by Lee and Stonewall Jackson on Washington two centuries later ; and with more reason, for the strength of the Parliamentary cause rested largely on the financial and military resources of the capital and East Anglia, while the Northern American States had little more than a sentimental dependence on Washington.

But the King failed to rise to the occasion ; and Rupert, after skilfully relieving York, met the combined armies of the north of England, of Scotland, and of the Eastern Association, and was overthrown by the disciplined valour of Cromwell's Puritan troopers. Gathering up the fragments of his cavalry, Rupert escaped towards Lancashire ; but the north was lost to the King, and Manchester's army set free for other work.

With Rupert defeated and the King far away in the west, the pressure on Northampton and the other Parliamentary garrisons of the southern Midlands was relieved. Although the position of Essex's forces was becoming daily more critical, and the Committee in London were straining every nerve to equip an army to march to his assistance, the chance of striking a blow at Oxford and its outposts was too good to be neglected. Of these outposts the most important was Banbury.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST SIEGE OF BANBURY

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Banbury Castle was in the possession of Lord Saye and Sele, an ardent Parliamentarian. Lord Saye's home, Broughton, lay about three miles south-west of Banbury, and, during the preceding years, had been the scene of many conferences between the leaders of the Parliamentary opposition to the King. It is likely that a knowledge of the possibility of war induced Lord Saye to repair and strengthen the defences of Banbury Castle. At any rate, in 1642, the castle had been put in condition to stand a siege, and was further fortified while it was occupied by a garrison during the war. The town itself possessed walls and massive gates.

Writing in 1646, Sprigge says,[1] "This castle, though old and decayed through time, yet was recovered and revived by art and industry unto an incredible strength, much beyond many places of greater name and reputation . . . having impregnable works about it, and great variety of invention bestowed upon it."

In 1712, it was still possible to see the remains of four bastions, which were probably added or rebuilt

[1] *Anglia Rediviva*, ed. 1854, p. 260.

during the Civil War.[1] The moat surrounding the castle was double towards the town,[2] for on that side the natural position of the fortress was weaker than elsewhere. Moreover, during the war the sympathies of most of the townsfolk were with the Parliament, and when the castle was held by the Royalists the garrison had to reckon with enemies at their gates.

In 1642 Banbury Castle was garrisoned for the Parliament. But after Edgehill it surrendered tamely to the King, half the defenders joining the Royal army. From that time Banbury became the most important outpost of Oxford, and an integral part of the Royalist scheme of operations in the southern midlands. A considerable force was stationed there, under the command of Sir William Compton, brother of the Earl of Northampton, with Lieut.-Col. Greene as Deputy Governor. The garrison of Banbury were employed to collect supplies of cattle and other provisions, and levy contributions of money on all the neighbouring towns and villages, especially, when it was possible, on the Parliamentary counties of Warwick and Northampton. The occupation of Banbury, too, did much to hinder communication between London and the western Midlands, and, as we have seen, made it difficult to reinforce the garrison of Gloucester or pass supplies to that town. The situation was summed up by a Parliamentary correspondent, who wrote that "the taking of this Den of Theeves would much conduce to the straitning of Oxon, and give liberty of Trade to London from many parts."[3]

[1] Stukely, quoted in Beesley's *History of Banbury*, p. 292.
[2] Beesley, p. 300; Sprigge, p. 260.
[3] "Full Relation of Siege of Banbury," Sept. 4.

As soon as the King started for the west in pursuit of Lord Essex, the Committee of Both Kingdoms determined to attack Banbury, and to undertake a regular siege if necessary. As we know, the horse of Colonel Whetham's garrison at Northampton were no strangers to the inside of Banbury town, and now the growing weakness of the Royalist forces in the neighbourhood enabled them to push their raids up to, and even inside, the walls.[1] Thus information of the state of affairs in Banbury and its castle was always to be had at Northampton, and Whetham was able to send news continually to London.

The first sign of more extensive operations appeared on the third of August, when Browne was ordered to march to Banbury with one thousand foot, which would be met by forces with horse and dragoons detailed from Northampton and Warwick, and there he was directed to "take advantage of such occasion as shall offer."[2]

These troops seem to have occupied posts to the north-east of Banbury to prevent the garrison from collecting their contributions from the country.[3] A fortnight later,[4] Browne, who was once more at Abingdon, was told to send some discontented and time-expired Warwickshire men home by way of Banbury, using them as a convoy for three siege guns which had been employed at Greenland House, near Reading. It was also suggested that the men might possibly be prevailed on to help for a time with the siege which was planned. They marched on the twenty-first with the three guns,

[1] Whitelock, p. 92. [2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Aug. 3, 1644.
[3] "Full Relation of Siege of Banbury," Sept. 4.
[4] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Aug. 17.

which were what were known as "whole cannon" or "cannon of seven," that is of seven inches bore, carrying a ball of from thirty to forty pounds in weight. Browne also sent a mortar, and a fire-master or gunner to work it. Browne's troops were still disorderly, for he writes, "I appointed Col. Vandrosse's Regiment of horse to convoy them to Aylesbury, the rather that I might be freed from the hourly complaints of the poor country almost ruined by his soldiers, retaining others by me, whom I hope will obey orders and stand me in some stead."[1] One would like to hear what the commanders of the convoy thought of Browne's plan for ridding himself of his more troublesome followers.

All available guns and reinforcements were now directed to Banbury, and on the 23rd of August the Committee of Both Kingdoms made an order "that Col. Whetham do accompany the forces which are to go to Banbury from Northampton."[1]

The beginning of the siege is described in a letter from Banbury, printed and sold in London on September 4th, 1644, "being a full relation of the Siege of Banbury Castle by that valiant and faithfull commander, Colonell Whetham, Governour of Northampton, now Commander in chiefe in that service."[2]

Before Whetham arrived, the Parliamentary forces seem to have occupied a somewhat wide ring round Banbury, their main bodies lying on the hills which encompass the town, with outposts on the lower ground nearer the walls. On Thursday, the 22nd of August, eighty horse made a sudden sally from the castle, fell

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom.
[2] Printed for John Wright in the Old Bailey, Sept. 4, 1644.

on one of the outposts, and drove the Roundheads back a mile to their supports at Warkworth. Here, however, the Cavaliers were repulsed with the loss of several men. The besiegers killed Lieutenant Midleton "by a carbine shot through the braine, and tooke his Cornet, one Smith, a stout plunderer . . . and beate the rest into the Castle."

On Sunday the 25th, two companies of foot were sent into the town of Banbury before daybreak, and succeeded unnoticed in taking possession of the church just at dawn. While some of them set to work unloading ammunition and planting their drakes or light seven-pounders on the roof and tower of the church, others began searching the houses near the castle for soldiers of the garrison who slept out in the town. The noise made in securing some of these soldiers, and the flight of others, at last alarmed the garrison, who woke to find a strong party of their enemies lodged securely in the church, and fresh troops pouring into the town to support them. No time was to be lost, and within an hour of daybreak a hundred musketeers and nearly all the horse in the castle were moving out to make a counter attack. The musketeers swarmed into the gardens and houses between the castle and the church, and began working their way towards the enemy, while the cavalry endeavoured to clear the streets. Altogether the Parliamentary horse evidently found things too hot, for they were driven back to the "Towns-end." The foot did better, and three parties of them began to work through the buildings to flank the main Parliamentary position at the church and to meet the Royalist musketeers, some of whom were driven back to the

castle for a time. They came out again, however, and it seemed doubtful whether the lodgment in the town would be made good.

But about noon the garrison in the castle saw new troops coming down the hill from the north-east. It was Colonel Whetham with the contingent from Northampton pressing forward to the sound of the guns. The Royalists did not wait for the reinforcements to come into action, but withdrew their troops into the castle, and ceased to dispute the possession of the town.

Whetham had brought with him two more big guns, and, at once assuming command, he directed breast-works to be begun with embrasures for the guns. The next two nights and days were thus occupied, the Royalists firing with artillery from the castle at the church and at the works in course of construction. Not much execution seems to have been done on either side, though some long guns mounted on the church are said to have killed several of the cattle belonging to the garrison.

On Tuesday, the 27th of August, Colonel John Fiennes, a younger son of Lord Saye and Sele, arrived with more troops, raising the number of the besiegers to about 3500, and thereupon superseded Colonel Whetham in command of the operations. Whetham remained as second in command, and the letters of the Committee of Both Kingdoms are afterwards directed to Colonel John Fiennes and Colonel Whetham jointly.

On his arrival Fiennes sent the usual summons to the garrison, which numbered about 400 men. Sir William Compton replied that "they kept the castle

for his Majestie, and as long as one man was left alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it delivered." [1]

Finding that the houses near the castle gave cover to the besiegers, the garrison made a determined attempt to set them on fire. On Thursday and Friday thirty houses were thus destroyed, the operation being protected both by artillery and musket fire. About noon on Friday the Parliamentarians got their mortar into action. According to the letter of intelligence quoted above, this mortar fired "a Granado of above 100 pounds weight, twice it fell amongst them, and tore up the earth and break as we could desire it, but what effect it wrought we know not . . . we keep them in continual work so they may spend their ammunition which yet they do freely . . . pleasing themselves with Prince Ruperts comming to their ayd."

The letter continues: "Sat. Aug. 31.—We tooke two poore tatered rogues without hose or shooe put over the castle wall early in the morning with intelligence to Pr. Rupert, Col. Greene, the valiant Tayler, Governour of the castle, having writ a letter in a shred of paper close written and cut in the middest, that if but one of them had beene taken we had not known what to have made of it."

The letter, which was afterwards sent on to London, reports to Prince Rupert that the besiegers did not number more than eight hundred horse and seven hundred foot (certainly much too low an estimate), and that three garrisons had been drained to supply them. The Prince is assured that if he could bring fifteen hundred horse and five hundred dragoons and cut the

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion.*

communications of the besiegers with Northampton, he might capture or destroy their army, and, in the words of the letter, "be revenged on Northampton for the other designe he missed on before." Evidently some of the Royalists had not forgotten Prince Rupert's repulse by Colonel Whetham on the previous 15th of October.

On Sunday, September 1st, after a night's work at their advanced trenches, the besiegers opened fire at an effective range with their three big guns "on the meadow side" of the castle. They were able at last to make some impression upon the walls, and in a few hours a small breach was opened.

But now Prince Rupert was returning from his campaign in the north with the fragments of the army which had been shattered on Marston Moor. His approach created great alarm in London, and on September 3rd the Committee of Both Kingdoms wrote in haste to Col. John Fiennes, Col. Whetham, and Major Bridges, ordering them at once to raise the siege of Banbury, and to distribute the besieging army—the horse for service near Aylesbury, and the foot to the garrisons from which they had been drawn. Thinking better of their precipitation, however, they sent another letter within a few hours of the despatch of the first, leaving discretion to the commanders on the spot to continue the siege if it could be done with safety.[1]

Rupert passed on to the south, and the siege of Banbury continued. During the first week in September, Colonel Whetham ordered a reinforcement of horse from Northampton, and thereafter the cavalry of the besiegers were kept busy in the surrounding country,

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Sept. 3, 1644.

gathering supplies, obtaining information, and occasionally amusing themselves with parties of Cavaliers who ventured outside Oxford. "At one time," says the newspaper called the *Parliamentary Scout*,[1] "they made the Governour (of Oxford) and Duke of Yorke ride for it . . . and at another time tooke the Lady Lovelace and her coach and horses, but it being against our Lawes to keepe Women prisoners, gave her leave to depart and a horse back, but brought away coach and horses; at another time they were neere surprising my Lord of Dorset and six or seven of his Mistresses, but a foolish boy discovered them, whereupon they horst and away, yet one that was not ready so soon as the rest was overtaken, from which some jewels and other fine things were had."

On another occasion the Governor of Northampton himself rode out with a party of horse towards Oxford and again took a coach and horses, which he sent to Northampton.[2]

Meanwhile the siege was pressed with all the vigour possible; the besiegers tried with some success to drain the moats; they made mines; but the garrison countermined in reply, and, in spite of the efforts of the commanders and constant supplies of ammunition sent from London, little progress seems to have been made for some time. But, if the siege works were not making much way, the blockade continued; the resources of the garrison were running out, while disease and death sapped their strength.[3]

[1] *Parliamentary Scout*, No. 64, Sept. 9, 1644.
[2] MS. Letter-Book of Sir S. Luke.
[3] *Court Mercurie*, No. 9, Aug. 31 to Sept. 7, 1644.

A party of some troops of Royalist horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was following Prince Rupert to the south, had thoughts of making a dash from Gloucestershire by way of Evesham to relieve Banbury, but they were outmanœuvred and headed off by Colonel Massey, Governor of Gloucester, who ferried his men over the Severn at Tewkesbury, and got to the hills in front of the Royalists.[1]

Meanwhile things had been going badly for the Parliament in the west. Essex had met the fate his rash march deserved, and had been shut up by the King and Prince Maurice at Fowey in Cornwall. The horse had broken out and escaped to Plymouth, and Lord Essex himself had slipped away by sea. But the foot under Skippon had been forced to capitulate. They had been granted surprisingly lenient terms, being allowed to march to Portsmouth on giving up their arms.

The King turned eastward, and began his march towards Oxford to relieve three of the surrounding fortresses, Basing House and the Castles of Donnington and Banbury, which were now hard pressed by the Roundheads. With Essex's army out of action, the situation in the south of England wore a serious aspect for the Parliament. To meet the crisis, they sent urgent orders to Lord Manchester to hasten westward with the army of the Eastern Association and effect a junction with Waller, who was keeping just out of reach of the King, and Essex, whose troops were refitting at Portsmouth. Reluctantly Manchester moved, while Cromwell and his colonels chafed at the slowness of their commander.

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Sept. 17, 1644.

The Committee in London then wrote to Fiennes and Whetham at Banbury, telling them to advise the commander of Manchester's Horse as to the disposition of the enemy in the neighbourhood, and the best course for him to pursue. Apparently they obtained consent to use some of these troops in their own siege, for shortly afterwards Manchester complains that his cavalry are insufficient for their duties, since the Committee had directed most of them to Banbury.

The reason for reinforcing the besiegers at that moment becomes clear when we find that, after again summoning the castle on the 16th of September, an attempt to storm the walls was made on the 23rd. The return of the King would necessarily compel the Parliament to raise the siege; hence it was worth while to make a supreme effort to take Banbury before he could arrive.

The Parliamentary journals are not very explicit about this affair, but the Royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* waxes eloquent.[1] From its pages we learn that on Saturday and Sunday, 21st and 22nd, the siege guns played on the west walls of the out-ward of the castle, and made a breach on the upper part of the wall almost thirty yards in length. The garrison constructed what temporary defences they could during the night, but about nine o'clock on Monday morning a rush was made by some thousand men led by troopers of the regiments of horse and some of their officers. The account continues: they "came on with burdens of furrs on their backes, which they cast into the Mote the better to passe the mud, and so assaulted it in 5

[1] Pages 1179-1181, quoted in Beesley's *Hist. of Banbury*, p. 375.

severall places at once; the greatest number were on that side where the breach was; on all other partes they brought ladders, but the courageous defendants never suffered them to rear so much as one ladder, but cut them off with great and small shot. . . . All this while the Rebells played upon the upper part of the Castle with great shot, shooting also many granadoes. But at last the Rebells, seeing themselves unable to do anything . . . gave off, being so sore beaten . . . that they were ready to quit the siedge. Towards evening that day they sent a trumpet to desire the bodies of their dead, which was granted upon condition, that those which had fallen within pistoll shot of the Castle should be stript by the garrison."

According to this report, the Royalists lost nine men, and the stormers more than three hundred—not an excessive number if the attack were well pushed home.

But now let us turn to a Parliamentary account of the same event. "The siege at Banbury is gallantly maintained," says the *Perfect Diurnal*,[1] "our men keeping the enemy in continual action show themselves experienced souldiers both by their assaults and batteries having made so wide a breach in the Castle that at least 12 men may march in a breast, which some too venterously endeavouring to enter received some repulse, but made an honourable retreate to their works again."

The usual habits of war correspondents were indulged in by both sides in the Civil War in a somewhat magnificent manner. In this case, the strategic needs of the general situation, the drawing in of re-

[1] No. 61, quoted in Beesley, p. 377; compare Whitelock, p. 100.

inforcements and the battering of a breach, on which both sides agree, render it certain that a serious attempt was made. In spite of its picturesque details, the Royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* probably gives a truer account of the affair than the Parliamentary *Perfect Diurnal.*

It is possible that another assault was planned or attempted, for Manchester, who had just passed his army over the Thames at Maidenhead, detached Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell's regiment of horse to Banbury, with three companies of dragoons and seven companies of foot. If such an assault was made, it certainly resulted in failure, and shortly afterwards the need of cavalry in the west to meet the King led to the withdrawal of Manchester's troopers. Cromwell himself, hastening down from Lincolnshire, was ordered to take from Banbury all the horse but five hundred, and soon these too were sent west, probably being replaced by new levies to do the necessary work of foraging for the besiegers.[1]

The idea of taking the castle by storm before the King got near now was abandoned, and the alternative policy adopted. All possible forces were hurried west to meet and stop the King from reaching the shelter of Oxford and its girdle of fortresses, while the want of seasoned troops, with whom alone it was feasible to attempt an assault on Banbury, was met by subjecting the garrison to a redoubled artillery fire and to a slowly tightening grip of siege works. Ammunition was supplied as fast as it could be used,[2] an expert engineer was sent to advise the commanders, and, on

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1644.

September 30, it was resolved by the House of Lords "That Col. Fiennes, Col. Boswell, Col. Whetham, Lt.-Col. Ferrar and Major Lidcutt, now employed in the siege at Banbury, shall have power to take, out of all the Towns within ten miles of Banbury, proportionably, such number of workmen for Pioneers as they shall think fit. This order to continue for forty days and no longer." [1]

At all periods the British soldier seems to have been reluctant to dig. Gustavus Adolphus, who succeeded in teaching most of his troops the importance of entrenching, had difficulty with the Scottish regiments in his service.[2] In the Continental wars of the middle of the eighteenth century, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick found that the English troops which performed such astonishing feats of arms on the battlefields of Minden, Warburg, and Emsdorff, were inferior to others as outposts, scouts, and engineers.[3] So in the Civil War, when spade work was required, it was found necessary either to give the soldiers extra pay [4] or to impress neighbouring countrymen to do the work. At Banbury the latter alternative was adopted, probably because all the troops that were left were occupied fully with other duties.

Meanwhile, the King was returning from the west, and the three Parliamentary armies just managed to effect a junction in time near Newbury. Thus they blocked the road to London and covered the siege of Basing House. But northward the country lay open

[1] Lords' Journals, Sept. 30, 1644. [2] C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 178.
[3] Fortescue, *Hist. of the British Army*, vol. ii.
[4] As at Sherborne; see Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 92.

to cavalry, and there was dire need of a quick and determined ride.

Banbury was near its fall; the siege was pressed close, and famine had almost done its work.[1] The garrison had eaten nearly all their horses, and had sent word to Oxford that soon they must surrender. On October 20th an attempt was made at relief by a party of horse sent from Oxford, but they were discovered by Fiennes and routed with some loss. But when the King approached Newbury, learning of the state of the beleaguered garrison, he sent the Earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse to help his gallant brother the Governor.

The probability of such a movement was clear to the Committee of Both Kingdoms. They wrote to Fiennes, telling him of the King's approach, and warning him that, though the Lord-General had been asked to have a care of their safety, the besiegers of Banbury must be ready to defend themselves in case of an attack.[2] Fiennes thereupon sent his heavy guns to a place of safety. It is possible that Colonel Whetham commanded the convoy that removed these guns, or had for some reason returned to Northampton, for from October 21st onwards letters are addressed to Colonel Fiennes only, and Whetham does not appear to have been present at a council of war held before Banbury on October 25th.

Lord Northampton was joined by Colonel Gage from Oxford, with some horse and foot. At their approach Fiennes raised the siege and fought a rear-

[1] Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. ii. p. 420.
[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom.

guard action with his horse, while his foot retired towards Warwick. The horse, probably new levies raised to replace the troops sent to the west, were broken by the fire of a couple of drakes and a charge by the Cavaliers. The country was enclosed, however, and most of the foot escaped. The Royalists took about one hundred prisoners, one field gun, and three waggons of ammunition.[1]

But even in their discomforture, the besiegers of Banbury did good service to the Parliament. Before Lord Northampton and his horse could rejoin the King, the combined Parliamentary armies had fought the second battle of Newbury on October 27th, and the defeat of the King is ascribed by Clarendon largely to the deficiency of cavalry produced by the detachment of the regiments which relieved Banbury.

Although the Royal army had the worst of the day tactically, yet strategically they suffered little, owing to the dissensions between the Parliamentary commanders, and a few weeks later they were able to relieve Donnington Castle under the eyes of the Roundheads. The failure to complete the victory on the field, and the ineffective handling of the Parliamentary forces immediately afterwards, were the causes of Cromwell's attack on Manchester in the House of Commons, and the consequent reorganisation of the army implied in the formation of the New Model, which at length finished the war.

[1] Clarendon, *loc. cit.*; Parliamentary News Sheets, and a letter from Major Lidcott and Capt. Temple, quoted in Beesley, *Hist. of Banbury*, p. 383.

CHAPTER V

ECHOES OF NASEBY

The end of the first siege of Banbury and the second battle of Newbury mark the termination of the first stage of the war. From the system adopted previously no decisive results could be expected, and none were obtained. Parliament determined at length to create that "army merely their own" which Waller had advised. Instead of forces raised voluntarily, and paid and partly directed by local Committees, it was arranged to press men in proportion to the population from all regions in the power of the Parliament, and to pay them regularly by a forced assessment on those counties which were least exposed to the ravages of war. To provide pay from the beginning, before the assessment produced its first yield, a loan was taken from the city of London.

Parliament had hit at last on a sound system of organisation; but it was some months later before they followed with an equally sound system of executive command. Till the next summer the direction of the campaign was kept in the hands of the Committee in London, who toiled painfully after the march of events and sent orders to their army which were, as a rule,

some days too late. Only when the commander in the field was told to find and fight the King's army, and given a free hand as to how he was to do it, was the military machine placed on a satisfactory footing. When the machine itself had been perfected by long and continuous service in the field, the military power of the Parliament became supreme.

The winter of 1644-5 was spent by the Parliament in bringing their new organisation into being. The King was at Oxford ; and much time and trouble were wasted by both sides in carrying on the futile negotiations known as the " Treaty of Uxbridge." The King's clerical advisers framed a scheme of modified Episcopacy with toleration both of Presbyterians and Independents ; but, as neither Presbyterians nor Independents would tolerate Anglicans, the plan was doomed to failure, even apart from political questions such as the King's veto on legislation, and the control of the militia.

When the spring opened, the King's plan of campaign involved a junction with Montrose, whose victories in Scotland were beginning to affect the movements of the Scots army south of the Border. But an opportune raid by Cromwell round Oxford cleared the country of heavy draught-horses, on which the King had been relying for the transport of his guns and waggons. His departure for the north was thus delayed seriously. When he was again ready to move, the old local spirit caused a division of his forces. The King and Rupert turned to the north, while Goring was despatched to the west.

Meanwhile, the new model army was ready to take the field, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was placed in command.

The direction of the campaign, however, was retained by the London Committee, who sent their new and homogeneous army to begin a premature siege of Oxford, while they entrusted the task of meeting the King in the field to a hypothetical force, which they hoped might be formed by the junction of the Scots with local English levies and a small detachment from Fairfax's army.

But little save the echoes of the changes going on and the movements of the armies reached those who were employed in the less exciting, if more troublesome, duties of garrison. During that winter, references to Northampton still occur in the records of the time, and especially in the Calendar of State Papers. They tell chiefly of demands for troops, horse, foot, and artillery, required for temporary service elsewhere or for convoying supplies and ammunition to other garrisons, such as Gloucester. On November 22nd, for instance, a considerable force drawn from Northampton and the surrounding country was sent to Abingdon, and the horse were directed "to make a cavalcado towards Oxford, and drive in all the cattle and provisions they can find in the enemy's quarters."

The collection of supplies from the unhappy country continued to occupy the chief attention of both sides. A victim well describes the state of affairs:[1] "When Banbury men come to gather their mony, they observe a time when their enemies of Northampton are at home, then come they in, and with a loud cry, say, 'Where are these Roundheads? We'll kill them all for raysing mony of you. You shall pay to none but us': when

[1] *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 26, quoted in Beesley's *Hist. of Banbury*, p. 411.

Banbury men are gone, then comes the other party, 'Where are the Cavaliers? We'll kill them all. You shall pay to none but us, we will protect you'; but hardly in a year doth the one interrupt the other's collections."

In February 1644/5 a skirmish seems to have taken place near Northampton, for on the 28th a letter is sent to the local Committee in which gratification is expressed that "your men behaved themselves so well, and came off with so little loss in the late skirmish you had with the great body of horse which came through your country. . . . We intreat you without fail to send 200 horse to Huntingdon" to protect the Eastern Association against the same party.

In March the Committee of Both Kingdoms were thinking again of pushing forward their lines, for on the 24th it was ordered:

"To write to the Committee at Northampton to prepare forces for a garrison to be located at some place near Banbury, in which the Governor, Colonel Whetham, is to be employed.

"Likewise to Col. Whetham to prepare Ammunition, etc., to go to such place as shall be selected."

Whether or not this scheme was ever carried out, the need of a strong garrison at Northampton had become less, and in April and May the place was again drawn upon to supply troops for convoys and other services. On one occasion, when 400 men were sent to Aylesbury, the Mayor and Aldermen were desired to supply inhabitants in their stead. Late in May, when preparations began for the attempted siege of Oxford,

Fairfax was to be supplied with two demi-cannon and three whole culverins, ready at Windsor and Northampton.

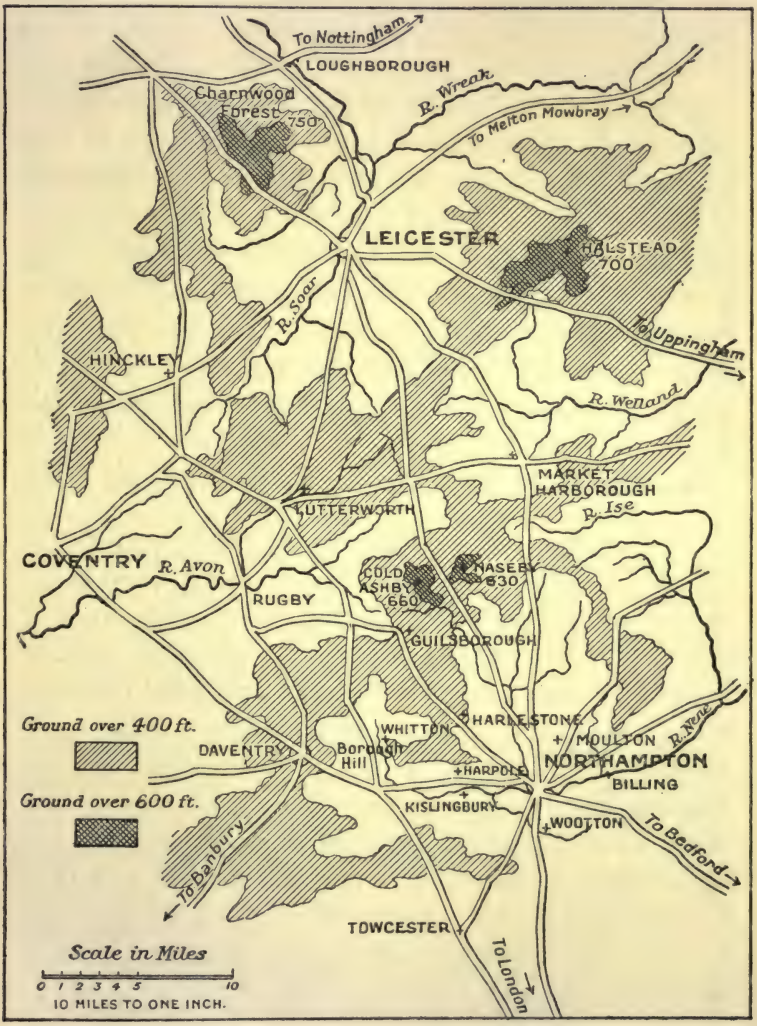
At this time Oxford was somewhat short of supplies, and the threatened siege was a possible danger which the King could not ignore. While waiting for definite news both from Oxford and from the north, Charles determined to march towards Leicester, crossing the Midlands from the borders of Wales, where his presence had sufficed to raise the siege of Chester. He would then be near the east-coast road to the north and still within reach of Oxford. On May 31st, Leicester fell.

The Royalist movement had other effects than those foreseen. The Parliament were always sensitive to any threat to the Eastern Association, and the approach of a hostile army to those Puritan counties usually produced some hurried change in their plan of campaign. This time the capture of Leicester frightened them into a sensible course of action. On June 2nd the Committee of Both Kingdoms ordered Fairfax to leave Oxford, and on the 9th they gave him a free hand to find and fight the King where and as he could, and appointed Cromwell, then in Cambridgeshire, Lieutenant-General with command of the horse.

On the 7th of June the King's army moved south to Daventry, where news met them that the siege of Oxford was raised. They stayed on, however, to support Oxford while its stores were replenished, and to help with the collection of supplies.

While the King lay at Daventry, Northampton formed the nearest outpost of the Eastern Association,

and stood right across the path of any Royalist advance



against that Parliamentary stronghold. The garrison had been reinforced hurriedly, even at the expense of

Fairfax's army, from which the Northampton contingent was ordered home "for the better defence of that place."

The neighbouring garrison of Newport Pagnell, too, began to feel the breath of the coming storm. The letter-books of Sir Samuel Luke, the Governor of that place and scout-master to the Parliament, are preserved at the British Museum.[1] In them we find copies of letters to and from the commanders of the surrounding garrisons; and, just at this time, Luke and Whetham were in frequent communication. Let us watch the gathering of the forces and the tragedy of Naseby as they appeared to the Governors of garrisons so near the field.

On the 9th of June, Whetham writes to Luke:

"S^r^,—I am informed the Kings headq^rs^ to be at Davntry & intends to march this day, his horse had a rendevouz yesterday at Whilton where they drew 5 out of evry Troope who marcht w^th^ plundered Cattle to Oxford, the rest of them returned to their old Quarters w^th^in 3 or 4 miles of us except some that inclined more Northward. This night about the further end of Halston Heath as wee conceive they made a great fyer about 12 of the Clock, some prisoners that wee bring in speake them to intend to ioyne with Goring and then to fight w^th^ S^r^ Tho. ffairfax & if good success then for the North, which is all can bee informed from—
Y^r^ humble servant, NATH. WHETHAM.

"Northton, June 9th, 1645."

[1] Egerton MSS., 785-7, and Stowe MSS., 190. Sir Samuel Luke is supposed to have been the original of Butler's "Hudibras."

Goring could not or would not leave the west, where Massey was skirmishing with him round Taunton, and the King had to face his enemies with little more than half their numbers.[1]

On receipt of Whetham's letter, Luke forwarded the information contained in it, with other reports that had reached him, to Fairfax.

"To Sir Thomas ffairfax.

"S^r^,—These lines should not have fayled but have attended y^u^ the last night, if there had beene anything of Novelty that y^u^ had not heard before. The enemy lyeth still at Daventry and yesterday drave away a drove of Cattle from w^th^in halfe a mile of Northton. The newes concerning Taunton Deane I hope will prove true, for I have informacon that ye enemy have had a losse of 2 or 300 men, but we continue in as greate straights as ever if not Greater, w^ch^ is all for the present y^u^ shall be troubled w^th^ from—Yo^r^ most humble servant, S. L.[2]

"June 10th, 1645."

On the same day Luke answers Whetham's letter, and sends to him news of the Parliamentary concentration, which was carried out more effectively than the King's attempted junction with Goring.

"To Coll: Witham,
Govnor of Northton.

"I have received your letter and thanke you for your Intelligence from those parts and that you may see I am

[1] See Col. Ross, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1888.

[2] The letters in the book are, of course, copies—the originals would be signed in full.

not less ready to give satisfaction than to begg it, I shall desire to give you to understand that Co[l] Crumwell with some of his assotiated forces are advanced soe farr as Bedford and others of his advancing intending to ione w[th] the Grand Armye which nowe Quarters at Stony Stratford, they past all throughe this towne yesterday and have allmost gott all my soldiers from mee the latest newes from Oxford you shall receive heaft. . . . from—Yours to serve you, S. L.

"June 10, 1645."

"I pray S[r] dispatch the bearer to mee as early in the morning as you can w[th] what intelligence you have, our forces have gaind a great many in the west but were forced to retreat to Taunton where there are 5000 of our forces in the towne and 10,000 about it."

Next day Colonel Whetham replies :

"Honored Sir,—I give you many thanks for yo[r] Intelligence wee are not a little ioyful to heere of Col. Cromwell advance, for wee know not how soone wee may stand in neede of his assistance, herein nothing new to present you w[th]. The enemy still keeps his old Qrs [quarters] notwithstanding the rumour we had the last night of his maruding Teames which as I am informed was only for p[r]vision for their Army. 800 of S[r] Tho ffairfax horse, under the comaund of Col. Whalley, are come to us this morning by 4 of the Clocke to late an houre for their designe w[ch] was beating up of Qrs however I hope they will bee a good security of the Qts neere us. Ye enemy has been very barbarous in beating and torturing weemen to make them tell

where there money is.[1] Sr I am extreamely obliged for yo[r] favours wh[ch] if I may bee able to requite none shall bee more happy than—Yo[r] humble servant,

"NATH. WHETHAM.

"Northton, 11 June 1645."

On this Wednesday, says Sprigge, "though a stormy day," Fairfax's "army marched from Stony Stratford to Wotton, within three miles of Northampton. . . . The army being come to Wotton, they found there none of the best accommodation for quarter; only, what was wanting that way was supplied by the mayor and magistrates of Northampton, who the same night came to the headquarters upon the errand of a congratulatory visit and present."[2]

Next morning Fairfax established himself at Kislingbury, three miles west of Northampton, where he was joined by Cromwell, who probably passed through Northampton on his way from the Eastern Association.

Whetham was now nearer to the scene of operations than Luke, but the scout-master continued to send him general news from other parts of the country.

"To Col. Whetham.

"S[r],—I thanke y[u] for yo[r] Lre in reterne whereof I shall bee bold to assure y[u] that the Newarkers took a ffort w[ch] is 2 miles of Grantham wherein was 140 ffoote and some horse, Col. Rossiter heareing of it drew 2 or 300 Foote out of Grantham and w[th] his horse fell upon it, and regained the Prison[rs] and tooke 200 more, whilst

[1] It was said by the *Perfect Diurnal* (Gardiner, ii. 242) that scarcely a prisoner was brought in who had less than forty or fifty shillings in his pocket.

[2] Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 33.

they were in their iolletyes, my other newes from Oxford y^{u} shall receive by enclosed w^{ch} I shall desire you to present to the view of the Com^{ttee} alsoe assure myself of the like favour from y^{u} when occasion comes, thus with the tender of my best respects to y^{u} I take leave and rest—Y^{rs} in all respects and ever comaundable,

S. L."

Colonel Rossiter did not confine himself to interrupting cheerful Royalists at their jollities, for with some four hundred horse he reached the field of Naseby on the morning of the battle and took his stand with Cromwell on the right of the Parliamentary line just as the fight began.

Hitherto the Royalists had not heard of Fairfax's approach, but now the news reached them, and early on the 13th they broke up from Daventry. Moving west to avoid crossing Fairfax's front, they then swung to the north, and before evening had occupied the villages round Market Harborough. To meet this move Fairfax marched to Guilsborough, where he still covered Northampton and could follow the King either north or east. In the next letter Whetham sends to Luke an account of these operations, and gives an interesting and graphic description of an attempt of the Royalists to deceive the enemy and swell their own apparent forces by mounting the colours of cavalry regiments on baggage waggons, doubtless with the hope that, seeing the flags over the hedgerows, the Parliament men might mistake the strength and position of the King's horse. A study of the plan of the battle of Naseby given in Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva* shows

waggons with flags drawn up on the sky-line behind the Royal army.

"Honored Sr,—I give you harty thanks for yore intelligence and have communicated it to the Comttee. The King's Army drew of this morning from Boughrow Hill, where wth the 2 Princes they had encamped all night, and are now marcht towards Leicester as is conceived. Sr Tho: Ffairfax had his Randevouz at Harpole fields, & is marcht after Lt Gen. Cromwell, comaunding the van, Col. Rainsborrow is also ioyned by this time. 2 Troopes 2 whole Culverin and 200 Foote marcht out of this Garr. to the Gen: Army. One thing observable 2 that came from the Kings Army this morning when they were upon their march say that 7 horse Collors were sett upon Baggage Waggons and marcht as a Regimt of horse, besides a 1000 weemen and 500 Boyes at least. Or Gar: sent in about 12 Prisoners taken this morning. Sr if I can serve you in anything I shall bee very happy if you will comaund.—Yor humble servant, NATH. WHETHAM.

"Northton, June 13th, 1645."

Borough Hill stands about a mile to the east of Daventry, and bears traces of ancient earthworks. It will be seen that, now Northampton was covered by Fairfax, Whetham had sent out a large force from his garrison to swell the numbers of the army.

In reply to the last letter Luke writes:

"To Col. Whetham.

"I recd yor Lre and thanke yu for yor advtismt of his Majesty which is not otherwise than wht I had ex-

pected, from London we heard of greate stirrs of some correspondency held with the King, but w^th^ w^t^ particular psons I cannot heare, if it be true I pray God they may rec: their reward, o^r^ Forces in the west are in a very sad condicon, if you have any newes occurrs worthy yo^r^ knowledge I shall desire to heare it from y^u^ herein you will oblige me to bee—Y^rs^, S. L.

"June 14th, 1648."

Though the King had but seven or eight thousand men and the New Model Army some fourteen thousand, he marched neither north nor east, but turned to meet his foes on the hills to the south of Harborough; and, in spite of the disparity of numbers and Rupert's premature pursuit, the battle of Naseby wanted but little to make a Royalist victory.

But two more letters received by Luke tell the fatal result of the day.

"To Sir Samuel Luke.

"S^r^, — After a doubtfull battaile a most glorious victory, greater than that of Yorke. 3000 Prisoners, all the ordinance Bagg, & Baggage, our Horse are in psuite as farre as Leicester, o^r^ Foote Q^r^ this night at Harbarrow.—F^r^ yo^r^ servant, Jo. RUSHWORTH.

"Harborrow, June 14th."

(To Sir Samuel Luke.)

"S^r^,—I doubt not but you heard before this tyme of the greate Goodnesse of God to this poore nation for wh: wee have all cause to reioyce. The Gen'all comaunded mee to desire y^u^ to convoy the Tre're to

Northton where Col: Cox will rec[e] it & discharge you, this is desired may speedily bee done.—S[r] I am yo[r] humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

"June 15th, 1645."

Four cartloads of captured arms arrived at Northampton, and six hundred wounded men were crowded into the houses of the town.[1]

[1] Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, Record Office, Bundle 173.

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

HAVING crushed the King at Naseby, Fairfax turned west to deal with Goring, whose plundering and incompetence were alienating the people of Somerset and Devon. Passing through Dorset, Fairfax outmanœuvred Goring with ease along the line of the rivers Yeo and Parret, and defeated him heavily at Langport. Goring fled into Devonshire, and Fairfax took the important garrison of Bridgewater. Securing the country behind him, he captured Sherborne Castle, and began a siege of Bristol, then held by Prince Rupert. On September 10th Bristol fell. Fairfax advanced into Devon, and Cromwell, separating from his commander, turned back to clear his communications. Basing House was stormed and destroyed on October 14th, and the whole of the southern counties, except the extreme west, were occupied effectively for the Parliament.

Meanwhile the King had been moving about the Midlands, the determining factors of his campaign being the shelter of Oxford and its outposts, the recruiting grounds of South Wales, the chance of holding out a hand to Montrose by marching north, and

the need of avoiding any superior force sent against him. The grand operations of the war were over, and all that remained was to bring into subjection those isolated areas and fortresses which still held out for the King.

The most important of these areas was that guarded by Oxford and Banbury, and in January 1645/6 the Parliamentary forces began again to take the initiative in that part of the country. First with the object of "blocking up" Banbury, and then for the purpose of a definite siege, troops were pushed towards it, some of them being drawn from the garrison of Northampton.

The fortifications of Banbury had been repaired and strengthened since the former siege. The wall towards the market-place, which had fallen owing to the rough treatment it had received, had been rebuilt, new works had been added, and a third moat dug at dangerous points. Sir William Compton was again in command of the garrison, with about four hundred men, and an ample store of provisions and ammunition.[1]

The chief conduct of the attack was entrusted to Colonel Whalley, who had served in a subordinate capacity during the first siege. At the end of January he entered the town, and, after some unexplained delay, began his approaches.[2] On February 6th he was joined by foot from Northampton and Warwick. Nearly all the Northampton garrison must have been used, for directions are sent for the townsmen to be employed on the defences with the remainder of the garrison.[3] By March 26th, if not before, Colonel

[1] Beesley's *Hist. of Banbury.*

[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Jan. 31, 1645/6.

[3] *Ibid.* Jan. 29.

Whetham was again with the besiegers, helping actively with the operations.[1]

To prevent fear of an attack by roving parties of Royalists, a line of earthworks was drawn round the Parliamentary quarters. The besiegers at their leisure then began sapping up to the walls of the castle. They crossed the outermost moat by means of galleries, and pushed their mines farther forward. The garrison sprang one countermine, but without permanent damage to the siege works.[2]

On the 27th of April the King had fled from Oxford, and the Royalist cause had become hopeless. By the beginning of May the Parliamentarians had worked so far into the defences of the garrison that it became clear that Banbury Castle would not be tenable much longer. Sir William Compton sounded a parley, and on May 6th, the day after Charles surrendered to the Scots at Newark, terms of capitulation were arranged in "Articles agreed upon . . . by Capt. Gannock and Capt. Baylie, deputed on behalf of S^r^ William Compton, Governor of the Castle of Banbury, And Colo. Whetham, Colo. Bridges, Leiftenant Colo. Matthews, and Leift. Colo. Castle, Commissioners appointed by Colo. Whalley, Commander-in-chiefe of the Forces imployed for the reducing of the said Castle, touching the surrender thereof."

The garrison were granted passes and free quarter on their way home; they might take their wearing apparel and half their money, and officers their swords

[1] *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 56; quoted in Beesley, p. 416.
[2] Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, ed. 1854, p. 259.

and horses; no oaths were to be exacted, and the sick and wounded were to be accommodated in the town of Banbury with a surgeon till their recovery. The Parliamentary commanders were to try to obtain leave to go beyond seas for those officers of the garrison who wished to do so. On these terms the castle was surrendered on Friday the 8th of May at 9 o'clock. The garrison, we are told, "marcht out with great content: not so much as a bad look, much less a word past from each other, they protesting they never knew nor saw more fair dealing."[1] Similar good feeling was shown in most of the other surrenders in different parts of the country. The Royalists had not yet been embittered by the death of the King and the unjust and recurrent confiscation of their property. It was still "a war without an enemy."

In the castle were found eleven pieces of ordnance, eleven barrels of powder, and 400 stand of arms. As the besiegers did not get their reward in sacking the castle, some of the contents were ordered to be sold or disposed of and the proceeds distributed among the soldiers—an arrangement, we read, which "speaks highly to the honour of Col. Whalley, the Governor of Warwick and Northampton, and those other gentlemen who assisted this work."

On May 13th the Committee write from London to Whalley to prevent damage to the castle till further orders, but on May 27th it was resolved by Parliament that Banbury Castle should be destroyed, two thousand pounds being awarded to Lord Saye and Sele in compensation. It is to similar orders by Parliament,

[1] *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 62.

rather than to the actual ravages of the war, that the loss of many of our ancient castles was due. The ruin of Banbury was complete, and only a fragment of masonry now remains from the stately walls for the possession of which so many brave men gave their lives.

Oxford was surrendered on the 20th of June, the garrison, like that of Banbury, obtaining good terms. Thenceforth, although a few isolated castles still held out, the chief historic interest shifts from war to negotiation. The King, defeated in the field, endeavoured to maintain his prerogative by playing Parliament against Army, and Army against Parliament; for the division of the Puritan party now had become definite. The Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons, having won the war by using an army predominantly Independent, tried to disband them without paying their arrears, and without giving security for the toleration of the many and divergent sects represented in their ranks.

The Army showed signs of disaffection, and the Parliament, ignoring the only effective source of their own power, tried to make themselves independent of the Regular Army by entering on negotiations with the King, the Cavaliers, the City Militia, and the Scots. By this course, they converted Cromwell to a belief in the necessity of strong measures on behalf of the Army. With his usual promptitude, he forestalled the House by seizing the artillery stored at Oxford, and securing the person of the King. The Army marched on London, but, when the push came, the City Militia would not fight, and the capital was

occupied without a blow. Eleven Presbyterian leaders were expelled from the House, and the Army retired. The first step towards a military despotism had been taken.

But Cromwell now made another attempt at a permanent settlement by entering on negotiation with the King. Cromwell and Ireton, in spite of the protests of their own followers, tried to come to terms with Charles on somewhat similar lines to those put forward by the Anglican Divines at Oxford in the winter of 1644-5. The Royal power was to be limited by Parliament, Bishops were to be shorn of coercive jurisdiction, and toleration was to be extended to all. The scheme might have given a basis for a good settlement, but it failed, owing to the animosity of the Puritan sects to the Church, and to the King's conscientiousness in conviction and insincerity in action. Escaping from Hampton Court, Charles fled to Carisbrooke, broke off relations with the Army, and constructed the heterogeneous alliance of Scots, English Presbyterians, and Royalists, which fought the second Civil War.

While the New Model Army, which had been kept in the field, was in the main Independent, the garrisons, made up of militia and other local levies, were for the most part Presbyterian. Hence many of the garrisons which had done good service for the Parliament in the first Civil War, in the spring of 1648 declared for the King. Fairfax wasted weeks before Colchester, and Cromwell days before Pembroke, while the Scots gathered in the north. When Pembroke surrendered, Cromwell hurried into Yorkshire, and, descending

swiftly on the line of march of the Scots, cut their ill-assorted army into halves as it straggled south through Preston, and then crushed the fragments. Colchester capitulated, and the second Civil War was over. But the spirit of the conquerors was very different from that shown in 1646. Lucas and Lisle, the brave defenders of Colchester, were shot in cold blood, and most of their men shipped as slaves to Barbadoes.

King and Parliament again tried to come to terms behind the back of the Army; but the military commanders now took prompt and ruthless action. Col. Pride and his soldiers purged the House of all those obnoxious to his generals, and the remainder, at the bidding of the Army, erected a revolutionary tribunal to try, and to condemn, the King. Charles, the shifty diplomatist and unsuccessful statesman, became the patient sufferer and royal martyr, whose dignity and quiet courage extorted admiration from his enemies. His death, abhorrent to the vast majority of the nation in whose name the deed was done, made it impossible for the revolutionary Governments to base their power on an appeal to the people, and compelled them to rely on force as their sanction, till in 1660 the sword broke in their hands.

The guiding principle of Charles's life was expressed in his last words, a noble confession of the faith that was in him. "For the people," he said on the scaffold, "truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you their liberty and freedom consists in having government, those laws by which their lives and their goods may be

most their own. It is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things."

But let us turn to the man who is praised often as the champion of democracy against the power of an arbitrary monarch. "That's the question," Cromwell said of the people at a later date, "what's for their good, not what pleases them."[1]

It was then simply a problem who should decide "what was good for them." To Charles it was clear that the decision rested with a King, divinely appointed, who was to act on the advice of the best men of the time; to Cromwell, that God had entrusted the care of the country exclusively to those of Puritan opinions, whose witness was their conquering sword.

We have no direct evidence as to the part played by Nathaniel Whetham during these rapid changes. That he disapproved of the death of the King would be probable from his Presbyterian opinions, and is confirmed by a remark attributed to him by Ludlow.[2] But since he was employed by the Government during both the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, it is probable that he took no active part in opposition. Like Fairfax and many others, while opposed to the policy of Cromwell and the Independents, he may have been ready to serve under them on the principle that the government of the country must be carried on.

While power was passing from Parliament to Army,

[1] C. H. Firth's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 484.
[2] Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, vol. i. p. 394.

Whetham seems to have taken no part in politics. The books of the Bakers' Company show that in 1647 he was elected to the office of Under-Warden, but no other trace of his presence is to be found. He may have taken part with the London Militia in their abortive opposition to the Regular Army, or he may have abstained altogether from taking sides in a quarrel in which his sympathies were perhaps divided.

Although Nathaniel Whetham seems to have been in London in 1647, he must have contemplated soon after a change in his habitation and life, and a return to the west country in which his boyhood was spent. Times had prospered with him, and he had now the means of acquiring landed estate. The story, like that of so much of his life, is typical of the time, and shows how the Parliamentary soldiers attempted to found territorial families—a new aristocracy of the sword. For the most part, the possessions they acquired, being confiscated lands ecclesiastic or Royalist, reverted to their former owners at the Restoration. It is often said that the Commonwealth soldiers sank to the rank from which they rose. Judging from the case before us, this is not universally true. While Colonel Whetham lost most of his lands, he saved enough property of one kind or another to enable his descendants to purchase large estates in another part of the country, and to maintain a position higher than that of his immediate ancestors.

Even at the outset of the war the Parliament offered generous salaries to their officers. In Essex's army the "Lord General" was to receive ten pounds a

day, and a colonel one pound ten shillings.[1] From 1648 to 1660, a colonel of foot was paid a pound a day, equivalent to about twelve hundred pounds a year at the present time.[2] From the officers' point of view, the only drawback to these liberal salaries was the fact that they were seldom or never paid in full. Arrears accumulated continually, and formed one of the standing grievances of all ranks and branches of the Army. To satisfy their military creditors, the Government issued debentures charged on various funds. At a later date, when the remains of the lands confiscated from the Crown, from Bishops or Deans, or from Royalists, were not sold readily, the Parliament, as an added inducement to purchasers to come forward, decreed that the debentures were to be accepted as payment to the amount of half the purchase money for these lands. But Colonel Whetham does not seem to have got the benefit of this arrangement.

While the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding for the estates of Royalists are now calendared in the printed State Papers, the dealings with ecclesiastical property remain shrouded in the obscurity of manuscript. A Committee of Trustees was appointed to deal with the "Manors Lands and Possessions of the late Archbishops and Bishops," and an indenture was made between those Trustees and "Nathaniell Whetham of London, Esq[re]" on the third of January 1648/9, "in the foure and twentieth yere of the raigne of our sovraigne lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and

[1] Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, Bundle 140.
[2] *Cromwell's Army*, by C. H. Firth, p. 188.

Ireland defender of the faith etc."[1] The Trustees sell to Colonel Whetham the lordship and manor of Chard and Borough of Chard in the county of Somerset, and all the rents, fines, tolls, rights, or royalties therein "belonging to the late Bishoprick of Bath and Wells." Then follows a list of houses and lands, beginning with the manor-house and its grounds, and passing on to detail about seven hundred acres of field, meadow, and wood.[2] The purchase price was fixed at three thousand seven hundred and eighteen pounds nine shillings and sixpence, half of which was "acknowledged to be satisfied and paid by the said Nathaniell Whetham according to severall Ordinances of Parliament," and the other half to be paid in six months.

It is interesting to observe how many of the old feudal rights still went with the lordship of the manor, at least in name. Thus the indenture transfers "Courtes Leete and Courtes Baron, viewes of Frankpledge . . . wards heriotts forfeitures . . . chattells of Felons and Fugitives." The political revolution had gone far, even at this time, but no social revolution had accompanied it.

In the following April Colonel Whetham was himself placed on the Committee of Trustees for the Sale of the Lands of Deans and Chapters, and had to arrange purchases such as he himself had effected.[3] The need of money to carry on the Government was extreme,

[1] Close Rolls, 24 Car. I. 3415, Part 23 (Record Office). It is worthy of note that three weeks after the date of this recital of the King's titles he was killed. Truly, as Cromwell said, they "cut off his head with the Crown upon it."

[2] A list with names of the enclosures is given in *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, vol. x. p. 175.

[3] *Acts and Ordinances*, by H. Scobell. Printed 1658. April 1649.

and the finances were in the utmost confusion. Ten separate funds are mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers,[1] and the value of a warrant for payment depended on the state of the particular fund on which it was charged. Many attempts were made to consolidate all the funds of the State into one treasury, but it was not till the days of the Protectorate that this object was attained.

The proceeds of the sales of the lands of Deans and Chapters were assigned one-third to the Navy and one-third to the war in Ireland, while the remaining third was reserved for contingencies. As a matter of fact, when the state of Ireland became acute, all the fund was diverted to that country and ordered to be repaid when possible from other sources.

Whetham's appointment as one of the Trustees for the Sale of Deans' Lands shows that he was still ready to serve the State in spite of his new possessions at Chard. His administrative ability was evidently thought too valuable to be dispensed with, and in September 1649 he was sent as Governor to Portsmouth, the most important garrison in the country, and the chief naval base on the coast.

[1] Calendar State Papers, Dom., 1649-50, p. xxxii.

CHAPTER VII

PORTSMOUTH

ENGLAND was now completely in the power of the Army, but Scotland, Ireland, and half the Colonies were in a state of revolt. The point of interest shifts from inland warfare and internal politics to oversea campaigns and foreign relations. In the first Civil War the Navy had been almost unanimous for the Parliament, but in 1648 eleven ships out of the forty-one in commission had declared for the King, and now, under the command of Prince Rupert, were preying on the commerce of the Commonwealth.

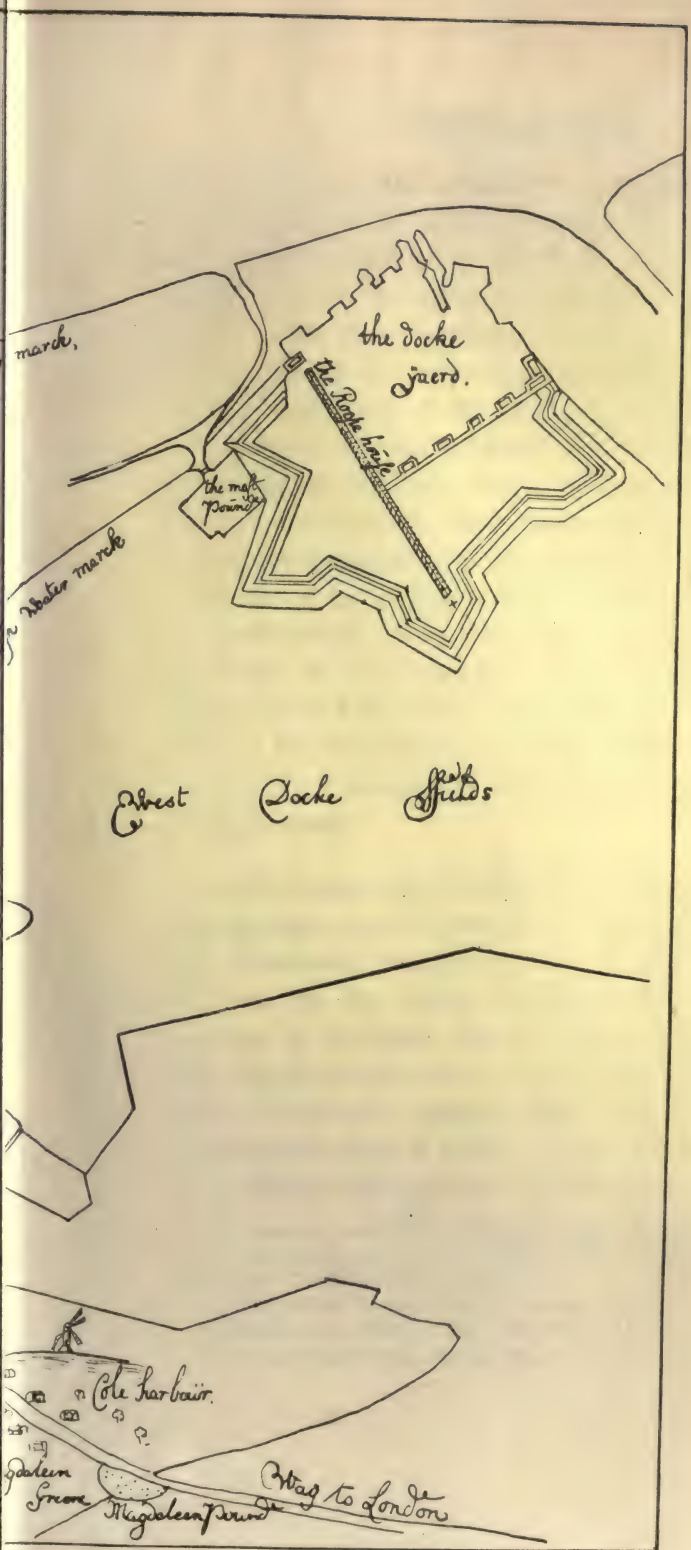
The immediate task of the Government was to regain command of the sea and the allegiance of the British dominions beyond it. Just as Northampton was one of the advanced bases from which the Parliament organised their attacks on Oxford and Banbury in the first Civil War, so in the dockyard and harbour of Portsmouth were fitted out the ships which hunted Rupert round the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic, and fought for days together with the Dutch.

At that date the walled town of Portsmouth covered only a small area at the mouth of the harbour. To the north the dockyard was separated from the town

Map of Portsmouth, made in 1688 by Sr Ber de Gomme

Original in British Museum (Add. 16,371 c), reproduced in *Extracts from the Records of the Borough of Portsmouth*, by Robt. East, Portsmouth, 1891.


Gosport Point
Battery
beach
Battery
Battery
high street
Great platform
Point Gate
the hamet
Sea Gate
Love wate
Oosters
street
Goodspeed Lane
Thames
High
Little Penny
Little Penny street
St Nicolaes street
Portesmouth
High Market street
mary street
the
Mill
Point,
Little
Marish,
fresh water mills
Hanco.
Crofts Fields
Scale of 1320 English feet, or one fourth of one m


the docke
yaerd.
the Docke basin
the mast
Pounde
marck,
Water marck
Eldrest Docke
New Fields
Cole harbair.
Magdeleen Ground
Way to London

by a creek and half a mile of open ground. At the end of the spit of land at the entrance to the harbour were batteries and a fort known as the Round Tower, while a mile to the south-east of the walls lay Southsea Castle.[1] All these fortifications were in charge of the military Governor, who was responsible for the safety of the town and of the ships in the harbour. The management of the dockyard and the preparation and outfitting of the fleet were entrusted to a resident Navy Commissioner, who acted on the orders of the Admiralty Committee of the Council of State.

Early in September 1649, Colonel John Disbrowe or Desborough, then Governor of Portsmouth, was appointed to the command of the regiment of horse which Cromwell had raised and led in the Civil War.[2] On September the 17th, Fairfax signed a commission for Colonel Whetham to suceeed Desborough at Portsmouth.[3]

On October 24th, the Council of State ordered "Col. Desborough, late Governor of Portsmouth, to pay to Col. Whetham, the present Governor, £1000 received by him for the repair of Portsmouth, or any other moneys in his hands for the use of that Garrison."[4] The fortifications were in a bad state, and for several years Whetham's energies were directed to obtaining funds to put them in order. Even the money necessary to provision the garrison and fleets was obtained only

[1] A manuscript chart at the Admiralty of uncertain date, but somewhat earlier than the plan here reproduced, shows simpler fortifications, and no battery on Gosport Point. (Orig. Doc. D 623, Press 17 d.)

[2] *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 320, Sept. 10-17, 1649.

[3] Worcester Coll. Oxford, Clarke MSS., vol. lxvii. p. 21.

[4] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Oct. 24, 1649.

with difficulty ; in one case, while Whetham had gone to London to secure a thousand pounds ordered to be charged on the treasury at Guildhall, Richard Deane, who as Admiral of the Fleet was superintending its preparation, had to draw £250 on credit to pay the bakers.[1]

Shortly afterwards Deane fell ill, and Robert Blake was sent to replace him in command of the ships which became England's first effective Mediterranean squadron. Blake started on his voyage with instructions to "destroy all the ships of the revolted fleet . . . to preserve the dominion of the sea, and to cause the ships of all other nations to strike their flags, and not to bear them up in your presence."[2] For this latter object, however, Blake was not to risk the fleet : "If you should be opposed therein by a considerable force, then forbear the pressing thereof, and take notice who they were that did it not, that at some better opportunity they may be brought hereafter thereunto." Like Dogberry, the Commonwealth Government wished their watch, in dangerous cases, to temper duty with discretion.

To get this fleet to sea great efforts had been made. Ships then building were hurried on, while old and inefficient vessels were sold or broken up to make room for the new ones in the dockyards and harbours. The military organisation of the country, too, needed readjustment. In England the revolutionary Government had no longer to face an enemy in the field, and the military situation began to resemble that which henceforth became the normal problem for the British army. A foreign war, for such at that time was the

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Dec. 1, 1649. [2] *Ibid.*

struggle in Ireland, required constant drafts from home, and the possibility of further trouble made it necessary to hold in readiness a striking force in England ready for any emergency, and organised also to supply the drafts for overseas.

The Civil War found England covered with a vast number of castles and fortified towns. The danger of such places was well shown in 1648, when several of them had been seized by the Royalists and had given much trouble to reduce. Directions were now issued that all fortified places, except important and necessary garrisons like Portsmouth, were to be made untenable, unless they could be held safely with a small number of men, for "to garrison well all places of that condition in England were to employ more forces than the Commonwealth can bear the burden of, as the Army should be always in a marching posture."[1]

The old county militia was re-established, with officers favourable to the new Government, and organised under the direction of local commissioners in the different counties.[2] Some militia regiments were embodied for garrison duty, and an attempt was made "to have them all in such a posture that the knowledge of their strength and faithfulness might discourage all attempts in their enemies, and that, if occasion be, they may be ready in all places to secure themselves, if the standing army be necessitated to march against the enemy attempting upon us in any other place."[3] The success of the militia was shown in 1651, when many

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., July 14, 1649.

[2] The reorganisation of the militia was completed by Act of July 11, 1650. Gardiner, *Com. and Prot.* i. 267.

[3] Cal. State Papers, Dom., July 14, 1649.

of the regiments were employed in the campaign which ended at Worcester.

In view of the resemblance between these reforms and the changes in the Army carried out in 1907, it is interesting to note that, in reducing the strength of the horse, the most important and efficient part of the forces which fought the Civil Wars, the Council of State were careful not to destroy the regiments that had acquired cohesion and *esprit de corps* on the fields of Naseby and Marston Moor. They reduced the number of men in each troop, and not the number of regiments. On November 14th, 1649, the minutes of Council record a resolution "To write to the Lord General (Fairfax) that a reduction is to be made of the horse of the army, by reducing every troop from 80 to 60, except regiments out of which men are to be taken for Ireland." The organisation of a larger army was thus preserved, ready to be used at once should it be necessary to raise the forces to their former strength. It is comparatively easy for the experienced officers of a regiment in being to train new recruits to take their places with old soldiers in the ranks; it is difficult or impossible to create at short notice new corps worthy to stand beside veteran battalions which have been welded into a tempered weapon of war by the experience and tradition of successful campaigns.

While the duties of raising and organising the county militia were entrusted to local commissioners, the command was vested in officers responsible directly to the Council of State in London. Thus, as the Hampshire Militia was formed, it was placed under

the command of Colonel Whetham. On August 16th, 1650, the Council ordered the Militia Commissioners for Hampshire to raise a troop of sixty horse to be commanded by the Governor of Portsmouth, and when that troop of "horse-militia" was mobilised in December it was expressly told to place itself under his orders. By the following January the organisation of the Militia seems to have been complete, and formal commissions were issued by the Council to the officers of the Hampshire forces, on the recommendation of Colonel Whetham.[1]

Not only were the local military forces placed under the command of officers responsible to the Council of State, but the same officers were employed in the management of civil affairs in their neighbourhood. On May 6th, 1650, Colonel Whetham was made a Justice of the Peace for Hampshire.[2] From that time onward we find the soldiers taking more and more the control of local government.

The regular garrison of Portsmouth consisted of four companies of seventy soldiers each besides officers—nearly three hundred men in all; in 1654 one of the companies was disbanded.[3] Private soldiers received in pay £1 : 3 : 4 per month—just over ninepence a day.[4] A chaplain's stipend was equivalent to the pay of four private soldiers.[5]

The pay of the soldiers, like that of their officers,

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., August 16, September 28, December 16, January 13, 1650-51 :—Colonel, Nathaniel Whettham; Lieut.-Col., — Gaywood; Major, Ed. Hooker; Captains, Jas. Withers, Thos. Breman, Benedict Barnam, — Reade, Robt. Reeves, Jas. Dewy, — Braxton.

[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., June 1652.

[3] *Ibid.* 1653-4, p. 406.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* Jan. 1651/2.

constantly was in arrear, and the Government debentures were a poor substitute for ready money. Though the traffic was prohibited, the men were willing to sell their debentures at a large discount. Thus Lt.-Col. Joyce, wishing to purchase a park in Hampshire, bought up the arrears of the soldiers of the garrison of Portsmouth at the rate of seven shillings and sixpence in the pound; "deeming himself obliged in Conscience to allow the Soldiers, who had equally ventured their Lives with himself, a more proportionable Rate than the common Prices of one Shilling, or one Shilling and Sixpence *per* Pound."[1]

Considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining from London an adequate number of small arms to supply the garrison, and Whetham, probably tired of waiting for new weapons, seems to have taken measures of his own for arming his men. On May 30th, 1650, twenty pounds were paid to him on account from the Excise funds for "fixing 330 unserviceable muskets at Portsmouth and Southsea Castle."[2] At this time some special danger seems to have threatened, for on May 31st a Commission was signed allowing "Martiall Lawe" for Col. Whetham.[3]

Provisions for the soldiers were obtained from the neighbourhood, as were many other necessaries of a garrison, such as horses, which were requisitioned, sometimes forcibly, from the surrounding country.[4]

To Portsmouth were brought most of the prisoners of war, taken on the high seas by the ships of the

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. 1746, p. 294; Firth's *Cromwell's Army*, p. 206.
[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom. [3] Worcester Coll., Clarke MSS. vol. lxix.
[4] *Ibid.* Aug. 19, 1650.

Commonwealth. It is characteristic of the confusion of the time that no provision had been made for their support, and that at first they were maintained by the charity of the Governor and the Naval Commissioner.[1] The matter was brought to the notice of the Council of State, who ordered "the Admiralty Committee to consider as to the disposing of the prisoners taken at sea and sent to Portsmouth, the governor being at great weekly charge for keeping them." It was decided that they should be forwarded to Winchester Gaol within fourteen days. The expense of feeding prisoners varied from fourpence to sixpence a day for each man.

The business of the exchange of prisoners, too, often was carried out through the Governor of Portsmouth.[2] On August the 7th, Colonel Whetham is directed to "certify the quality of the prisoners sent to him from Col. Deane, and of what nation." On September the 6th, the Admiralty Committee wrote, "By order of the Council of State you are to exchange Mons. Du Cane alias Du Quesne, taken by Captain Mildmay, for Thos. Scutt, prisoner in the Castle at Havre de Grace, France." Another prisoner named Salvias is to be exchanged against William Straw, a prisoner at Dunkirk. On the 3rd of September, the day that Cromwell defeated the Scots army at Dunbar, the Council ordered Whetham to set at liberty Scotsmen taken in Dutch ships, treatment very different from that accorded to them a year later after Worcester fight, when many taken in the battle were shipped to the American plantations, others disposed of to the "adventurers"

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Aug. 16, 19, 20, Sept. 21, 1650.
[2] *Ibid.*, dates in text.

who had contracted to drain the East Anglian fens, and yet others kept in confinement at York on the starvation allowance of twopence-farthing a day.

Supplies for the forces in Scotland and Ireland were drawn from every available source, and much provision was shipped from Portsmouth.[1] To Colonel Whetham was entrusted the duty of collecting and forwarding these supplies. On November the 14th a warrant for £1000 on account was sent to Colonels Deane and Whetham for providing biscuits at Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight for the Army in Scotland, and on December the 30th another £130 on account was paid to Whetham for 400 cwts. of biscuits from the same places.

When the military Governor had collected the supplies, the superintendence of loading the ships appears to have been left to the Naval Commissioner. On the death of Colonel Willoughby in 1651, Captain Robert Moulton became Commissioner. More than once the Council seem to have been dissatisfied with the way he performed his duties,[2] and in 1652 it is clear that he did not give adequate supervision to the process of shipping the corn. It was discovered that, out of every boat-load of wheat shipped, two bushels were being given as a "perquisite to the Mayor," and eightpence a quarter as a fee to the measurer. The Council thereupon wrote a sharp letter to Moulton, directing him to tell the Mayor "that it is the State's corn, and that we expect it may be free for them to measure and ship their corn at any port without such demands." A measurer is to

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Aug. 7, Sept. 6, 1650.
[2] *Ibid.* Sept. 9, 1651; Feb. 1651/2.

be employed on behalf of the State, and he is to be paid for his labour "without regard to any customs or exactions upon private traders," who seem to have been left to make what terms they could both with his worship the Mayor and with his measurer.[1]

Charles II. had bought the swords of the Scottish Presbyterians by taking the Covenant, but his unholy alliance with those who had just put to death the gallant Montrose was shattered at Dunbar, where, with some relief and amusement, the King saw his uncongenial supporters put to flight. Thenceforward he was able to rally most of the Scottish Royalists to his standard, and form an army of more reasonable components.

After the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell advanced into Scotland and occupied Edinburgh. But he made no further progress with the conquest of the country. Whenever he attempted to advance northward, he found Leslie across his path in a position too strong to be attacked. To prevent stalemate, Cromwell ferried his army across the Forth and seized Perth behind the back of the Scots, thus cutting their line of supply—a bold move, since it left England open to an invasion, but a wise one, since a Scottish invasion would bring a great part of England to the support of the Government, and enable the Commonwealth, as the event proved, to crush their enemies at a blow.

Misled by reports of disaffection to the Government, the King, turned out of his quarters about Stirling by Cromwell's move, took the desperate

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Feb. 1651/2.

resolution of an advance into England. Early in August 1651 he started, with Cromwell on his heels and Harrison on his flank.

The Council, warned by information of projected risings in the previous winter, had been pushing on their military preparations. In March all governors were ordered to their garrisons, and forbidden to absent themselves without special leave. Important points were reinforced, and places not essential drained of troops to meet the threatened storm in the north. Colonel Sydenham, Governor of the Isle of Wight, was directed to reinforce Whetham at Portsmouth with twenty horse, but when Whetham asked for further drafts he was told that no more could be sent, for all available men were wanted elsewhere.[1] Concentrated by the junction of Cromwell with Lambert and Harrison and with the local militia, the forces of the Commonwealth now greatly outnumbered the King's army, which was attacked and overwhelmed at Worcester. After brave attempts to rally his flying men, Charles escaped from the field, and, passing in disguise from place to place, tried unsuccessfully to take ship from Bristol. Then he lay hid at Sir Francis Wyndham's house at Trent, near Sherborne, whence he rode to the sea at Charmouth, but again failed to get a vessel. Riding to Bridport, he doubled back to Broadwindsor, and thus escaped a party who were in pursuit. At Broadwindsor the King and Sir Francis Wyndham passed the night, and then regained Trent in safety. Finally, travelling through Wiltshire with the help of Colonel Robert Phelips, Charles sailed from

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom.

Brighton and landed on the coast of France. His escape from his enemies was due to his own ready wit and coolness, and no less to the noble devotion of those who risked life and fortune to save their King.

But during this summer of 1651, while the King was marching southward at the head of his Scots army, and passing as a fugitive through Somerset and Dorset, the Governor of Portsmouth was occupied

CHARLES II's resting place - Broadwinsor. September - 1651.

chiefly in trying to repair his ruinous fortifications, and to get the town under his charge into a more healthy condition.

In June 1650 two hundred loads of timber had been allowed for the repairs of Portsmouth and Southsea Castles from the New Forest. Directions were sent to the Steward of the Forest to see it cut, and to choose such trees as might be felled with least prejudice to the Navy. Whetham was authorised to sell the "lops and tops" of the trees to defray the cost of carriage to Portsmouth.

During the times of financial stress before and during the war, much harm had been done to the Crown woods. As soon as the Council of State assumed direction of affairs, they took measures to prevent further waste and to preserve the oak timber necessary for the ships of war. On a report of extensive destruction of trees in the Forest of Dean, the Council even went so far as to obtain an ordinance of Parliament enacting that no more trees were to be cut there without an order of the House, and that all iron-works in the Forest were to be suppressed and demolished, because they used wood as fuel.[1]

The need of preserving trees for shipbuilding made it difficult to obtain timber for other uses. Moreover, a supply of timber alone was quite insufficient to put Portsmouth into an effective state of defence. Colonel Whetham made several detailed statements of the work necessary. As early as September 23rd the Ordnance Committee were directed by the Council of State "to consider Col. Whetham's propositions for the garrison of Portsmouth." This action seems to have produced no effect, for on November 15th we find a petition of Colonel Whetham again referred to the Ordnance Committee, with orders that, if they find the money mentioned therein has not been paid, they are to report where it may be charged. The funds of the Commonwealth were not yet consolidated into one treasury.

Early in December Whetham sent in another statement on the subject, containing an estimate by Colonel White, one of the Ordnance officers, of the cost of the

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom.

necessary work. On the ninth of that month the Council ordered the paper to be "brought in" to-morrow, but in the minutes of the meeting of December 10th no mention of it appears.

Once more, on April 9th, 1651, we read: "The Ordnance Committee to consider the propositions of the Governor of Portsmouth, as to repairing that garrison, and to do as they conceive fit for securing the same." Again nothing was done, and on May 3rd Whetham tried a formal petition to the Council of State. This document gives a good idea of the condition of affairs at Portsmouth[1]:

"To the right hono^ble the Councell of State: The humble desires of Coll: Whetham, Gov^r of Portsmouth & South Sea Castle.

"Shewing

"That the workes and fortificacons of that Garrison & Castle are soe ruined and defective both towards the Sea and the land that if some speedy course be not taken the platforme that commandes the Harbours mouth and the tower wherein the stores both for the Navy and Garrison are kept will fall into the Sea and we the whole Garrison become lyable to the mercy thereof or else to the merciles rage of the common Enemy whoe will be readie to take hold of anie oportunity either to possesse or ruine a place of soe great concernm^t and considering there is scarce 10 Guns of 100 which by reason of the deficiency of the platformes and carriages will endure above 2 or

[1] Council Letter-Book, vol. xv. 1651.

3 Shotts and them att great uncertainty besides many other great defects in the said Garrison and Castle the reparacõn whereof will amount unto the summe of 4 or 5000*l.* as may more particularly appeare by the returne of Coll: White now lying before yr Honnors.

"He therefore humbly praies that for the prevenc̃on of harsher charge and future danger, this Honoble Councell will forewith order 2000 of the said Summe upon the Survey of Coll: White out of the Saile of Delinquents Estates and the remainder out of such concealed Delinqts Estates as he shall discover to the Comtee of Haberdashers Hall with 100 load of Timber and the lops and tops to defray the charge of felling, cutting and carriage thereof and he shall with the utmost of his skill faithfulness and endeavour improve the same for the best advantage of the State and safetie of that place which is of such great concernmt to this Commonwealth.

"And yor pr shall pray etc.

"Nath: Whetham.

"3 May 1651."

The reference to the survey of Colonel White makes it clear that this petition refers to the works desired by the Governor in December 1650, when White's certificate was sent to the Council.

Again the Council of State referred the petition to the Ordnance Committee, and again, for want of funds whereon to charge the expense, or for other easons, nothing was done, for, after a journey to

London and a personal appeal, on June 14th our persistent Governor wrote again. This time he sent a private letter to Nicholas Love, a member of the Council, and despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce—the man to whose "fair writ warrant" of troopers Charles I. surrendered at Holmby House—to explain by word of mouth the straits that the garrison were in. The letter, as giving a characteristic specimen of Whetham's style of writing and a vivid picture of the difficulties he had to face, is reproduced in facsimile as a frontispiece to this volume.[1]

"Honrd S^{r},—I am againe forct to bee troublesome to you desiringe yo^{r} farther assistance for some speedy course to bee taken for the repayers of this Garrison, I cannot heare of any thinge more done in it then what you did when I was wth you, if this sum̃ers worke bee not taken hould of, it is feared that the violence of the weather this ensuing winter may indanger the loss of the whole by being swallowed up wth the sea if that part of the wale (by reason of Tempests & stormes) should faile, w^{ch} is for the keepinge of it out, and w^{ch} is soe verry much undermined & founderd that the last winter every tempest did thretten the fallinge of it, I am verry much sensible of that duty that lies uppon mee for the good of the state to bee thus troublesom to you (as I have bine before to some others) consideringe the p^{r}iudice that may follow if some speedy course bee not taken to prevent the same, I have desired Lt Coll. Joyce to waite upon you whoe is able to acquainte you wth o^{r} Condicion and that nessessity that

[1] Rawlinson MSS., A. 184, f. 383, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

wee are in, I begg yo^{r} pardon for this trouble and humbly take leave to subscribe myselfe

"S^{r} Yo^{r} verry humble & faithfull servant

"NATH: WHETHAM.

"Portsmouth, June 14, 1651.

(Addressed) "For the Hon^{ble} Nicholas Love Esq^{r} these present."

(Seal.)

On June 16th Love brought this letter before the Council, who referred it once more to the Ordnance Committee, this time with a direction to "hasten the report they are to make concerning that Guarrison." Three days later the Council minutes record "£500 out of the £50,000 appointed by Parliament from the sale of delinquents estates to be for the supply of the garrisons, to be paid, after sums already charged thereupon, for the repair of the garrison of Portsmouth."

An order for five hundred pounds was better than nothing, but, in those days, order and payment were very different things. The value of an order depended on the state of the particular fund on which it was charged, and, in this case, it seems that the prior demands on the proceeds of the sale of the estates of the unfortunate "delinquents" were too great, for, nearly a year later, the Minutes of Council record:—

"Order, on considering the order of Council of June last, for providing £500 for repairing the fortifications of the garrison at Portsmouth, that the Admiralty Committee consider where the money may be had."

Again, on December 27th, 1652, Colonel Whetham

wrote to the Council of State, who once more referred the letter to the Ordnance Committee. In January the report of the Ordnance Committee is referred back to them, with directions that they are to send down an engineer to Portsmouth to report "what should be done to fortify that garrison as things now stand, and what the charge will be." Doubtless the situation had become worse by long delay.

No further record of repairs to the fortifications is to be found. It is probable that the Governor did what he could with the materials on the spot, and gave up the hope of obtaining adequate funds from London. Possibly, when the finances of the country improved somewhat under the Protectorate, money was provided for the work which Whetham tried so hard to carry out. Before that time, however, a new Governor was in command at Portsmouth.

But, in 1653, not only could Whetham obtain no funds, but his house was nearly sold over his head. The Commissioners for the Sale of Crown Lands, without consulting other departments of the Government, began negotiations for disposing of the Governor's house at Portsmouth, which stood near the Church marked God's House in the plan facing p. 116. The arrangements for the sale were discovered at the last moment, and an appeal to the Council of State was passed on by them to Parliament, with a recommendation that "as the house and Grounds are of absolute use to the garrison . . . it may be excepted from the sale."

The relations between Colonel Whetham as Governor of Portsmouth and the municipal authorities were

necessarily very close. In the summer of 1651, in spite of the amount of work in connection with the dockyard and garrison, the question of the unemployed poor became acute. Doubtless the Civil War had disorganised trade and industry, and the resultant economic loss began to tell when the forced activity due to the war itself had passed, and the succeeding depression was aggravated by the discharge of numbers of soldiers from the temporary local forces.

In July matters at Portsmouth had become so bad that the attention of the Council of State was turned to the condition of affairs. On the 28th the Council wrote to Colonel Whetham, probably in answer to his representations, enclosing a letter which the Governor is directed to deliver to the Mayor and Aldermen. The Council state that they are informed that the poor very much increase in Portsmouth, and that no care is taken for their employment or relief. In a garrison of so much importance the necessities of such people may be worked upon by those who have designs on the place, which may thus be in danger of betrayal to the enemy. Hence the Council desire the Mayor and Aldermen to see that those people be employed and relieved, according as the law has provided.

The Council asked Colonel Whetham to report to them how the municipal authorities proceed in the business, and request him to take care so to order the soldiers of the garrison that the poverty of the place may not be increased by any occasion thereof—a difficult problem, which has faced all those who have control of alien institutions, garrisons, dockyards, or universities, placed amid a local population which is, or

tends to become, largely parasitic upon the body placed among them.

It is indeed evident from his letters that Colonel Whetham was careful not only of the soldiers of the garrison committed to his charge, but also of the inhabitants of the town. In one instance, his duty to the soldiers and townsfolk brought him into collision with the Navy Commissioners and dockyard authorities, who persisted in using a slaughter-house too near inhabited dwellings. Gentler methods having failed, the Governor took strong measures to stop the nuisance. The Navy victuallers complained to the Admiralty Committee, who, after consulting the Governor, arranged a conference to settle the dispute.

In the autumn and winter of 1652, the chronic want of money from which the Government suffered led to disaffection among the dockyard workmen and the sailors. The seamen at Chatham marched to London and raised a tumult, and a similar spirit soon showed itself at Portsmouth. As early as October the shipwrights were unruly from want of pay, while in November something like open mutiny took place on some of the ships in the harbour. In December the situation again became threatening, and the Council wrote to Colonel Whetham "to have special care over the harbour for the safety of the ships therein," and offered him more "guns to plant in the Round Tower, or other suitable place near the water."

On the 13th of December Captain Thorowgood tendered his crew six months' pay. The crew said they would have all or none, and refused to take the ship out of harbour. The mutiny spread to other ships, and it

was not till Willoughby, the Navy Commissioner, arrived and called on Colonel Whetham for military help that order was re-established. Another outbreak occurred at the end of January. This time Whetham seems to have acted promptly and on his own responsibility, for on February 1st the Council wrote approving the conduct of his troops, and telling him to keep the leaders of the mutiny in prison till further notice.

No more open revolt appears to have taken place, but desertion could not be prevented. It is curious to note that the difficulty of keeping men on board in harbour was one of the chief reasons which led to the wholesome British practice of sending fleets to sea as much as possible.

From 1652 to 1654 England was at war with Holland. The ostensible cause of hostilities was concerned with the enforced salute of the English flag, and with the right to search foreign ships, a right then and for long afterwards claimed by the English. But the true reasons for the conflict lay deeper. Much of the carrying trade was still in the hands of the Dutch, in spite of the Navigation Act which attempted to confine it to English ships and crews. The Dutch were still the greatest maritime power, and seven-eighths of her people lived by commerce, or by industry which depended on commerce. With the rising strength of England at sea, and the natural desire of her merchants for foreign trade, a conflict was inevitable sooner or later. The fleets built and trained to crush Prince Rupert had taught the Commonwealth its power, and that power

was in the hands of men more susceptible to mercantile influence than the old aristocratic rulers of England. Hence war came sooner rather than later. Holland failed to crush England at once, and fell by the natural weakness of a commercial and industrial community when matched in a long conflict with a country whose resources rested on the stable basis of agriculture and the manufacture of home products.

The war added greatly to the importance of Portsmouth. There ships were built, equipped, manned, and supplied; and there fleets collected to go forth under Blake, Monck, and Deane to fight those stubborn battles which won the empire of the sea.

In all this work of preparation the military Governor was concerned, but more especially in the measures taken to man the fleets. Most of the seamen impressed in the south and west of England were sent to Portsmouth, and seem to have been placed in charge of the Governor till called on to join their ships. The bad state of the town and the sickness prevalent there were, as Whetham wrote to the Council, a great discouragement to these men on arrival. Many of them deserted, though patrols of cavalry were kept out on all the roads.

The method of impressment was humorously ineffective. In different parts of the country, especially in the maritime counties, men were arrested, given travelling money, and told to report themselves at Portsmouth. Many good seamen hid to escape being pressed, but the ingenious loafer took the obvious advantage which the system offered. He frequented a seaport till pressed, took the conduct-money, visited

another seaport, and got pressed again under the same or another name. Thus he obtained a pleasant and fairly regular source of income, while those unfortunate men who really manned the ships were months or years in arrear with their pay. It is not surprising that on one occasion only one man arrived at Portsmouth out of a list of twenty-eight who had received three shillings and sixpence conduct-money.

This remarkable system of obtaining seamen proving insufficient, the Admiralty Committee asked for land soldiers. Seeing no other method of manning the fleet, the Council agreed, and twelve hundred such soldiers were turned summarily into sailors on the second of February 1653. The men were promised eighteen shillings a month and food, the sergeants and corporals who accompanied them eighteenpence and one shilling a day—the same pay as on shore.

On November 30th the Dutch had gained a slight advantage near the Ness, and in February a Dutch fleet was cruising in the Channel to meet a convoy from the East Indies. At length the Portsmouth fleet was got ready, and put to sea. All England waited breathlessly for the issue—Portsmouth from within sound of the enemy's guns.

For three days the fight drifted up Channel, the Dutch striving to protect their convoy of merchantmen, the English attacking at all points. On February 22nd part of the English fleet put into St. Helen's Roads, and the news they brought was sent to London in a letter from one John Pitson to Colonel Whetham, who sent it on to the Council of State :—

"For the Hon^ble Coll. Whetham, Govern^r of Portsmouth at his Lodgeing in Whitefriers at Mr Farshalls house these.

"S^r,—Our fleet are come, part in o^r sight in S^t Hellins Road and the rest at hand; but I suppose you have a more p^rticular accompt of the fight and conditiō of both, then I cane give, for we have nothing as yet but by Capt. Greaves who is come in a prize, he came off from the fleet on the lords day touard night, and cane give no great accompt but that the fight continued untill Lords day at night w^h was the hottest fight of all, it seems by him that our damidge is great both in our shipps and lose of men, but he is confident that theirs must needs be treble to ours, but can not p^rticular any of ether side, he knows of noe shipp of our lost or suncke more than the Sampson, our fleet left them off of fairlee, they beareing toward the french shore, w^ch we have not to frinde as they, but by reson of the wind and the conditio^s of our ships wos forst to leave them, it semes they gained way every night wherby (though our friggots coulde reach them againe yet) our great shipps could hardly come up, he saith that our great shipps are very much shaken by the fridayes fight; when they had windward and we being to leeward; if God would have suffered them, might have spoyled our fleet if they had fallen in up on us, wheras they did but come up and fire and beare off. wee are some what full of wounded men both heare and at Gosport, all surjons that cane be found out have their hands full, and I suppose likely to have more, but I hope the gen^lls upon the Comissioners motion will dispose some to hampton

and other places, we have also prisson^rs, more then we can get houseroome convenient for, S^r I have not more yet considerable therfor shall take leave and remaine

"Yo^r Humble serv^t
"JOHN PITSON.

"Portsmouth this
22nd feb^y 1652."

This letter is endorsed by the postmasters upon the road from Portsmouth to London, and from their statements we can trace the speed of a letter marked by the sender "for the service of the Comonwealth Hast post hast." We read—

"Eastmeon past juste in the morninge Rich. Mit . . .

"Alton at nine in the forenoone Laurenc Gam . . .

"Hartford brid at 11 . . .

"Staines about 7 in the night. . . ."

We may estimate that Colonel Whetham's letter took nearly twenty-four hours upon the road.

The victorious fleet returned to Portsmouth, and the Admiralty Commissioners were sent down to meet the Generals-at-Sea and congratulate them on their success in the name of the Council of State.

Seventeen Dutch men-of-war and fifty merchant ships were taken or destroyed, and fifteen hundred prisoners crowded the English ports. The money obtained by the sale of the Dutch prizes was charged with the maintenance and care of the wounded and the keep of the prisoners at a cost of sixpence a day.

But wounded and prisoners were landed at Ports-

mouth faster than accommodation could be found. Though drafts of prisoners were despatched to Southampton and other neighbouring towns, and the "adventurers" who had undertaken to drain the fens were offered as many as they wished as labourers, horrible overcrowding and suffering ensued. Towns received prisoners unwillingly, owing to the known dangers of pestilence, and the difficulty of disposing of them became extreme.

The wounded were placed in the inns and private houses of Portsmouth. Blake himself, suffering from a severe wound in the thigh, was put on shore there —it is at least possible that the Governor offered him hospitality—and doctors came in a carriage with six horses post haste to attend him. "De senibus non temere sperandum" one of them wrote; but, despite their Latin, Blake, aged 53, was soon back at work again.

Dr. Daniel Whistler, who was sent to take general care of the sick and wounded, reports on the 16th of March that he has sent those nearly healed or slightly wounded back to their ships, "as salt meat will not do more hurt than strong drink." Thirty-two he despatched to the hospitals in London. "The sick," he writes, "increase daily in the fleet, and General Deane has ordered them to be quartered in Farnham, this town being full, and there being some malignity in the sick that might endanger the garrison."

Portsmouth seems, indeed, to have been in a very insanitary state, though it is probable that the health of any town at that period would have given way under such a strain. Local efforts failed in coping with the situation, and on March 26th the Governor

wrote to the Commissioners of the Admiralty at Whitehall:—

"Right Hon^ble,—The deepe sense that is heard amongst most men concerninge the sad efects that may be occationed by the filthy nastiness of this place, together w^th the intrety of some puts mee upon it to trouble y^or Hon^r w^th the remembrance of it, there is not any thinge done (nor like to bee) as to clensinge the Towne, pavinge the streets, making of sinks and passages for the water and filth to pass away, whereby through the blessinge of God much evill might be p^revented, but all lies in a most nasty posture.

"There are 2 or 3 died suddenly this weeke and the small pox begins to increase w^th other malignant diseases as the chirurgeons inform mee, and therefore I hold it my duty to lay it before yo^r Hon^r w^h beinge done I shall crave leave too subscribe myselfe yo^r most humble and faithful se.vant

"NATH: WHETHAM.

"Colo: Whetham for
the Right Hon^ble the Comison^r
of y^e Admiralty at Whitehall these.

"Portsmouth, March 26, 1653."

Dr. Whistler also wrote, urging the importance of securing some building near Portsmouth which could be used as a hospital. He suggested that the Council should try to secure Porchester Castle, belonging to the heir of Sir William Udal. The difficulty of diet and nursing would be much reduced by collecting the patients together, and many of the dangers of the present situation would be avoided—the overcrowding

in unhealthy dwellings, and the temptations to drink in inns—"that have no other but strong drink, here where the water is brackish."

This proposal was supported by two other doctors who also were engaged in tending the wounded at Portsmouth—Anthony Stevens, and his son John Stevens, Fellow of New College, Oxford—but the scheme does not seem to have been carried out, though the negotiations for the purchase were begun. The men were left to recover or die as best they might in the thronging streets and courts of the town, with such help and alleviation as the doctors could give them. At one time those doctors were paid by the cure,[1] but apparently this logical method was not continued through the stress of the war.

The representations of the Governor, however, produced some effect. The Admiralty Committee visited Portsmouth, and were convinced by the evidence of their own eyes and noses that something must be done. Orders were given that improvements were to be made, but the task of carrying them out was left to the municipal authorities under the supervision of the Governor. Apparently the natural reluctance of some people either to pay or to be clean proved too much for the powers on the spot, for in June Whetham wrote again to the Committee:[2]

"Right Hon^ble,—Theare beeinge care taken for the paving and cleansinge of the Towne of Portsmouth to the end it may be kept sweete and cleane thereby through the blessinge of God to avoyd those dangerous

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1652-3, Dec. 28, p. 505.
[2] Dom. State Papers, Interregnum; vol. xxxvii. 129.

and disprate diseases that are, as is conceived, muche occationed and increased by reason of the filthy nastiness of it, of wh. yo^{r} Hon^{rs} weare lately too sensible when upon the place, and there beeinge many refractory persons that doe not only refuse to contribute theire assistance in the charge of soe good a worke whearein theire owne welfare together wth others is soe nearly concerned, but also stand out in opposicon against and refuse to obey all orders or coñands both of Towne and Garrison tending thereunto and is therefore the humble request of the Mayor and Aldermen together wth my owne & officers that you would bee pleased to give or procure from the Councell of State or otherwise as in yo^{r} wisdoms you shall thinke fitt such power to the Mayor as may inable him to carry on and finish what has beene therein begun and wth out w^{h} all o^{r} indeavo^{rs} will prove inefectuall and the worke fall to the ground, The Towne is now in a sad condicon wth sickness w^{h} is a great discouragement to those prest hither for the navies work, many of whom I am informed are lately dead and many now sick, in w^{h} regard it is humbly desired that it may bee speedily taken into consideracon.—I remaine y^{r} Hon^{rs} most humble & faithful serv^{t} NATH: WHETHAM.

"Portsmouth, June 21, 1653."

(Sealed.)

From this request for further power, it is clear that martial law was no longer in force at Portsmouth. If it had been, doubtless the work would have gone forward more quickly, and many lives been saved.

In answer to Whetham's letter, the Council of State

wrote to thank the Governor and Mayor of Portsmouth for their care in cleansing the town, and to beg them to continue their efforts, and to enforce the rules formerly given for keeping the place clean. It would be interesting to know if this pious expression of opinion on the part of the Council had weight with the "refractory persons" who defied reform at Portsmouth. Perhaps when interpreted by the Governor, and backed by the moral influence of his pikes and muskets, it may have served as well as full Parliamentary powers.

As Governor of Portsmouth, Whetham must have been brought into close contact with all those land soldiers who had now turned seamen. When the Generals-at-Sea visited Portsmouth, it is possible that they lodged at the Governor's house, but, however this may be, the relations between the Governor and the Admirals superintending the preparation of their fleets necessarily must have been close. And now for a month a man was staying at Portsmouth who thereafter was linked to Whetham by ties of close friendship, and had a controlling influence on his future career.

General George Monck landed at Portsmouth after the engagement in the Channel, and from March 24th to April 26th his letters show that he was constantly at that place. The fact that Whetham was appointed as one of Monck's Council of State for Scotland when he returned to that country, indicates that the General-at-Sea learned both to like and to trust the Governor of Portsmouth.

Monck belonged to a family long seated at Potheridge, near Torrington in Devon. During most

of the Civil War he was employed in Ireland, and on landing in England was taken prisoner by the forces of the Parliament. After some hesitation he accepted the Commonwealth, and played a leading part in Cromwell's victory at Dunbar. When Cromwell turned south to follow the King, Monck with six thousand men was left in Scotland to pacify the country. Now, in company with Blake and Deane, he was proving that soldiers trained on land could fight at sea.

After the engagement in the Channel, every effort was made to repair the ships and equip a new fleet. The Dutch had been checked for a time, but would soon be out again; meanwhile Deane and Monck worked hard to prepare to meet them. Their letters to London plead for money, powder, and men. If men cannot be obtained, the fleet will never be ready for sea. Convoys are arranged, squadrons sent out to guard the Channel, supplies sought on all sides, masts and rigging fitted to new and damaged ships. On April 18th De Witt is reported with thirty-one men-of-war, shortly to be increased, says rumour, to eighty sail. Thereupon redoubled efforts get the Portsmouth fleet to sea, and, still short of men and powder, they pass away to the eastward to meet and conquer the Dutch.

Besides the regular business of the garrison, Colonel Whetham constantly received commissions to execute for the Council of State on any matter which needed attention in Portsmouth or the neighbourhood.

Two seamen sold sixty ounces of gold to a goldsmith; Colonel Whetham and Mr. Willoughby were told to investigate the source of such compromising

wealth. Two privateers took some Dutch ships coming from Guinea; Colonel Sydenham, Governor of the Isle of Wight, Colonel Whetham, and Mr. Willoughby were ordered to examine into the business, and state the facts with speed. Colonel Whetham was directed to give passes to the Dutch prisoners to return to their country, but he received instructions to retain the gold which was taken with them. It was Colonel Whetham who committed captured pirates to the county gaol, and superintended the collection of recruits and supplies at Portsmouth to be shipped to the armies of occupation in Scotland and Ireland. When Captain John Taylor, who commanded first the ship *Laurel* and then the *William*, was killed in action, Colonel Whetham and Captain Robert Peacock of the *Tiger* became trustees for the six hundred pounds granted by Parliament to his widow and children.

It was decided to dismantle the fortifications of Arundel Castle and remove the garrison; Colonel Whetham was instructed to "slight" the walls and works, using the powder stored at the Castle, and taking more with him from Portsmouth. By November 17th the work of destruction was completed, and Whetham was ordered to deliver "the keys of the house at Arundel Castle . . . to Mr. Howard . . . the fortifications of the Castle being demolished." Most of the castles which belonged to Royalist families, especially those like Basing House which had been defended obstinately for the King, were destroyed utterly by order of the Commonwealth Government. But often, when the owners or some members of their family were Parliamentarians, special directions were

given to spare the dwelling-house, and simply to render the fortifications untenable by blowing down a sufficient length of wall. To such circumstances we owe the preservation of several mediæval castles, such as Arundel and Berkeley, which remain to their owners as valued possessions to-day.[1]

It should not be forgotten that, besides acting as Governor of Portsmouth, Whetham was Colonel of the Hampshire Militia and a Justice of the Peace for that county. Hence it was his duty to watch for any signs of disaffection in the surrounding country, and to take steps to guard against any rising, whether of Royalists or revolutionaries. All through the years he was stationed at Portsmouth, a succession of Royalist plans for restoring the King by force of arms was on foot, and in 1655, the last year of Whetham's governorship, the result was open insurrection.

In 1650, an intercepted letter from Colonel Keane showed the Council of State that a Royalist rising was arranged under cover of a race meeting at Salisbury. Warning was sent to Colonel Whetham, and on November 30th he arrested Sir William Courtney, who had charge of the preparations in Hampshire. Nothing was proved against him, however, and in the following July he was liberated, on giving sureties not to appear in Hampshire; even this prohibition was removed in October.[2]

In the summer of 1653, Colonel Robert Phelips, second son of Sir Robert Phelips of Montacute, one of the devoted band who risked their lives to get Charles II. out of the country after Worcester, was

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Nov. 25, 1645. [2] *Ibid.*, under dates given.

arrested on suspicion of being concerned in a plot for the surprisal of Portsmouth. He was examined by Cromwell himself at the Council of State. Again nothing was proved, and soon Phelips was able to send a detailed account of his examination to Hyde, the secretary to the exiled King. His account agrees well with that recorded by Thurloe, the secretary to the Protector.[1]

During the next year plans for a widespread rising were matured, and Portsmouth was once more one of the places which the Royalists hoped to secure. This time Sir Humphrey Bennett had charge of the preparations in Hampshire, and he had undertaken to gain possession of Portsmouth. Cromwell knew from his spies of the projected rising, and in February he seized Bennett and several other leaders of the movement.[2] For the time this action paralysed the plan, but during the spring it was revived, and in August Cromwell heard by a letter from Colonel Bampfylde—a professed Royalist in the pay of Thurloe—that insurrections in the north and west were being arranged.[3] Bampfylde said that Colonel FitzJames had undertaken to secure Portsmouth "by giving a considerable some of money in hand to a person, whome he woulde not name, and the assurance of a great pension whenever the King recovered." Bampfylde probably did not know that FitzJames himself was in correspondence with the Protector.[4] FitzJames may have invented his hopes of Portsmouth to deceive the King, but, if the "person

[1] Clarendon MSS. vol. xlvi., August 12, 1653; Thurloe, vol. i.
[2] Firth, *Hist. Review*, vols. iii. and iv., 1888 and 1889.
[3] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 512.
[4] Gardiner, *Commonwealth*, vol. iii. pp. 139, 140.

whome he woulde not name" had any existence save in his imagination, that person may possibly have been the Deputy-Governor of Portsmouth, who was approached with the same object in 1656, after Whetham's departure. In that year, the chronic Royalist plot involved co-operation with the "levellers" who entered on negotiations with the Royalists and offered to secure Portsmouth on payment of £15,000 for the Deputy-Governor, "a man sufficiently necessitous."[1]

But in 1654, however far the plot for securing Portsmouth may have gone, no open rising occurred. The arrests made by the Government were enough to throw all plans out of gear, and the insurrection was postponed.

In the following year the long-threatened outbreak took place.[2] Once more the existence of the plot was known to the Government, and arrest of some of the leaders made the rising hopeless before it began. But this time the preparations had gone too far to be stopped. Misled by the younger and more fiery members of his party, the King encouraged them to proceed, against the advice of the experienced secret Committee, known as the "Sealed Knot," who had charge of his affairs in England. A few men met in the north, but dispersed when they found no support, and the only fighting was seen in the west.

The alarm reached Portsmouth in a message from Cromwell on March 11th, though rumours of trouble had been current on the previous day. Cromwell

[1] Clarendon MSS., Calender, vol. iii. pp. 152, 192.

[2] For a special study of this rising see Palgrave's *Cromwell*, and two articles by Firth in the *Historical Review*, vols. iii. and iv., 1888 and 1889.

warned Whetham that "some desperate design was on foot."[1] Whetham seems promptly to have mobilised the Hampshire Militia, and moved out in command of them to cover Portsmouth, for, although no direct statement to that effect is to be found, Colonel Whetham is one of those thanked by the Protector after the suppression of the rebellion for active service in the field, and, during the days that the Royalists were in arms, the general business of the Portsmouth Garrison was carried on by the Deputy-Governor[2]—a dangerous substitute, if the belief that he was "sufficiently necessitous" to betray his trust for £15,000 was well founded.

The Royalists met near Salisbury, under the command of Colonel John Penruddock of Compton Chamberlayne, and Hugh Grove of Chisenbury. They seized Salisbury, an unwalled town, and proclaimed King Charles II. Scouring the country for recruits with scant success, they moved on through Sherborne to Yeovil, where their march degenerated into a flight.

Colonel Whetham and the Hampshire Militia, hearing of the capture of Salisbury, would naturally hold Southampton and the country to the north-west, in order to cover that place as well as Portsmouth. As news came of the march of the Royalists to the west, Whetham probably moved parallel to their course further to the south, to cover the ports of the Dorset seaboard, till he came into touch with the Dorset Militia. By this time the failure of the rising must have been evident, and news must soon have arrived

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., March 11, 1655. [2] *Ibid.* March 1655.

of its final suppression by a handful of troops at South Molton in Devon. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter, the name of Nathaniel Whetham appearing on the purely formal list of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer appointed as Assessors to the Judges who were sent to try the prisoners.

The rising had no military importance, but politically it led to momentous consequences. The Government made the outbreak an excuse for destroying still more the civil liberties of England, and placing still more of local authority in the hands of the Army. The country was divided into districts, each under the control of a Major-General, and was subjected to a tyranny of the sword unexampled since the days of William the Conqueror. Moreover, the Government took the opportunity of breaking the Act of Oblivion, and laying fresh exactions on all Royalists—on those who had not countenanced the rising as well as those who had joined in it.

The need of some defence of this monstrous proceeding was felt by the Government itself, and in the following October a Declaration was issued. In this remarkable document a review is taken of the preceding five years regarded from the Government standpoint, with the object of justifying their penal measures. The line of argument is represented by the following extract :—

"Admit that some of that Party were as innocent as they would now have it believed they were, enough has been done by their Fellows in a Common Cause (which hardly any of them know how to disown, which they love and of which they glory) to draw the whole

Party under a just Suspicion, and the consequences thereof."

It is not surprising that, as members of the Government complained, they had not made one sincere convert from Royalism.

CHAPTER VIII

PARLIAMENT AND SCOTLAND

WHILE Colonel Whetham was Governor of Portsmouth, great constitutional changes occurred in the State. The Long Parliament, discredited by its struggles to prevent a dissolution and perpetuate the power of the sitting members, had gone under in the hot blast of Cromwell's indignation on that memorable April morning in 1653. Cromwell dared not appeal to the people to elect a freely chosen Parliament in place of the one he had suppressed ; but he was anxious to give some sort of legal authority to the power he had assumed, and to delegate some part of the functions of despotic government to a legislative assembly. So he and his officers arranged for the Independent congregations to nominate members of a Chamber, which, on meeting, voted itself the name of Parliament. But the saints proved impracticable law-makers, and the more moderate men, alarmed at the excesses of their fanatical associates, secured a temporary majority one morning by premeditated early rising, and voted their own dissolution.

Then the chief officers of the Army tried their hands

at making a Constitution. They framed an "Instrument of Government" by which Cromwell, having refused the office of King, became Protector with carefully defined powers. A Council of State was established, and Parliaments were to be summoned once in three years, with members elected on a new franchise, from which Cavaliers were excluded. Moreover, a property qualification was enforced, and thus power was placed in the hands of those classes of the community favourable to the more moderate elements of the new Government.

The first elected Parliament of the Protectorate met on September 3rd, 1654. The candidates who had sat in the nominated Parliament of 1653 for the most part were defeated, and the more conservative Puritans sent up in large numbers. Colonel Whetham was elected as member for Portsmouth.

Of the debates in this Parliament no detailed reports seem to remain. The divisions and formal resolutions are recorded in the Commons Journals, and a general account of the proceedings may be gleaned from various sources.

Almost immediately on meeting, the House fell to discussing the Instrument of Government—the very basis of the constitution under which they themselves had been elected. The position and powers of the Protector, the standing of the Council and of Parliament—all the "fundamentals" reserved expressly by the power that called them together—were debated in turn at wearisome length.

Especially did they discuss the tenure and mode of appointment of the Protector, disputing whether the

succession to the office should be elective or hereditary. As we shall see later, there is evidence to show that Whetham, like so many other soldiers and administrators, was ready to accept any particular form of constitution which gave promise of good government. But it is clear that he disapproved the action of the men of the revolutionary tribunal who had sat in judgment and condemned their King. And now, at the proposal to make the Protectorship hereditary, he expressed with warmth his abhorrence of Cromwell's conduct. "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" he exclaimed in the words of the prophet to Ahab.[1]

This is the most dramatic view of Whetham's character that we possess. A man who could apply publicly in the House of Commons such words to Cromwell at the height of his power—words that would call to the mind of every hearer the whole story of Naboth and his vineyard — must indeed have possessed the courage of his convictions.

Cromwell was a good judge of character, and his action was magnanimous and yet effective. He seems to have felt that, in the uncertainty of the political situation in England, where events might force him into courses which Whetham would disapprove, such an outspoken man was not a safe Governor for the chief naval port of the country. A few months later, a Council of nine men was established to undertake the civil government of Scotland and save Monck from that part of the heavy burden of his administration. Cromwell appointed Whetham as a member of this Council,

[1] Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. C. H. Firth, vol. i. p. 394.

possibly at Monck's own request, and thus relieved him of his post at Portsmouth by what was, technically at least, honourable promotion. Though Ludlow blames Cromwell for removing Whetham out of his path, we are left with the impression that the whole transaction was creditable alike to the Protector and to the soldier who did not always approve the Protector's conduct.

The names of the members of the new Council appear for the first time on March 30th, when instructions were issued by Cromwell on the advice of his Council of State.[1] General George Monck, Commander-in-chief in Scotland, heads the list. Next comes Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, a son of the first and great Earl of Cork. Then Charles Howard, who was a descendant of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and a member of the Council of State in London. William Lockhart had fought for the King in the First Civil War, but had accepted the new Government, and, in 1652, had been appointed a Commissioner of Justice in Scotland. John Swinton had joined Cromwell after Dunbar, and suffered excommunication by the Scottish Kirk for doing so. Colonel Adrian Scrope was one of those who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I.; but he was a Republican, and opposed to the assumption of power by the Protector; hence, according to Ludlow, he had been removed from Bristol for the same reasons which led to Whetham's removal from Portsmouth. Samuel Desborough was a brother of John Desborough the Major-General. The names of Colonel Nathaniel

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., March 1655.

Whetham and Colonel Thomas Cooper completed the first list, while that of Sir Edward Rhodes was added at a later date.

It is worthy of notice that of this group of men several were rewarded by Charles II. for assisting at the Restoration, or rose to high office under the monarchy. Thus, besides Monck himself, who was created Duke of Albemarle in 1660, Lord Broghill became the first Earl of Orrery in the same year; Howard was created Earl of Carlisle in 1661; and Lockhart, though he ceased to be Governor of Dunkirk in 1661, was sent as Ambassador to Paris in 1673. Whetham's part in the train of events which led to the Restoration will be described hereafter. His appointment to the Scotch Council must have been approved by Monck, and their association in Scotland led to a firm friendship, which doubtless had its influence in determining Whetham's action in 1659 at the crisis of his career.[1] Adrian Scrope, of Wormesley, Oxfordshire, was, as a regicide, excepted from the Act of Indemnity at the Restoration, and suffered death. He, too, was connected closely with Whetham, probably by friendship, and certainly by family ties, for Whetham's eldest son Nathaniel married Scrope's daughter Elizabeth.[2]

The instructions to the Council of State for Scotland were of the most wide and general nature. The

[1] Gumble's *Life of Monck*, p. 184; Skinner's *Life of Monck*, p. 171; Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 669.

[2] The Scropes of Wormesley were a branch of the ancient Yorkshire house whose lawsuit with the Grosvenors in the years 1385-1390 confirmed them in exclusive possession of the famous coat of arms, Azure, a bend or. The result of that suit, however, did not prevent the Duke of Westminster from winning the Derby with Bend Or in the year 1880.

Council were directed to inquire into the condition of the country, and the "readiest way for continuing good government and preserving the Union." They were to promote religion and supervise the ministers thereof; to visit and reform the Universities, Colleges, and Schools, and to remove from them and from Corporations "scandalous, insufficient or disaffected persons"; to assimilate the administration of justice to that enjoined by the laws of England; to examine and advise about the state of the revenue, using all means to improve it; to commit to prison those opposing the Government, and to transport any taken in arms; to exercise a strict censorship of the press; to encourage manufactures and commerce, and to reorganise the Customs and Excise.

A seal was engraved showing the arms of Scotland, with those of the Protector on an escutcheon of pretence; and a mace was ordered at a cost of one hundred pounds.

The salary of Lord Broghill as President of the Council was fixed at one thousand pounds a year, while the other members of the Council were to receive six hundred pounds a year each. These sums must be multiplied by three or four to give their equivalents in the present value of money. Thus Whetham would receive what would now be worth about two thousand pounds a year besides, perhaps, his pay as colonel.

The Council were appointed for three years from June 24th, 1655, and the salaries generally began on that date. But Lord Broghill and Colonel Whetham had been engaged on Scotch business for some time before their formal appointment, and their salaries were

ordered to run from earlier dates—Broghill's from March 1st and Whetham's from May 1st.

Broghill and Whetham were occupied at first in London with the duties of their new office, and only started for Scotland towards the end of August. On August 20th, during his journey thither, Broghill wrote to Thurloe:[1]

"Honoured Sir,—I even now received the honor of your letter, and a full dispatch of all thos particulars I presumed to recommend unto your favor and care; soe that now (God willinge) I shall hasten for Scotland, wher whilst I am, you may assure yourself you have a faithfull affectionate servant, and one who is obliged to be soe by too strong tyes ever to be broken. Your commands concerninge the fisheryes, and sending highlanders to America, shal be in an especiall manner observed, as much as lyeth in my power; of which as of all thinges els you shall have a constant and plaine account from,

"Sir, your truly obliged
"and reall humble servant,
"BROGHILL.

"Audelyend, August 20, 1655.

"The order for the commencement of Colonel Whetham's sallary and mine has mr. Scobel's hand unto it; but that which mentions the establishment of the councell's sallary, and their clerks, has noe hand unto it. If that be an omission, I beseech you let it be rectifyed. . . ."

[1] Thurloe's *State Papers* (7 vols., printed in London, 1742), vol. iii. p. 727.

Broghill amply fulfilled his promise of a "constant and plaine account" of things in Scotland, and his admirable letters to Cromwell and Thurloe give the best description we possess of the doings of the Scottish Council.

When Monck returned to Scotland after the Dutch War, that country was in a bad state. The discipline of the English army had been relaxed by the incompetence of its commander, Colonel Lilburne. Moreover, by persecuting the Presbyterians and favouring the Sectaries, Lilburne had exasperated the Scots, and that at a time of considerable danger, when Middleton had landed to help a formidable Royalist rebellion which had broken out under the leadership of Glencairn.

Monck organised a definite plan of operations, and thus carried out the first great mountain campaign of the English army. Establishing a chain of posts round the southern edge of the Highlands, he seized new stations east and west at Inverness and Inverlochy, and cut the country in two along the line of the present Caledonian Canal. Shifting his base as he went, he hunted the Highlanders from glen to glen, and, after one failure, drove them into the arms of a column he had detached under the command of Colonel Morgan. Having conquered the country, he maintained a firm hold of it by keeping garrisons at all important strategic points. He governed in a conciliatory spirit, and the turbulent Highlands settled down slowly into a state of quiescence.

The country was at peace, but in civil affairs the work of reconstruction had but begun. The first work of the new Council was to settle the Excise and

Customs, "because every day's delay therein would be so much loss to his Highness." Three Commissioners were appointed, at the reduced salary of £365 a year a piece, to manage the Excise, Customs, and sequestrations, with the exception of the Inland Excise, which the Council resolved to farm, finding that in past years "the salaries of the collectors eat up the collections." To prevent auction rings, however, they arranged for official bids to be made up to a certain figure, so that no one should obtain the right of farming the Excise for less than a reasonable payment.

The Council then turned their attention to the dissensions and disaffection in the Presbyterian Kirk, seeing that the country would never settle down until some basis of arrangement was found. The Kirk was divided into "Resolutioners," who had sided with the King on condition of his taking the Covenant, and the "Remonstrators," who held unlawful all association with one on the sincerity of whose Presbyterianism some little doubt had been thrown. Broghill writes: "The former love Charles Stuart, and hate us; the latter love neither him nor us. Their anymossityes are soe great, that I am persuaded they are hardly reconsilable to each other, and possibly both of them are the like to us. . . . I thinke indeed, it might be noe very difficult thinge, to get either party to acknowledg our government, if you would put the power therefrom into their hands to suppress the others."

Regardless of ordinances and penalties, the "Resolutionist" ministers continued to pray publicly for the King. Finding the existing penalties and threats unavailing, the Council determined on private negotiation.

Lord Broghill saw two of the leading ministers of Edinburgh, who eventually told him plainly that an arrangement might be reached if the Government would cease to favour the "Remonstrants" rather than the "Resolutioners." The ministers would give up their prayers for the King were it not that they would be suspected of yielding to threats of loss of salary, which, as they said, "did not leave them room to evidence a cleere conviction had produced that change." Broghill told them that the penalties for praying for the King should be revoked if they would undertake thereupon to stop the offence; and, on the understanding that they should be given four or five weeks time "to consult their brethren," the bargain was struck, Broghill hinting that, if the ministers failed to keep faith, the Council might be obliged "to put so much of the kirke power in the remonstrators' hands as might sufficiently enable them with their owne weapons to punish their disobedience and contempt."[1]

The General and the Judges, entering into the humour of the situation, offered no objection to seeing their former declaration annulled, and the Council thereupon ratified the agreement between Broghill and the ministers. A proclamation, approved privately by the two ministers, was then issued.[2] Within a fortnight all the ministers in Edinburgh ceased praying openly for the King, and wrote letters to other places advising a similar course. The Council were much pleased at this result, and Broghill writes complacently that the Scotch ministers "are a sorte of people, which if to be wrought upon, it must be by degrees, and by private conferences;

[1] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 56. [2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

for in all publike disputes men as much contend for creddit as for truth."

Alas for those who think they have got the better of a bargain with a Scot! An account of the transaction sent to the King explains that "everie man resolved to forbear the word 'King' in prayer, yet so as to pray in such tearms as the people who observe might find wher to putt in their shoulder, and bear you up in publick prayer." [1]

No wonder the Council letters soon change their tone, and, at the end of October, state once more that "our mayne work is with the ministers who truly give themselves as much trouble as they give us; for what proposals som of them make others of them dislike; and what others are willinge to obey, som are reddy to protest therat."

Nevertheless, the Council continued their efforts, and gradually the "Resolutioners" became more reconciled. The Council more and more inclined to their party in the Kirk, finding it fairly homogenous and more reasonable than that of the "Remonstrants," who, consisting of the stricter sort, were divided amongst themselves by divisions as bitter as those which divided them from the "Resolutioners." By the end of February 1655/6, Broghill writes to the Protector that he has good hopes that in a few months all the "Resolutionistic" ministers will be praying openly for the new Government.

One of the most effective measures taken by the Council was the appointment of Justices of the Peace. This method of assimilation towards English methods

[1] Clarendon MSS. li. 326, printed in *Scotland and the Protectorate*, C. H. Firth.

of government seems to have originated with Monck, who saw in it a means of checking the excessive power of the Highland chiefs, as well as a safeguard of order in the country generally. In the list of Justices for the County of Edinburgh appears the name of "Nathaniel Whetham, Esq., one of his Highnes' Council in Scotland."[1]

The result may be judged from an astonished Highlander's letter, dated March 27th, 1655/6.[2]

"I cannot but acquaint you," he writes, "of the great conformity that this new establishment of Justices of Peace hath brought upon the heads of our country of Perthshire; so that for fear of the justices and constables there is neither an Argile man, nor Loqhaber man that has taken in these bounds a night's meal for nought, or dare so much as carry a sword; nor have your MacGriggors with their arms been seen in this countrey since the election; the like whereof hath never been heard of before."

Though the writer goes on to thank the Lord for the new governors, one can detect a faint note of regret at the passing of the true old Highland fashions.

One of the duties of the new Justices was the assessment of wages and prices. The assessment of the Justices for the Shire of Edinburgh, an assessment for which Whetham was jointly responsible, is extant as a broadside.[3] A "whole Hind," or labourer, is one who understands husbandry and provides a servant or fellow-labourer so as to undertake the labour of a whole plough. For this, and for the occasional assistance of

[1] Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 311. [2] *Ibid.* p. 321 n.

[3] Reprinted in Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 405.

his wife, he is to receive a house and yard and a certain allowance of oats, pease, and beer, together with ground enough for him to sow about nine bushels of oats, and to pasture two or three cows. Food is to be supplied in the harvest time only.

A common labourer, who works for daily wages, is to have six shillings Scots, or three shillings Scots with meat and drink, for a day's service. It is necessary to add that a shilling Scots was equivalent to a penny sterling.

A "Domestick" or "Inservant" who is able to perform all farm work is to receive yearly forty marks Scots (about 44 shillings sterling), while an able woman servant's wages are fixed at twenty marks.

Wages are also fixed for shepherds, threshers, boys, etc., and the prices of piecework arranged for masons, wrights, and shoemakers.

Masters who do not pay their servants' wages as they become due will on complaint be compelled to do so, while servants who refuse to serve for the wages or prices ordered may be imprisoned or otherwise punished.

Much of the time of the Council was occupied with questions of finance. Scotland, like the rest of the British Islands, had to pay a monthly assessment to the Exchequer of the Commonwealth. In July 1655 this assessment had been lowered to £8000 a month from a nominal £10,000. Even the new sum was higher in proportion than the contribution of England, and much difficulty was experienced in the collection. In 1657 it was reduced again by Parliament to £6000, at which figure it stood till the Restoration put an end for a time to the Union.

The army of occupation cost about £11,000 a month,[1] and was paid by the Council of State in London, though sometimes, at any rate, the monthly assessment in Scotland was applied directly to the soldiers on the spot.[2] But the pay was constantly in arrear, and Monck's early letters are full of his troubles owing to this cause. Finally, the arrears were consolidated, and paid off gradually by a charge on the proceeds of the Scottish Excise and special grants from London charged on the assessment on England.[3]

By February 1655/6 the Council in Scotland had got the finance of the country into order, and drew up detailed estimates, which they sent to London.[4] Of the sources of revenue other than the monthly assessment, Customs were estimated to yield £4600, and Excise £34,300, while miscellaneous receipts brought up the total revenue available for local needs to £43,000 per annum. Out of this two-thirds of the yield of the Excise, or £23,000, was assigned towards paying off the arrears of the army. Thus only £20,000 was left at the disposal of the Council, who brought their total Civil List to that sum by economies amounting to £2800.

The yield of the Excise gradually improved, and in 1659 it had risen to £45,000. The Customs remained a small source of revenue, for free trade with England had been established, and lasted till the Restoration.

Besides the regular duties of administration, business of all kinds fell to the Scottish Council.[5] They adjudi-

[1] Burton's *Diary*, vol. iv. p. 136, March 11, 1658/59.
[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Oct. 1, 1656.
[3] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 406. [4] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 527.
[5] See Cal. State Papers, Dom. *passim*, and Thurloe.

cated on questions of losses suffered during the war, mediated between different claimants to the titles and estates of deceased noblemen, and enlisted soldiers and settlers for Jamaica. They granted the sum of £25 to the "Earl of Hartfell" for making walls about the well at Moffat Spar.[1] They searched for and recovered household property lately belonging to the Crown, and despatched to London for the service of His Highness the Protector "one suit of eight pieces of tapestry hangings of the story of Noah, a second suit of seven pieces, seven Turkey carpets, four feather beds, four blankets, four rings, three bolsters, one quilt, and four pieces of hangings of the story of Hercules."[2]

In many of the designs of the Royalists a rising in Scotland played a prominent part; hence the letters of Monck and Broghill contain much interesting and amusing information about secret service. A suspected person is given a permit to enter the country, and, by Broghill's orders, robbed of his papers as soon as he lands, for the benefit of the intelligence department.[3] The King's cyphers are bought, his correspondence intercepted, copied, and sent on its way to the unsuspecting recipients. The colonel who carries letters from the King is "made merry in his own chamber" by his brother, the major, and copies of the letters are delivered to Broghill.[4] The President of the Council was an able diplomatist as well as a luminous letter-writer. "I have bin often thinkinge," he writes[5] in November 1655, "whether it might not doe well to secure Lord Lorne,

[1] *The Annandale Family Book of the Johnstones*, vol. ii. ccxxii.
[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., May 9, 1656.
[3] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 105.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 187.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 223.

and such others who are our enemies and whose actinges we have no cleere knowledge of," in order to prevent possibility of unseen mischief. Those others whose guilt was known, whose designs and correspondence were under surveyance, would thus gain confidence; they would, in Broghill's words, "rationally beleeve if we had anything against them as well as the others, wee would use them as the others." By thus allowing "what we can prevent at our pleasure [to] goe on," and stopping that over which no control could be exercised, all the energies of the opponents of the Government would be forced into channels which, at one time or another, passed through the hands of the secret service agents of Broghill and Monck. Verily the conspirators of that day, whether Royalists or Levellers, were as children in the hands of the men who directed the intelligence department of Oliver Cromwell.

Some difficulty was experienced in maintaining the numbers of the Council in Edinburgh. Colonel Cooper was sent to Ireland, and Colonel Lockhart to France upon other work. In May 1656 Broghill wrote complaining that they were but a bare quorum—Colonel Howard and Colonel Scrope being both absent in London. He asks either that one of them be sent down, or else that a smaller quorum should suffice.

But circumstances were soon to reduce the Council still further. Cromwell now called his second elective Parliament, and, owing to the union between the two countries, Scotland was to send thirty members to Westminster. Monck writes that "all the Councill here are like to bee chosen members of parliament but myself."

From Broghill's letters it is clear that, whatever may have appeared on the surface, the effective "election" of members took place in the Council Chamber at Edinburgh. "Ther was som design in Dumfrees," he writes, "to choose one I did not like; which made me send for my lord Hartfield, a kinsman of my wife's and the leadinge man ther and engaged him to choose judg Smyth and colonel Salmon. Smyth is a very right man. . . . I shall engage he will be chosen. I hope you will not have one unfit person out of this nation."[1] Nevertheless, before he secured George Downing's election for Haddington, he had to send for the leading men there and "deale earnestly with them."[1]

In the end Monck sends a list of the Englishmen chosen, and adds, "the rest are honest and peaceable Scotchmen, and I believe will be all right for my lord protector."[1] By the 9th of September the only Councillors left in Edinburgh were Disbrowe and Monck, and business was at a standstill. In December Monck seems to have been alone, and matters were still more in arrear. In August the Council of State in London had reduced the quorum of the Scotch Council to three, and now on December 25th they ordered Scrope, Swinton, and Howard to return to Scotland at the earliest opportunity.

Apparently, however, they did not go, for in March 1657 Monck writes to Thurloe complaining that "the want of one Councellor to make uppe a quorum breedes a huge distraction in our business," and it was the end of the month before the arrival of Colonel Scrope enabled the Council to proceed with their business.

[1] Thurloe, vol. v. pp. 295, 322, 367.

Henceforward Monck's letters consist mainly of the remark "for newes here, we have none," though occasionally he complains of the Quakers sent him as officers, whom he finds good neither to command nor to obey.

Meanwhile the second Parliament had met at Westminster, and most of the Council for Scotland were to be found there. Colonel Whetham had been chosen for the associated burghs of Fife; unfortunately we do not know whether "earnest dealing" had been needed to secure his election.

On September 17th, 1656, the Protector met his Parliament in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. His speech began with a justification of his government, and passed on to suggest the consideration of reforms—the revision of the savage criminal law and the reformation of manners being especially brought to the attention of members. The members then adjourned to the House, where those alone who held a certificate of approval by the Council of State were allowed to enter.

Thus elected and thus purged, the new Parliament proved at first favourable to the Government, though even with this spirit in the air the craving for constitution-making found voice in new proposals to make the office of Protector hereditary. But meanwhile legislation of less heroic type was also pressed forward, and several Bills passed through all their stages, and obtained Cromwell's assent before the beginning of December.

From that time we may read notes of the debates made by Thomas Burton, member for Westmorland,[1] and trace therein the part played by Colonel Whetham. He was not a frequent speaker, all his recorded remarks

[1] Burton's *Diary*, 4 vols., ed. by J. T. Rutt, London, 1828.

being comprised in a few short speeches, the report of each of which occupies but a few lines of print. Nevertheless, we gain an idea of a clear-headed sensible man of affairs, far removed from the visionary zealots and uncompromising revolutionaries.

On December 5th a Bill was reported from Committee dealing with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, and imposing penalties on such men if found wandering from their homes. A clause inserted by the Committee declared fiddlers and minstrels to be rogues and vagabonds within the meaning of the Act. Various members suggested additions to the words fiddlers and minstrels, such as harpers and pipers, till Sir William Strickland remarked that "the word minstrel will be best; for if you go to enumerate, they will devise new instruments." Next a Mr. Highland wished to forbid singing as well as playing, but Colonel Whetham said, "I hope you will not deprive men of their voices," and Mr. Highland's suggestion dropped, though the clause defining fiddlers and minstrels as rogues and vagabonds was passed.

Such debates appear to have been business-like, short, and to the point. But, when a question of theology was involved, the whole atmosphere of the House changed, and long and heated discussions took place. A poor, crazy fanatic named Nayler had transgressed the bounds both of orthodoxy and good taste, carrying to an excess the faults of the many extreme sects then and ever since to be found in this country. Eleven days were wasted in discussing the actions of this unfortunate wretch, and debating his punishment. Precedence was given to the question over all others lest

the courts of law should release Nayler on a writ of habeas corpus when Parliament was not sitting. Day after day the House worked itself up into a passion of debate, and became involved in a tangle of resolutions, amendments, and questions of procedure. Once or twice Colonel Whetham put in a few words on some point of order, usually with the object of getting the House to see what exact question was then under discussion, or to warn his fellow-members that, without clear ideas of procedure, question after question would arise, and it would be necessary to "fetch candles," *i.e.* to continue the debate, usually concluded by noon, till after dark. In the end Nayler's life was spared, but he was sentenced to be whipped, branded, and have his tongue bored with a hot iron. Cromwell, after the vote was taken, sent a message asking by what authority the House acted in this judicial capacity, but Nayler's punishment was ordered to proceed, and the only effect of the Protector's interference was to produce several days more of idle debate.

But if questions of orthodoxy did not draw Colonel Whetham into discussion, he was ready to interfere if he thought any services were overlooked, or unmerited aspersions cast without cause. When Edward Scot of Scot's Hall prayed for a bill of divorce from his wife Katherine, daughter of Lord Goring, some members opposed the petition on the ground that Scot was "a weak man and under some restraint." Colonel Whetham thereupon rose and said, "As weak as he is reputed to be, he has been a captain in your service," and the question was referred to a Committee. On January 5th some of the Commissionaries were accused of partiality

or corruption, and an attempt was made to pass to other business before the aspersion was substantiated or withdrawn. Colonel Whetham is reported to have said, "Vindicate Lord Whitlock, who is, both here and at the Committee, reflected upon, albeit both the remonstrance and the report clear him," and further debate ensued, though it seems that no division was taken.

On January 8th, owing to the illness of the Speaker, it was proposed that the House should adjourn forthwith. Colonel Whetham called attention to the fact that, without order to the contrary, this course would suspend the business of all the Committees. "If you adjourn," he said, "I desire it may be determined whether Committees may sit or no, for it was debated last adjournment." After some little discussion it was resolved, "that all Committees may sit and act, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House."

On December 19th an amusing debate took place on a petition from the citizens of London to "debar all from being eligible to be free men there that do not contribute with their pains and persons and purses to the burden of the justice of that magistracy."

The true inwardness of the petition gradually came out. The Recorder of London explained that it was desired that non-residents might be made liable to serve as Sheriff, Alderman, etc., if they possessed houses and property in the city. Many non-residents possessed houses most convenient for trade, and great estates as well. Another member added that the only intent was to secure an equality of burden as well as of profit.

But it soon appeared that there was another side to

the question. Mr. Bodurda, member for Anglesey, accused the City of choosing as sheriffs men they knew would rather pay the fine than serve. "They will pick you out thirty or forty that they know will fine for sheriff rather than stand," he said, and went on to instance one man who was chosen, who told them he would serve, but would not squander his estate on the office. "He told them plainly he would go in his cloaak, and in the same clothes; he would be at no charge." "Whereupon the Council rejected him, and he paid not a penny fine."

Mr. Dennis Bond, member for Weymouth, pointed out the probable hardships to the gentry. The younger sons of gentlemen might be bound apprentice (according to the common practice in those days) and afterwards come to the estate by the death of the elder brother. They might get not a penny profit by the City and yet have to pay a fine of seven or eight hundred pounds to escape the office of sheriff or alderman.

Other members took the part of the City, pointing out that these inconveniencies might be considered specially, and should not be allowed to block the petition which in other respects was reasonable. The Parliament owed much to the City and this was their first petition. Whereupon Mr. Highland, member for Southwark, suggested that the City had done well by their attachment to the Parliamentary cause. "What by offices, and what otherwise," he insinuated, "they have been no losers." This seems to have roused Colonel Whetham, who appears to have known that Mr. Highland himself had not lost by his connection

with London and the Parliament. Colonel Whetham evidently spoke with some warmth: "I am sorry to see so great a reflection upon this honourable city; especially by those that are by the skirts of it, and have got good profit," and he went on to argue in favour of referring the petition to a Committee, a course that was adopted with very little further debate.

On December 22nd, Colonel Whetham offered a petition on behalf of Colonel Wither, poet, pamphleteer, and major-general. The nature of the petition does not appear, but the gifted and versatile author reinforced it in a manner unusual in Parliament. When Colonel Whetham had delivered the petition, the Speaker said that he had also "a copy of very good verses from the same hand to offer." Burton does not mention the result of the petition; we can only hope that the verses were good enough to carry conviction.

In a grand Committee on an Excise Bill it was moved to exclude the Channel Islands and the Isle of Wight from the incidence of the tax on account of poverty, while Scotland, Ireland, and the Isles thereunto belonging were included in the Bill. Whereupon Colonel Whetham, speaking with evident authority, said: "Upon the same account that you excused the other islands, you should leave out the isles of Scotland, for they are as poor as can be."

On December 30th Colonel Whetham was entrusted with the Bill for the confirmation of the grant of the Barony of Keniell to General Monck in reward "for his good service." The Bill was referred to a Committee on which all the members for Scotland were appointed to serve.

Colonel Whetham's name does not occur in the debates after January 8th, 1656/7, hence we may conclude that soon after that date he left London. He took no part either in the proceedings during the spring of that year or in the "Petition and Remonstrance" by which the Constitution was put again into the melting-pot, and Cromwell was asked once more to accept the title and office of King.

It is probable that Colonel Whetham visited his home at Chard, and did not return at once to Edinburgh, for Monck's letters to London contain no mention of his name, and constantly lament the absence of most members of the Council for Scotland. In August 1658 he was probably in London, for he was asked by correspondents in Scotland to help them in presenting a petition to the Protector, and to sound Desborough as to his views on the matter.[1]

On September 3rd, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died and was succeeded as Lord Protector by his son Richard. A new Parliament was summoned, and the elections took place at the end of December. Again we get interesting glimpses about the mode of election. "My lord keeper and myself," writes Monck to Thurloe, "have done our best to get those men chosen you have wrote for."

Before this date Colonel Whetham probably returned to Scotland, for once more he was elected a member of Parliament for the boroughs of Fife. He took even less part in the proceedings in Parliament than in 1656, Burton only reporting speeches of his on March 11th, 1658/9, and on April 12th and 13th.

[1] Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. pp. 580, 582.

On March 11th the question of the Constitution of the Houses was discussed, and it was moved that the Scotch and Irish members do not sit in the House. On this the whole question of the Union was raised, and Mr. Scot argued that the Scots had been forced into it, and would separate again were they allowed to do so. But Colonel Whetham said that his experience led him to believe that the Scots as a whole were in favour of the Union. "We can judge of none but by their submission, their protestation. I cannot look into their hearts, [but] I know they desire Union as much as may be . . . I have occasion to know their nature by an employment too honourable for me that his Highness has been pleased to give me there."

A month later the House was discussing the conduct of Major-General Boteler, who had seized the estate of a Royalist with more than the usual disregard both of law and equity. The House put Boteler out of the Commission of the Peace, and, without hearing whether he had anything to offer in his defence, were proceeding to vote on the more drastic measure of removing him from all his military offices. Colonel Whetham interposed, pointing out that, before depriving a man of his livelihood, it would be only just to hear what he had to say. In the end a Committee was appointed to consider how to proceed judicially against the offender.

On the following day a discussion arose on the conduct of one of the farmers of the Excise, who was £25,000 in arrear with his payments. While other members confined themselves to the details of the particular case in hand, Colonel Whetham and Colonel

Birch took wider ground, and raised objection to the whole system of farming such taxes, pointing out the danger that "the farmers, being merchants, ingross the commodity"—an operation which probably signified gaining command of the market in the manner known in modern slang as "making a corner."

Colonel Whetham's name does not appear again either in the records of Parliament or in those of Scotland available at present, and shortly afterwards he is once more to be found at Portsmouth in charge of his old garrison.

CHAPTER IX

THE RESTORATION

THE death of Oliver Cromwell on September 3rd, 1658, removed the constraining hand which kept the State in its position of unstable equilibrium. At once, with ever-increasing velocity, it began to move towards the inevitable and dramatic climax of the Restoration.

As soon as Richard Cromwell's Parliament met, the different parties declared themselves. Those in favour of the Protectorate were more in number, but the Republicans, who had been helpless in the last years of Oliver's life, were a powerful minority. In the Army too they began once more to stir, but the dominant faction among the officers desired to maintain Richard as a nominal Protector, and rule in his name. This faction was led by Fleetwood, at whose residence, Wallingford House, the Council of Officers met.

To secure themselves from the power of the Army, the Protector's party in the House proposed to make Richard General of all the Armies of the Commonwealth. A petition of the officers, aimed against this proposal, was thereupon presented to the House, and the antagonism between Army and Parliament became acute. Parliament voted the abolition of the General

Council of Officers, and Richard attempted to enforce the vote. But his troops deserted him, and, after a lengthy interview with Fleetwood and Desborough, Richard gave way ignominiously. Next day, doubtless at their bidding, he dissolved Parliament, and thereby cast away all real power.

He was now helpless in the hands of the Council of Officers at Wallingford House; "henceforth till the Restoration anarchy and the sword prevailed in the land."[1]

While the chiefs of the Army wished to keep Richard as nominal Protector, the rampant republicanism of the inferior officers soon forced their hand. Conferences between the officers and the remains of the Long Parliament began on May 2nd, and on the 7th these remains—best known to history by their nickname of "The Rump"—met at Westminster. About 120 of the 130 qualified to sit appeared at one time or another in this assembly. No more than 76 ever met at one time; yet this shadow of a Parliament seemed to feel no doubt of their right to rule the country. They declared at once in favour of a Commonwealth "without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers," and on May 25th Richard Cromwell completed the gradual process of eliminating himself by a formal abdication of his office of Protector.

Meanwhile the Committee of Safety were engaged in making changes in the Army. They replaced many officers who had resigned their commissions when the Commonwealth became a Protectorate, or had been removed by Cromwell "as not serving his turne."[2]

[1] C. H. Firth, *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. iv. [2] *Clarke Papers*, ed. C. H. Firth, iii. p. 215.

Others, whom they thought not favourable to the new Government, were dismissed. Thus Ludlow writes[1]:—

"Information being given to the Committee that Col. Norton governour of Portsmouth had let fall some expressions of discontent, they, knowing the place to be of great importance, sent down Col. Whetham, who formerly had been governour thereof, to take possession

Portsmouth in the Seventeenth Century

of the government of it; at which the Colonel was much disturbed, yet in a letter to me written by him soon after, he assured me he should be very well satisfied, if we would proceed to the settlement of an equal Commonwealth."

Evidently Whetham was not comfortable about the state of affairs, and viewed the almost unlimited power of the chiefs of the Army with distrust. Still the Committee of Safety were acting under the nominal authority of a Parliament, and to men of the school

[1] *Clarke Papers*, ed. C. H. Firth, ii. p. 80.

of Monck, soldiers and administrators rather than politicians, the main thing to be desired was order and settled government under whatever form.

Whetham reached Portsmouth on May 12th, and, in writing to the Committee on the following day, he made the best of a situation which seems to have pleased some of his subordinates better than himself.

"For the Right Honourable the Committee of Safety, sitting at Wallingford House, These humbly present. Haste, Haste, Haste."[1]

"Right Honourable,—In obedience to your commands, I hastened to Portsmouth, whither I came yesterday, and found all things in good Order, in the Garison: the Officers I find very well satisfied, and, I may add, rejoicing, that God has returned us to the present Government; to which I am very confident, they will be faithful. I shall take the utmost Care I can for the Preservation of the Peace and Safety of this place.

"Yesterday Captain Barker, Captain of the Cherriton, took, on the other side of the Isle of Wight, a Ship pretended to be Dutch, having on board her four hundred Soldiers, Spanish and some Irish, with Six Captains that came from the Groyne, bound for Ostend: This morning they are brought into this Harbour; and will be secured in Town, until your Honours Order be known concerning them: Which is humbly desired by Your most humble and faithful Servant, NATH. WHETHAM.

"Portsmouth, May 13, 1659.

[1] Commons Journals, May 1659.

"Since I concluded my Letter, I understand, from one of the Captains, he that conducts the Soldiers taken, That there are Thirty-seven Men of War at St. Andrewes in the Bay of Biskey, preparing to go to Sea, from Forty to Sixty Guns each Ship."

The Mayor of Portsmouth also wrote to say that, in accordance with Colonel Whetham's letter, the prisoners had been brought on shore, and that he proposed to allow them the usual sum of fourpence a man per day.

The Parliament now removed most of the executive power from the Committee of Safety and gave it to a regular Council of State, which met for the first time on May 19th. Details of Army administration were left with the Committee, but larger questions were dealt with by the Council. On the 24th the President of the Council wrote to Colonel Whetham :[1]

"To Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, Governor of Portsmouth.

'Sir,—With respect to the present juncture of affairs attended w^th^ many dangers threatened from abroad, and great dissatisfacons at home; The Committee of Safety considering of what great Importance the securing of the Guarrison of Portsmouth is, to the peace of this Comonwealth, did therefore put the charge of that place in yo^r^ hands. And the Councell haveing the like confidence, and good assurance of yo^r^ vigilency & faithfullnes have thought fit to continue you in that Charge, and have to that purpose sent you a Comission

[1] Letter Booke of the Councell of State beginning 23 May 1659, p. 5. Public Record Office.

for the Comannd of that place. And doe desire that you will take a strict accompt of all persons resorting to that Guarrison, and of all officers that have or pretend to have any Imployment or Comannd there—And if you finde any persons not fitt by reason of their dissatisfactions or disaffections to be intrusted there, that you doe for the present, suspend them from the execution of their Imploym^{ts}, and if occasion require to secure them untill the Councell shall take further order therein. The Councell have likewise ordered the removall of the Spanish Prison^{rs} from thence to Chelsey Colledge And have desired L^{t} Gen^{ll} Fleetwood to appoint a party of Horse, of the Troops already in the Guarrison, or such other Troops as he shall thinke fitt, to conduct those prison^{rs} to Chelsey Colledge of which you will receive Comannds from the Lieut. Generall. The Councell do desire that such moneys as are necessary for the defraying of the charge of the prison^{rs} in their Journey, may be borrowed of the Comission^{rs} for prize goods in Portsmouth, or otherwise furnished as you shall thinke meet, and put into the hands of some trusty person to be expended for that purpose, w^{ch} the Councell upon notice from you will take Care shall be repayd. The Councell desire you to give order to the guard of the horse for the Civill treating and usuage of the prison^{rs} in their journey, and that you doe from tyme to tyme give speedy notice to the Councell of such occurrences as may be necessary to be Comunicated to them.

"Signed in the Name, etc.

"James Harrington, Pres^{t}.

"Whitehall, 24th May 1659.

"Sent by post 28th May."

On June 7th the Mayor was informed of the order sent to Colonel Whetham, and told that sixpence a day would be allowed to each prisoner during removal. To reimburse the Mayor for his outlay before the removal, the Council ordered the Navy Treasurer to pay him twopence a day for the men and fourpence for the officers—a decision, one would think, likely to lead to some reduction in the number of future prisoners by the effective if slow process of starvation.

It should be noticed that both the Committee of Safety, which sent Whetham to Portsmouth, and the Council of State, which continued him there with a new Commission, were appointed by order of Parliament. Thus Whetham held his Commission from the Parliament, and to the Parliament his allegiance was due while he continued to hold it. By this fundamental point of military honour he is exonerated from Fleetwood's charge of breach of faith for his conduct in siding with the Parliament against the revolted Army later in the year.

There was some talk of further promotion on June 21st. Colonel Whetham was among those suggested as suitable commanders for Colonel Guibon's "marching" regiment, and on June 30th Colonel Whetham, with three others, was added to the "Committee of Safety and for Nomination of Officers." It does not appear that he attended the sittings of the Committee. Perhaps the Committee found it convenient to have some members of their own body at the more important provincial centres; perhaps the engrossing duties of such a charge as Portsmouth prevented the Governor from leaving the neighbourhood.

Judging from the meagre entries in the book of Proceedings of the Committee of Safety and in the index to the order books of the Council of State,[1] Colonel Whetham was engaged for some months on the routine work of his command. Bills drawn by him are ordered to be paid; his letters are referred to sub-committees or to Commissioners; and his list of officers for the garrison of Portsmouth approved.

The change of Government was accepted by the country generally with an indifference which showed the effect of many revolutions. The Navy acquiesced, and Monck and the Army in Scotland sent in a declaration of fidelity to the restored Rump Parliament.

For this period the manuscript account-books of the collectors for Hampshire are extant, showing the amounts collected from the different divisions and towns. Apparently much of this money was paid directly by the collectors to the Commanders of the different garrisons. Thus Colonel Whetham received sums of £253, £880, and £249 at different times. The balance of the assessment was paid to the Treasurers at War in London.[2]

The downfall of the Protectorate raised the hopes of the Royalists. Soon after the death of Oliver they had begun preparations for a new rising. Hitherto the management of the King's affairs in England had been in the hands of a secret committee known as the "Sealed Knot," composed of men to whom repeated failure had taught caution. In March 1659 Charles appointed six younger Commissioners, who, burning for action,

[1] The order books themselves for this period are lost.

[2] Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, Bundle 154. Record Office.

pushed the older Committee forward against their better judgment. August 1st was fixed upon as the day for a general rising throughout the country.

The plan was well known to the Government through the treachery of Willis, one of the old "Sealed Knot." Through his influence postponements sowed dissensions, and prevented a simultaneous rising, while the Council of State completed their preparations to meet the crisis. On the eve of the appointed day they wrote letters to their commanders at all threatened points. A warning was sent to Colonel Whetham that the Council expected the insurrection to break out on the morrow. He was told to take precautions against surprise, and to send notice to Southampton.

The precautions taken by Colonel Whetham were sufficient to prevent any rising in Hampshire, and, although there were gatherings of Cavaliers and Presbyterians at one or two other places, the only serious outbreak occurred in Cheshire. It was headed by Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, one of the members of the Long Parliament expelled by Pride's Purge in 1648. Five or six thousand men appeared in arms, but they were crushed by Lambert on August 19th after a half-hearted and badly-fought skirmish.

When all immediate danger from the Royalists was passed, Colonel Whetham wrote to the Council of State asking leave of absence to go to his home at Chard. But other clouds were black on the political horizon, and on September 28th the Council of State replied that at present they could not dispense with his services at Portsmouth.

Meanwhile the distrust of the Army shown by the

Parliament was taking more decided form in the replacement of suspected officers, and a gradual curtailment of the powers of the Generals. The chief officers of Lambert's army then began to hold meetings to frame a remonstrance. So threatening was the situation, that the more moderate of the officers appealed to Monck, asking him to intervene. He wrote to Fleetwood, but, foreseeing the inevitable collision, also sent a message to the Speaker assuring him that, if necessary, he would march into England to uphold the supremacy of the Civil Power.

Monck's principles were clear on this point. "I am engaged," he said, "in conscience and honour to see my country freed from that intolerable slavery of a sword government." He believed that soldiers should receive and carry out orders, not give them. Perverse and intolerant as were the remains of the Long Parliament, they presented the only legal authority left in England from the wreck of her ancient Constitution. To that authority, from which he held his Commission, Monck determined to be faithful, and give it time to evolve itself into something better.

Stiffened by the support of Monck, the Parliament met the Army's remonstrance by cashiering Lambert and eight others, and vesting the government of the Army in seven Commissioners. Whereupon, on October 13th, Lambert surrounded Westminster with troops, and prevented the members from taking their seats. A new Committee of Safety, nominated by the Council of Officers, then assumed control of the government of England.

On receipt of the news Monck acted at once. His

army had been packed by the Council of Officers with Anabaptists and other fanatics. With such commanders it was useless for his purpose. Anticipating the great soldiers of a later day, Monck stopped all letters and posts, and acted with masterly promptitude before the news could spread. Using those men he could trust, he seized all disaffected officers, and overawed doubtful regiments with a show of overwhelming force. When, after a few days, the post was allowed to start for the south, all was safe in Scotland, and Monck wrote characteristic letters to the Speaker, Fleetwood, and Lambert.

The Council of Officers, thunderstruck by the appearance of Monck on the scene, entered into negotiations with him, and hurried Lambert off to the north with all the troops he could raise.

Now Monck reaped the fruits of the good government he and his Scottish Council had given to the country, and the friendly relations he had established with the Cavaliers. They offered to raise troops to reinforce his army. Monck wisely refused this compromising help, but he was able to arrange for the local magnates to keep order in Scotland during his absence, and thus, having secured his rear, he advanced towards the border.

Lambert reached Newcastle with forces much superior in cavalry to those of Monck. But his troops were disaffected and unpaid, and openly grumbled at the prospect of a fight in a cause which concerned their officers alone. Monck had much to gain by delay; Lambert had all to lose. Still, the cold on the border was intense, and the privations of Monck's men extreme. Could they hold their position long enough to allow

Lambert's forces to melt away, or for some diversion in England to paralyse his action?

In London too the winter was cold, but the city had mitigations unknown to Monck's men starving on the border. "There ware also att this time," writes one Thomas Rugge in his diary,[1] "a Turkish drink to be sould, almost in every street, called coffee and another kind of drink called tee, and also a drink called chacolat which was a very harty drink."

Still, the introduction of the new "harty drink" did not engross men's attention. On November 16th Rugge notes the issue of a remonstrance against the officers who overthrew the Parliament and now acted as the Committee of Safety. It was signed, he says, by "above 450 men of quality," among whom he mentions Lord Fairfax, Major-General Skippon, Robert Overton of Hull, Colonel Whetham, Colonel Bingham of Guernsey, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and General Monck.

Some of the members of Parliament shut out by Lambert on October 13th had continued to hold private meetings, and during November they determined to make an effort to create a diversion in favour of Monck, and thus help to regain their lost power. London was in the hands of the Army, and it was hopeless to attempt to arrange for a public meeting of Parliament in the capital. The most active members belonged to the deposed Council of State, and comprised Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury), Sir Arthur Heselrige, Colonel Walton,

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 10,116.

and Colonel Morley. These men looked round for some place outside the capital to which the members of Parliament might be summoned.

An important garrison was necessary, for it was certain that a force would be despatched at once by the Committee of Safety to disperse such a meeting, and a place of strength alone would give the time requisite for resistance to the Army to gather to a head, and for Monck to come to their assistance.

In this position of affairs, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper met by chance in Westminster Hall Colonel Whetham, "his friend and very long acquaintance," and discussed with him the political situation.[1]

Like Monck, his old friend and chief, Whetham held that soldiers did their duty when they "received and observed commands, but gave none"; he was opposed heartily to the rule of the sword, and determined in support of some form of Civil Government.

Before his conversation with Cooper was over, Whetham had undertaken to place Portsmouth at the disposal of Parliament, and to declare against the usurping Committee of Safety when the moment should arrive.

It was evident that, in all respects, Portsmouth fulfilled the conditions requisite in a place of meeting for the Parliament, and was, in fact, an ideal town for the purpose. Its fortifications were strong; it was too far from London to be under the shadow of the Army in the capital, while near enough to be accessible to single members of Parliament. It was the first naval

[1] *Shaftesbury Papers*, ed. W. D. Christie, 1859, p. 148; *Life of Shaftesbury*, G. W. Cooke, 1836, i. p. 208.

port in the kingdom, and the members who were acting knew that Admiral Lawson and the fleet would declare for them as soon as the day arrived.[1] Thus the command of the sea would secure their communication with all the coast towns of the kingdom, and enable them to obtain supplies should they have to stand a siege before Monck could relieve them.

The fact that Admiral Lawson and Colonel Whetham were in favour of restoring the Parliament was communicated in confidence by Sir A. A. Cooper to the Commissioners who arrived from General Monck to treat with the Committee of Safety.

On November 15th, the previous day, the Commissioners, outwitted by the Committee of Safety, had signed a treaty allowing a Council of the Army and Fleet to retain power pending the election of a new Parliament, but they carried with them to Monck the news of the activity of the Parliamentary party, and the good-will of Lawson and Whetham.

Monck and his officers were dismayed at the Treaty, and the General put under arrest one of his Commissioners, about whose good faith he entertained some doubts. To avoid a premature rupture, however, he did not repudiate the Treaty in its entirety, but, refusing to ratify it as it stood, resumed dilatory negotiations with Lambert.

Nine members of the old Council of State were now meeting privately in London, and, claiming to act in the name of Parliament, by whom they were appointed, they wrote to Monck, assuring him of their support. They sent him also a Commission, dated November

[1] *Shaftesbury Papers*, p. 147.

24th, appointing him Commander-in-Chief of all the armies in England and Scotland.

Monck was ready to move, and the secret Council of State judged that it was time to act. They gave Cooper a commission as Commander of the troops in and near London, though no troops were at his disposal, and, as he says, his chief care on receiving his commission was to conceal it. They then despatched Heselrige, Walton, and Morley to take possession of Portsmouth in the name of the Parliament, and raise the standard of revolt against the usurping Army.

The Committee of Safety had got some wind of the proceedings, possibly through Monck's doubtful Commissioner, and seized Cooper. They made nothing of him in examination, however, and he regained his liberty, which he used to good purpose.

Heselrige, Walton, and Morley left London unobserved, and reached Portsmouth in safety. A letter from Heselrige "to an Honourable Member of the late Parliament, published for general satisfaction,"[1] describes their arrival at Portsmouth: "We entered here on Saturday the third of December instant, at four of the clock, my Self and my Son, Colonel Morley and Colonel Walton, with divers other Gentlemen, some whereof were neighbouring inhabitants to this place, presently after came in the Governour Colonel Whetham, who had been abroad that afternoon, and came to us to the Lyon Inne, where we quartered that night, and very honourably treated us (and indeed he is a very Noble true spirited Englishman), after a short

[1] London, printed in the year MDCLIX.

conference with him, he declared that he would secure the Town and Garrison for the use of the Parliament, and in order thereunto we did presently seize some dissatisfied officers.[1] . . . This place is so well fortified and provided, that we shall be able to preserve it against all the Forces and more than they can make; nor do we fear any plots or conspiracies to betray it. . . . We do daily and hourly expect the arrival of Vice-Admiral Lawson with the part of the fleet under his Command to our assistance."

Besides the militia of the garrison of Portsmouth, there were now available six companies of foot of the regular army; two troops of horse were raised hastily in the town among the officers present and their servants; while ten sail of ships of the Navy were in the harbour. Such was the force with which Portsmouth defied the power of the chiefs of the Army. But acquisitions of strength began immediately. Mr. Wallop arrived next day with fifty horse raised from his Hampshire tenantry; Colonel Morley obtained reinforcements from Sussex, though a party under Colonel Fagg were captured on their way;[2] and the townsmen were found "very cheerful and resolute." Whetham garrisoned Portsdown Fort, reinforced it with four pieces of artillery, and waited for the expected siege of Portsmouth.

Heselrige and his companions were now ready to offer an asylum to the ejected Parliament. On December 7th they wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor

[1] Captain Peacock, Captain Brown, Captain Hopgood, and others. Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 674; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4165, 45, f. 3.

[2] Clarendon, iii. p. 545; Ludlow, ii. p. 170.

and Common Council of London explaining the situation at Portsmouth, and suggesting that, if the Parliament could not sit at Westminster, they should meet at Portsmouth. They write[1] :—

"The Governors of this Garrison have declared their faithfulness to the Parliament. . . . We cannot but approve of Gen^{l} Monke's declaracione and concurr with him for the restoring of the Parliam^{t}. We hope you doe the like & entreate you that noe tyme may be delayed but all endeavo^{rs} may be used that the Parliam^{t} house may be forthwth opened. . . . And we find such absolute necessity of the Parliam^{t} meeting though but in order to the settlement of future Parl^{mts} that if you cannot prevail that they may sit quietly at Westminster we shall write to the Speaker that he would be pleased to meet at Portsmouth where we doubt not through the mercy and goodness of God they may sit with honour & safety & act freely for the good & preservacon of ye City & the Nation."

The City Fathers seem to have had doubts about the wisdom of too precipitate action, and no answer to this letter was received at Portsmouth. But the apprentices were less cautious, and riotous crowds assembled demanding a free Parliament. They were dispersed with some loss of life ; but the Common Council became every day more opposed to the Committee of Safety, and even the soldiers in London showed signs of disaffection owing to want of pay as much as to political discontent.

The defection of Portsmouth was a heavy blow to the Committee of Safety at Wallingford House. On

[1] Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 970-6.

December 6th Fleetwood wrote to Monck saying that "these differences are like to ingage these poore Nations in great confusions, and therefore certainly the dutye lyes upon us to settle all differences betweene us." He goes on to give his version of the affair at Portsmouth. According to Fleetwood, Heselrige and Morley had assured him that they meant to "live quietly," and that "Colonel Whetham did the laste week send unto mee by a letter from Captain Browne to assure me that hee would observe no orders but from my selfe and that hee would do nothing in opposition to the army, and his expression was 'though yourselfe with the army should come to the gates of the Towne, he would not let yow in'; yet he hath deceived his trust, which I hope you will hardly beleeve; neither could I of Colonel Whetham of almost all the men of the Army."

In the absence of the original documents, it is impossible to sift this charge of breach of faith. But it must be observed again that Whetham held his Commission from the Council of State appointed by Parliament, and that his allegiance was due to them, not to Fleetwood. Secondly, it was during the previous week that the Committee of Safety got wind of the affair, and seized Cooper. Hence it is probable that the letter, which Fleetwood's language suggests was sent voluntarily by Brown at Whetham's suggestion, was really called forth by an inquiry from London. Brown was one of the disaffected officers seized by Whetham on December 4th, and it is likely that he was in correspondence with the Committee of Safety. At the request of Fleetwood he may have sounded

Whetham, who, knowing that the Council of State had their plans almost ready for action, was clearly obliged to allay the suspicions of a doubtful subordinate. Even the words reported by Fleetwood may bear a meaning very different from that he gives them.

Certain it is that Heselrige, Morley, and Walton wrote an indignant denial of his charges to Fleetwood. "Neither jointly nor separately," they said, "did we, or any of us, either to yourself or any other person, pass our engagements to do otherwise than we have done."[1]

The Committee of Safety despatched a force at once to blockade the garrison in Portsmouth, or at all events to prevent them from obtaining further accessions of strength. The force was quite small, either because the Committee thought little of the affair, or because they could not spare further troops from London at the moment owing to fears of a rising.[2] In the light of Fleetwood's somewhat agitated letter to Monck we may accept the latter explanation as the true one.

On the 8th or 9th of December the forces sent from London began to appear before Portsmouth. Some attempt at a siege seems to have been made, but the soldiers were evidently unwilling, especially the horse, who, in the absence of Colonel Rich, were commanded by Major Bremen. On learning the state of affairs, Rich hastened to Portsmouth and entered into communication with the garrison.[3] The gates were opened,

[1] Thurloe, vii. 795; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4165, 45, f. 3.
[2] Clarendon, iii. 545; Rugge's MSS. Dec. 5. [3] Ludlow, vol. ii.

and more than half the besiegers passed over; those that remained found themselves in the presence of an enemy much superior in numbers.

The reinforcements sent from London soon after the despatch of the first party took many days on the road,[1] and declared for the garrison as soon as they arrived. "Now those in the town," writes Rugge, "seeing this action and saw that they were in ernest, opened the gates and received them with great demonstrations of love, Sir Arthur Heselrige & the rest of the members gave to each Company ten pounds to pay their quarters."

Some three thousand horse and foot were now collected at Portsmouth, and were quartered about the neighbouring villages ready to take the offensive. The force probably was larger than any other in the country except the armies of Monck and Lambert facing each other in the north. It had become a dominating factor in the military situation.

The success of the Parliament men at Portsmouth made it unnecessary for Vice-Admiral Lawson to take his ships round to their assistance; it was evident that they were more than able to hold their own.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, making the most of his recovered liberty, joined Lawson, who, about December 16th, brought his fleet into the Thames and declared for the restitution of the Parliament. Lawson was an Independent, and had generally acted against the Presbyterian party, to the left wing of which the exiled Parliament were now looking. Hence his action came

[1] Rugge says nearly a fortnight. MSS. Journal, Dec. 5.

as a great shock to the Committee of Safety, who sent Sir Harry Vane to confer with Lawson, apparently expecting to regain the lost fleet. But Lawson told Vane bluntly "that he would submit to no authority but that of the Parliament."

On receipt of the news that Lawson held the Thames, the army of Portsmouth moved at once, and began its march on London, gaining accessions of strength as it advanced.

The game was now up, and the rule of the Army collapsed ignominiously. The troops about London, on the approach of the forces from Portsmouth, put themselves under the command of officers favourable to the Parliament, and, warning Fleetwood that they would obey him no longer, marched to the Speaker's house in Chancery Lane, and told Sir William Lenthall that they were at his disposal. After addressing the troops, Lenthall took possession of the Tower, and left Cooper there in command.

All opposition to the Parliament was now at an end. Some of the members met in the Painted Chamber on December 24th, and on the evening of December 26th the Parliament House was reopened. As the Speaker came out from the first sitting, he spoke to the soldiers assembled in Westminster Hall, and promised them their pay, whereupon, says Rugge, the "redd coates" raised a shout that made the hall ring.

Those who had restored the Parliament were the heroes of the hour, and street ballads were sung in their honour. One such ballad, chiefly in praise of George Monck, gives in dreadful doggerel a good idea of the situation of affairs as it appeared to the journalist

of the time. It is entitled *The Noble English Worthies.* A few of the verses are worth reproducing.

Renown by sea and land he got ;
Old Noll for him would do what not ;
There's none ere boded him ill-will,
That valour had, or martial skill.
This is our noble general,
Who fights to rescue us from thrall,
And that we may be free-men all ;
  Oh ! this is our brave George !

Such gallant worthies are most rare ;
Yet many more at Portsmouth are ;—
Noble Sir Arthur Haselrigg
Resolves to lead a Scottish gigg,
With Morley, Walton, Wallop, and
Renowned Whetham, whose command
For all our liberties do stand,
  As well as our brave George.

Sir Ashly Cooper, Scot and more,
Such honest hearts there are good store,
The famous Lawson and the fleet,
And London lads in every street,
Who vow to make subverters stare
At Tyburne in the open air,
For doing what no king did dare :—
  And thus vows our brave George.

The honest soldiers (though some be
Sadly misled) resolve to see
The Parliament restored again
And run away to Monck amain ;
Who pays them well, as well they may
Expect, for Lambert has no pay ;
And thus the news is every day
  In honour of brave George.

. . . . .

Let them that please, sit still at ease
Whilst heaven in mercy sends us peace ;
But may our noble worthies be
Successful in their policy,
That order may return again
In church and state, and right may reign
And all subverters have their pain !
  And God bless our brave George.

On Thursday, December 29th, the troops from Portsmouth arrived in London, most of them being quartered about Westminster and Covent Garden. Heselrige, Walton, and Morley went straight to the House of Parliament "in their riding habits; and Haselrigg was very jocund and high."[1]

Forthwith the House gave them a vote of thanks, and another to the garrison of Portsmouth. The vote is recorded in the Journals of the House of Commons:

"Ordered, That the Thanks of this House be given to Colonel Whetham, and his Officers, for their Fidelity and great good Service done for the Parliament and Commonwealth: and that a Letter of Thanks be written to him, and signed by Mr. Speaker, and sealed with the Seal of the Parliament: And that Mr. Scot and Mr. Reynolds do prepare the said Letter."

During some part of the month of January Colonel Whetham seems to have stayed in London. On one occasion he was the victim of a misunderstanding which, amusing though it was to Pepys and Rugge, must have been unpleasant to him who was principally concerned.

Much of the traffic of London was then carried on by water, and the best of the watermen formed a guild, jealous of all outside their body. Some boatmen not belonging to the Company, wishing to become Watermen to the State—an appointment which secured immunity from impressment—sought favour from the Parliament by getting up a petition in which complete devotion was expressed to the Rump, without King, Protector, or House of Lords. The ostensible object of the petition was the imposition of restrictions on the

[1] Whitelock, p. 693.

use of hackney coaches, then coming into fashion. To secure the signatures of the watermen, who nearly all were Royalists, the originators of the scheme seem to have represented it as aimed simply at the hackney coaches—detested on the river—and to have said nothing about the terms of address to Parliament. They asked Colonel Whetham, as being then in high favour with the Parliament, to present the petition, and apparently, all in good faith, he promised to do so. When their deputation attended at Westminster to receive the reply of the House, the watermen discovered that they had been made to abjure all those things for which they longed, doubtless with a vivid imagination of state journeys by river and open-handed courtiers to hire their boats.

Great was the wrath of the watermen with those who had deceived them, and some, mistaking the part he had played in the matter, threatened to beat Colonel Whetham should they find him. They hurried to Mr. Prynne, feeling that no one but that most voluminous of pamphleteers could express their thoughts in adequate language, and got him to write a statement, which they printed in haste and distributed broadcast.[1]

Meanwhile Monck lay near the border with six or seven thousand men, while Lambert, with eight or ten thousand, watched him from Newcastle.

Monck's men were ragged and ill-equipped, and his cavalry badly mounted ; but his force was an army—

[1] Rugge describes Colonel Whetham as the originator of the petition, but compare *Pepys' Diary*, Feb. 2, 1659/60, and *The History of the Company of Watermen*, by Henry Humpherus.

well-disciplined and enured to hardship by long service in Scotland. Moreover, he had accumulated a war-chest, and regular pay for his troops made it possible for him to play the waiting game.

Lambert's troops were well equipped and his more numerous cavalry well mounted ; but the force was heterogeneous in composition, and inclined to regret the comforts of the south from which they had just marched. They had been in contact with all the changing currents of politics, and many of them were far from zealous for the cause they were in arms to defend. And, worst of all, their pay was not forthcoming.

The delay secured by the negotiations of Monck's Commissioners in London had thus told heavily against Lambert, and he was now less able to attack Monck than on his first arrival in November, when a prompt action might have gained the day. Misled by a false alarm of an advance, however, Monck left Berwick on December 8th to secure a passage over the river Tweed.

He took up his position at Coldstream, and waited for news. His troops, quartered in the villages along the Tweed, covered the best fords over the river as well as the bridge at Berwick, but could still be concentrated at four hours' notice. A heavy fall of snow and a severe frost, while adding to the discomfort of his army, effectually secured it against a sudden advance by Lambert, whose superiority in cavalry became useless on ground where the horsemen could neither march fast nor fight at an advantage.

And now the expected news began to arrive. First came Colonel Fairfax from Yorkshire, having passed

through Lambert's army, to say that Lord Fairfax would be ready to raise the country and attack Lambert's rear early in January if Monck could then advance. Next Captain Campbell arrived from Ireland, bringing word that the troops there had declared for the restitution of Parliament through the influence of Lord Broghill. While Monck's army was celebrating this news by a day of thanksgiving, messengers from the south brought tidings that Colonel Whetham had declared for the Parliament, and with Heselrige, Walton, and Morley, was holding Portsmouth against the troops despatched by Fleetwood.

It is interesting to observe that, of those who controlled the destinies of England at this crisis, Monck, Broghill, and Whetham had been associated for some years in the government of Scotland. Probably their friendship, on which several writers insist,[1] made them willing to act together when their opinions coincided, and to trust each other while so acting. But with Whetham's views, it was almost certain that he would uphold the Parliament against the regular Army, and his friendship with Monck can hardly have been the sole determining cause of his action as Gumble suggests when he writes: "That honest gentleman Colonel Whetham (who deserved better for that service) had . . . declared for General Monk; and of this Person I must take leave to say a little: That being one of the usurper's Council in Scotland with General Monk, there was a great friendship contracted; and in pursuance of this kindness did declare [at Portsmouth for the Parliament] and was the only man that did considerably destroy the English

[1] Gumble, 184; Skinner, 187; Maseres, 745.

Army, and remove Lambert's sword from the Scotch Officers' throats. . . . Portsmouth was a good diversion, and the occasion of the division of the English Army, which was no small security to the General's Forces."

Immediately on receipt of the news from Portsmouth, Monck despatched Major Bannister with a letter to Lambert at Newcastle, offering to continue negotiations, but saying that, before concluding any treaty, he must consult with his fellow-Commissioners, appointed by the Council of State to govern the Army, who were now in Portsmouth. He therefore asked Lambert for a pass for a messenger to be sent to them with despatches.

Lambert, who seems honestly to have desired to come to some peaceable arrangement, now saw that Monck had only been playing for delay. In a passion he refused the pass, and sent Bannister back to Coldstream, where he arrived, bringing with him the news that Admiral Lawson had blockaded the Thames and declared for the Parliament.

It was now too late for Lambert to act. His troops were becoming more and more disheartened, and forty miles of snow-covered hills protected Monck from a sudden attack.

A little more delay and Lambert had no cause left to defend. As the Portsmouth forces neared London, power dropped from the weak hands of Fleetwood, and the Parliament reassembled. The messenger who brought this news to Monck also told him that Fairfax had been forced into action sooner than he intended, and was already in arms.

To prevent Lambert turning on Fairfax, and crushing him before help could arrive, Monck moved at once.

The camp at Coldstream was broken up on January 1st, 1659/60, and the famous march—*iter boreale*—began. The hardships at Coldstream had been intense, but an excellent spirit pervaded all ranks of the force, especially in the infantry, and those who marched south with Monck were called "Coldstreamers" ever afterwards. By fixing his headquarters at that obscure village, Monck gave a name to the foot regiment which stands second on the list of the modern British Army—the only regiment which has come down to us with an unbroken record from Cromwell's "New Model."

Lambert's troops melted away at Monck's approach, or deserted to his army, and Lambert himself fled into hiding—first in Yorkshire and then in London. Monck had won his most decisive campaign without shedding one drop of blood. The way was open, and he moved south to York.

But now a new political situation had arisen. Hitherto Monck had been simply the champion of the dispossessed Parliament. Now the Parliament had triumphed completely, and had no further use for too powerful and too independent supporters. Intent on upholding their own ridiculous pretensions to represent the people of the country, and determined to refuse readmission to the secluded members expelled in 1648, the Rump Parliament began to regard Monck and his veteran army with suspicion and fear. They dreaded his approach, but dared not show their feelings by ordering him back.

The march became a triumphal progress. The people recognised in Monck the one strong man who could restore order and settled government to the distracted

country. Addresses poured in upon him from all sides praying for the reinstatement of the secluded members, or for the calling of a new Parliament, freely elected by the people. All wise men knew that such a free Parliament would restore the King, but to say so openly was still dangerous, and Monck met the thinly-veiled Royalism of some of the petitions with safe platitudes about the welfare of the country. The higher rose the enthusiasm, the more silent and reserved grew the General, till men knew not what to make of his intentions.

At Mansfield, on the 18th of January, his chaplain Gumble joined him, bringing news that an oath of abjuration of the Stuarts had been proposed to the new Council of State, on which Monck had been placed. The best of the members had refused the oath, but raising the question had crystallised the difficulties of the situation.

At Nottingham Monck heard that Scott and Robinson, two Commissioners from Parliament, were on their way to join him, ostensibly to offer him the congratulations of the House, but with secret instructions to watch his actions and report to London. He heard, too, that many of the troops in London were disaffected.

On Monday the 22nd, Scott and Robinson met him near Leicester, and his difficulties became greater than ever. He played his part with consummate skill—fooled the Commissioners to the top of their bent with salutes and other military honours, and allowed them to take on themselves the thankless task of throwing cold water on the addresses of deputations who were after-

wards reassured by unauthorised subordinate officers. Monck himself was again the obedient, somewhat obtuse soldier of fortune that Lambert and Fleetwood had once believed him.

Friends now joined him at every point of the march. Among others Colonel Whetham arrived, possibly with Gumble on the 18th, or with the Parliamentary Commissioners on the 22nd. Whetham and Gumble seem to have been in constant attendance on the General,[1] and perhaps were able to shield him from some of the worst of the unwelcome attentions of Scott and Robinson.

For some years Monck had been a puzzle to the Royalist agents, who never could persuade themselves that he was not secretly in favour of the exiled King. Through this winter their attempts to fathom his intentions were redoubled. The only one who met with any success was his second chaplain Price, to whom Monck seems to have made some dangerous admissions when awakened suddenly one night at Coldstream.[2] After the Restoration both Price, his chaplain, and Clarges, his brother-in-law, claimed credit for influencing Monck. Another pretender to the same fame was one John Collins, Steward to the Inner Temple, and a connection, probably a brother-in-law, of Colonel Whetham.[3] In Collins's hands, according to his own account, Monck was but a tool.[4] Collins was employed as a messenger by the Speaker Lenthall, and

[1] Leyborne-Popham MSS., Hist. MSS. Commission Report, pp. 209 *et seq.*

[2] Maseres, p. 746.

[3] In the Administration of Colonel Whetham's eldest son (Prerog. Ct, Cant., 1677), John Collins is named as uncle and next-of-kin.

[4] Leyborne-Popham MSS., Hist. MSS. Commission Report, pp. 198-239.

was sent to Monck as he approached London to warn him of the position in Parliament ; to advise him to make no offer to resign his commission, as he had suggested, lest he should be taken at his word ; and to delay entering London till the troops there were removed. Collins met Monck, travelling with Scott and Robinson in their coach, and was presented to him at Dunstable, where he dined with the General and his staff. In the evening he sought a private interview and found the General at his inn, "standing at the fireside with Colonel Whetham and Mr. Gumble." Retiring with Monck to a window, he delivered the Speaker's letter and private message, and, according to his own account, gave Monck much seasonable advice, and was thereafter daily employed on messages between the General and the Speaker.

Collins seems to have been a vain busybody with none too good a reputation,[1] and we may fairly estimate his influence on Monck as even less than that of Price or Clarges. Monck's reserve and caution were misinterpreted constantly in this way. People thought the silent soldier was acquiescing in their noisy opinions, when he was merely not troubling to argue or was leading them on to utter useful indiscretions. The key to Monck's conduct is given by Mr. Julian Corbett in his fascinating Life of that officer. Monck had determined to be loyal to the Parliament he served, but to secure that, when they had reassembled, a voluntary dissolution should allow the country to decide its own future. Of all those who held power in England throughout the eventful years we have traced, Monck alone wished the people themselves to choose freely

[1] Leyborne-Popham MSS., Hist. MSS. Commission Report, Preface.

and without coercion the form of government under which they must live.

At St. Albans a halt was made to allow the whole force to come up, and from here Monck sent a letter to the Speaker requesting that the troops in London might be removed to make way for his own army.

The situation was critical, and it was only after a heated debate in the House that Monck's request was granted and the order sent. With some disturbance the soldiers obeyed, and the way was clear for Monck.

On the 3rd of February 1659/60, Monck's army entered London. Four regiments of foot and three of horse, about 5800 men in all, followed him into the city. Monck was surrounded by a bodyguard of the friends who had joined him upon the road, among whom, doubtless, was Colonel Whetham, and thus accompanied, marched down Chancery Lane and the Strand, where he met the Speaker, and dismounted to greet him as the representative of sovereignty. But already the tide of public opinion had passed beyond the restored Rump, and Monck, who was regarded now in London as their supporter,[1] met with but a cold reception in the streets.

The Parliament, however, in mingled gratitude and apprehension, received him royally. He and his family were lodged at Whitehall, and every attention shown him. To Colonel Whetham also rooms were assigned in the same building, those lately occupied by the Earl of Salisbury being placed at his disposal by the Council of State.[2]

[1] *Pepys' Diary*, Jan. 30, 1659/60.

[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., Feb. 8, 1659/60.

On Monday, February 6th, Monck attended at Westminster to receive the thanks of the House, and to make a modest and manly acknowledgment in reply, in which he warned those present that the country was determined to have a free and full Parliament.

The House now gave Colonel Whetham a regiment in the regular or marching army. The list of his officers was read a first time in the House on February 8th, and a second time two days later, while on Saturday, February 11th, the Speaker delivered "to Colonel Nathaniell Whetham his Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Captain of a Company in the same."[1]

A month previously Colonel Whetham had received the thanks of the House. Now, besides his regiment, he obtained a new mark of gratitude. On February 10th it was resolved, "That Two hundred Pounds a Year, Land of Inheritance, be settled on Colonel Nathaniell Whetham, and his Heirs, as a Mark of the Parliament's Favour, for his eminent Services for the Parliament and Commonwealth."

It was ordered also: "That it be referred to the Committee to whom the Business touching setting out Lands for General George Monck is referred, to set out Lands, of the yearly Value of Two hundred Pounds, on Colonel Nathaniell Whetham and his Heirs; and to set the same out in some Convenient Place."

The Vote of Thanks, the Regiment, and the Grant of Lands mark the summit of Nathaniell Whetham's career. Thenceforward he was left behind more and more as events hastened forward to a goal he little

[1] Commons Journals, Feb. 8, 1659/60.

desired. But he had played his part in carrying forward the great movement, as many others did, who, like him, dropped out of the march at one point or another.

Meanwhile the Rump Parliament was becoming daily more unpopular, on account of their refusal to admit the secluded members to fill up vacant seats, or to dissolve themselves and order a free election. In the city of London especially feeling ran high, and on February 8th the Common Council resolved to pay no more taxes till the House had filled up its vacancies.

The Council of State retaliated by ordering Monck to occupy the city and pull down the gates and chains. He obeyed, and the Rump rejoiced, thinking that he was now committed for ever to their cause. But they had overreached themselves. The distasteful work had vexed the soldiers, and, in the approval of his army, Monck was now strong enough to deal with the Rump, in whose good intentions reluctantly he had ceased to believe. He and his chief officers sent to the Speaker a letter insisting that the House should issue writs for the vacant seats within a week, and should dissolve by May 6th. Then Monck retired to the city with his army till their answer should arrive. When it came it was so unsatisfactory that he hesitated no longer, and told the Common Council publicly what he had done. The statement was received with enthusiasm, and that Saturday night was as memorable for bonfires and illuminations as any in the annals of London.

The Republicans were furious, and at a later date Scott told Colonel Whetham that he believed that Monck had planned the whole episode, and had offered to coerce the city knowing what would come of it.

Whetham warned Dr. Barrow, Monck's secretary, of this charge, and no public use seems to have been made of it. But the importance of the affair was quite as great as the Republicans believed, and Colonel Whetham told Barrow that he considered it the chief factor in bringing about the change of Government.[1]

Hopeless as their position was, the majority in the House still fought against the inevitable, and passed a vote to exclude from the coming Parliament even those whose fathers had been sequestered as Royalists. Monck saw that the new Parliament could not be the free body the nation demanded if these men framed the rules for the elections.

He determined to admit the secluded members against the will of those now sitting, and, after exacting pledges from them not to attempt a change of government till the country could declare its will in the new Parliament, he gave orders to the guards at Westminster to admit them to the House on Tuesday, February 21st. The irreconcilable Republicans were now in a hopeless minority, and a free election was secured. Monck was appointed Captain-General of all the Forces of the Commonwealth, and was thus made legally as well as in fact master of the country.

Again some delay followed. The Republicans, in despair at the obvious trend of events, attempted to avoid the inevitable end by making Monck Protector or even King. Monck refused at once. They then tried to tamper with the Army. Herein lay the great danger. Monck had a hard task to keep his soldiers in hand. The officers were now most of them moderate

[1] Price in Maseres' Tracts, ii. 763.

men, ready to obey any constituted authority which upheld the essentials of the Revolution. For a Commonwealth, a Protectorate, or even a Monarchy with Monck as King, they were prepared. But the return of Charles Stuart meant the reversal of all they had fought for, and, most probably, the confiscation of the public lands they had bought with the hard-earned savings of their lives.

Instigated by Heselrige, some of the officers now petitioned Monck to declare in favour of a Commonwealth, and to compel Parliament to do the same. Monck and his friends answered this next day in a Council called for the purpose. It was pointed out to the dissatisfied officers that any such resolution was inconsistent with the freedom of the coming Parliament, on which the nation was determined, and to which all parties, some, it was true, against their will, now found themselves committed. The debate continued, and began to look dangerous, when Monck cut it short by saying that military Councils to discuss civil affairs were contrary to discipline ; he dismissed the meeting, and forbade such gatherings for the future. A few weeks sooner such a speech might have been followed by mutiny. But Monck had been treating insubordination with firmness, and rightly judged his power at the moment. The meeting separated, and the officers submitted.

Next the Presbyterian majority in possession of the House sought to steal a march on the other parties. They had already passed a Bill settling the Church on their own lines, and now they attempted to re-establish the Militia under their own control as a safeguard against the regular Army.

But Monck was determined to hold the balance even between all the contending factions, and allow the new Parliament as full and clear a field as possible. Again he wrote a firm letter to the Speaker on March 16th, and, in fear of their great General, the Long Parliament at length put an end to their own lingering existence.

For the space of forty days before the new Parliament assembled, the government was in the hands of Monck and the Council of State. The latter body was now overwhelmingly Presbyterian, and sought to effect the coming Restoration on their own terms by entering on a treaty with the King by which he should bind himself to the confirmation of the sale of public lands and to the establishment of Presbyterianism in the Church. Again Monck put a stop to the movement, saying that "he would leave all to a free Parliament as he had promised the nation." He prevented a secret understanding between the Presbyterians and the King by himself consenting to enter on the communications with Charles which Royalist agents had been attempting to establish for years. His Majesty laughed with good-natured cynicism at the rigid proposals of the Presbyterians, since he knew that, when Monck had secured the election of a free Parliament, it would vote his restoration, and, in the revulsion of loyalty, would be unlikely to exact from him more than he was willing to concede.

And now at last the elections took place. Great was the competition for seats, and everywhere, save in a few small boroughs, the Royalists swept all before them. Colonel Whetham wished to get elected, but apparently Monck dissuaded him from becoming a candidate. The General was ever against soldiers entering into

politics. The following letter from Whetham to Monck[1] throws an interesting light on the conduct of the elections, and shows that there was still some hope among the old Parliamentary party of making Monck Protector. But Whetham now stated definitely that he would accept whatever decision Monck, the Council, and Parliament might make. Like Monck himself, he was ready to risk loss and ruin for the sake of a permanent and stable settlement.

"For his Ex^cy My Lord Gen^ll Moncke
these humbly present.

"My Lord,—I received yo^r Ex^cies letter of the 5th instant sent after mee to Chard whither by yo^r Ex^cies leave I came on Satterday last, I find all my busines in a very bad posture, and all honest people greatly discouraged by the height & confidence of the Cavileers who have chosen one of the Knights for this shire one that whose father was in actual service for the Kinge ag^st the Parl^t, many honest men that upon the pole tended their voyses for an honest Gentman weere refused to have their names taken, weare it not that I have hopes in yo^r Ex^cies fav^r I should expect nothing but ruin both of estate & life allso, if by yo^r Ex^cies means I might have been a member of Parl^t it might at this time have beene more usefull to mee than ever, but I am resolved by the helpe of God to submit to whatever yo^r Ex^cy, the Councill, & Parl^t shall order & determine. And if wee must have a single person I desire if it bee the Lords will the Parl^t would pitch upon yo^r Ex^cy, it is the desire &

[1] Abstract in Hist. MSS. Commission's Report on the Leyborne-Popham MSS. The writer wishes cordially to acknowledge the kindness by which the original letter is now in his possession.

prayers of all the good people that ever I speake wth, I humbly beg yo^{r} Ex^{cies} pardon for my freenes to yo^{r} Ex^{cy}. I intend to bee at yo^{r} Ex^{cies} comand as to my going to Scotland and in all things also as becomes him who is

"Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most faithfull &

"reall humble servant

"NATH: WHETHAM.

"Chard, April the 12: 1660.

"There is one Cap^{t} Peacock an honest man formerly under mee & much in arrear, if yo^{r} Ex^{cy} would please to let him have a Company in my Reg^{mt} when there is a vacancy it would bee a greate favo^{r} to mee."

It may be remembered that, when securing Portsmouth for the Parliament, Colonel Whetham had seized several of his officers whom he suspected of favouring the cause of the Army. One of them was Captain Peacock. Evidently his Colonel bore him no ill-will for his suspected opposition in that crisis.

Meanwhile the officers near London, like Colonel Whetham, signified to Monck their acquiescence in whatever Parliament should determine. Although Lambert escaped from the Tower where he had been confined, and raised an insurrection, it never assumed any large proportions, and the Army as a whole remained true to their General and to the declaration of their officers. The rising of the fanatics, which all men had dreaded, was suppressed almost without a blow. But the danger had been great, and Monck, who never neglected any possibility, had made preparations for calling out the Royalists had the Army deserted him.

Parliament met, and Monck's work was done. After a short and useless attempt by the Presbyterians to exclude some of the Royalists and make a treaty with the King, all opposition collapsed. The King's letters were read in the House, and received with acclamation. Charles put himself entirely in the hands of Parliament, and the great reconciliation between King and country was effected without conditions on either side. The King knew that he could trust the exuberant loyalty of his first Parliament, and the dealings of Charles with his recovered kingdom were tempered by a natural reluctance "to go on his travels again."

Charles was escorted to London by regiments of horse, and entered his capital on the 29th of May. The body of the Army, acquiescing in the inevitable, although unreconciled to the change, was drawn up on Blackheath to greet the King as he passed—thirty thousand soldiers, a menace to the re-established monarchy only controlled by Monck. On that dramatic day the King reviewed the red-coated army which had conquered his father and made England's name terrible to all Europe. Here he found no shouting crowds, but silent men who carried out their duty with no pretence of an approval which they did not feel.

Monck presented the chief officers to the King, "which Grace," says Clarendon, "they seemed to receive with all Humility and Chearfulness." Some of them, however, felt it impossible to continue to hold their commissions. Among others Colonel Whetham retired, voluntarily or involuntarily, and on June 18th the regiment he had commanded for so short a time

was given to Colonel Richard Norton for the brief remainder of its existence.[1]

Many such new appointments were made, and the Army became more and more discontented. Till this red terror was disbanded, Charles dared not call his crown his own. He made, however, no such mistake as the Parliament made in 1647. Scarce though money was, the sum needed to pay their arrears was found, and by the following January the old soldiers had nearly all passed into civil life, with ample means of entering some other calling and special exemptions from restrictions of apprenticeship which might have hindered their doing so.

Colonel Whetham retired to Chard and passed for ever out of public affairs. But his life for the next few years must have been typical of that of many old Commonwealth soldiers of whose fortunes no records remain. We may then devote a few pages more to the story of his doings.[2]

As we have seen, Colonel Whetham bought the manor of the borough of Chard in 1647 from the Commissioners for the Sale of Bishops' Lands. Since that date he had improved the property in many ways. He had spent large sums in new buildings and repairs on the farms, on planting trees, and on fencing and drainage. On the land which he kept in hand he "used very good husbandry by keeping a good flock of sheep thereon." Part of the remainder he had granted to tenants either by leasehold or copyhold, and had received more than two thousand pounds in consideration. To

[1] Clarke MSS., Worcester Coll., Oxford.

[2] See *Chancery Depositions*, 1668, Whetham *v.* Pawlett, Collins, 201-33.

these tenants he had given a covenant for the quiet enjoyment of their holdings—a covenant which caused much trouble in the future.

The manor-house at Chard is an ancient building of great beauty, standing in the main street of the little town. It has now fallen on evil days, and has been divided into four shops. But it is still possible to trace the plan of the old courtyard, and many of the rooms

THE MANOR HOUSE - CHARD.

contain fine plaster-work on the walls and ceiling. Here we imagine Colonel Whetham to have resided during his intervals of active life, and hither he retired on giving up his commission.

Even before the meeting of Parliament Whetham had found all his affairs in disorder. The impending changes in the State again made the title of his property insecure, and the difficulties natural to such a position increased as the Restoration became a certainty.

One of the first acts of the Convention Parliament was to annul the sales of Crown and Church lands made

by the Commissioners appointed by the Long Parliament during the first Civil War. To mitigate the acknowledged hardships which ensued, the King appointed Commissioners to adjudicate on claims and to reconcile differences as far as possible. It was also laid down that purchasers were to be readmitted as tenants on favourable terms, where such a course could be followed.

By these arrangements the purchasers of Crown lands generally obtained some compensation. But the clergy were, as a rule, in an indigent condition after the long persecution to which they had been subject; naturally, moreover, those who lived to be restored were old men. To secure a provision for their wives and families it was necessary for them to make the most of their recovered revenues while they lived. Hence the leases usually went to the highest bidder, and the purchasers of Church lands fared, on the whole, worse than the purchasers of the Crown lands.

The manor and borough of Chard reverted to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells. No record appears of any offer to readmit Colonel Whetham as a tenant of the manor. It is possible that no offer was made, or that Whetham was not prepared to pay an adequate fine, or, again, that he refused to take as a tenant what he had lost as a freehold lord of the manor.

In December 1661 the Bishop granted a lease for three lives to John Lord Poulett of Hinton St. George. The consideration agreed upon was the sum of five thousand pounds, with a yearly rent reserved of fifty pounds. Of this sum, the Bishop left one thousand pounds in the hands of Lord Poulett to be given to Colonel Whetham.

Unfortunately a misunderstanding arose about the terms on which this thousand pounds was to be paid. The Bishop and Lord Poulett wished to secure themselves against any possible claim that Colonel Whetham might have on the property, and had a draft agreement made for him to sign, in which he renounced all title to the estate which he and those claiming under him might possess.

Lord Poulett sent his lawyer, Mr. William Hodges of Crewkerne, to call on Colonel Whetham and submit to him this draft release. Whetham read the document, and told Hodges that he believed by signing it he should make himself liable to repay their purchase money to those who had bought estates or leases of estates from him. The total of such money he reckoned at about two thousand five hundred pounds. He could not take the thousand pounds on those conditions. Hodges then left, and took the draft agreement back to Lord Poulett.

But Lord Poulett seems to have imagined that his agent had given Colonel Whetham to understand that he would deal leniently with the sub-tenants, and thereby induce them to forgo any claim they had to compensation from the dispossessed lord of the manor. As a matter of fact, it appears that eventually many of the old tenants were readmitted to their holdings for fines less than the market value, and some of them resold at a profit at once. One such tenant, who began, or threatened to begin, an action against Colonel Whetham, was never asked for the rent of his copyhold estate at all and the action was thereby stopped. But, at the time of the tender of the draft agreement,

Colonel Whetham had no security that such a course would be pursued, or that the tenants would be satisfied with it, and it was for this reason he told the lawyer that he could not sign the release in the form proposed.

Nevertheless, a week later, on April 28th, 1662, Lord Poulett sent as his agents Robert Merefield, now steward of the manor, and others to renew the offer, having on the previous day sent notice that he should do so. They took with them the thousand pounds "in several bags of money," and the deed of release ready to be signed and sealed. They found Colonel Whetham "in his then Mansion house situate in Chard," and were received by him in the hall.[1] They took their money out of the bags and arranged it on the table, while Merefield tendered to Whetham the deed of release. Whetham seems to have been annoyed at this mode of proceeding after his formal refusals to sign, and received the deputation "in some discontent and passion." However, he said he would consult again with some of the sub-tenants, and left the hall. At the end of half an hour he returned, and finally "declared that he would neither meddle with the money nor seal the release" upon those terms. Whereupon the deputation had to put back the thousand pounds into their bags, and return with it to Lord Poulett.

At that period and for long afterwards the constitution of the manor retained almost all its medieval importance. Periodic Courts were held, at which new

[1] The great hall of the manor-house is a fine room with a good plaster-work ceiling. It is now occupied as a store for ironmongery.

tenants were admitted in place of old ones whose estates they had inherited or purchased, and given leases or copies of the corresponding entry in the Court Rolls to hold as evidence of their title.

In due time Lord Poulett caused notice to be given publicly during Sunday service in the Parish Church that such a Court would be held.

One can imagine the interest which such an announcement would cause among the parishioners present, who were doubtless most or all of them tenants of the manor, and keenly interested in the change of ownership it had undergone, which brought home to them the revolution in the State.

The rustle which followed the hush of attention to the announcement had barely begun, when it was stilled to a deeper silence, as Colonel Whetham rose in his pew. "Some guests of my neighbour Rawlings," he said, "have given out that I have sealed a release of all my right unto the Manor of Chard unto my Lord Poulett. But I do here declare before you all that I neither have, nor ever will, seal any such release." He explained that he had refused the offer of a thousand pounds to do so, and sat down.

It is our last clear sight of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, though records give us a few more facts about his closing years.

The dispute with Lord Poulett continued. A young Joseph Whetham, either the son or nephew of Nathaniel, went to see the Bishop at Wells, and asked him to use his best offices to settle the dispute. This the Bishop promised to do, and told his visitor that he had reserved the thousand pounds for Colonel

Whetham "for his good service done to his now Majestie."

Apparently the delusive hope of this thousand pounds, and the Chancery suit it entailed, were the only benefits Colonel Whetham derived from the help he unwittingly gave towards the Restoration. Gumble expressed an opinion that "the poor man Colonel Whetham deserved better for that service." But when the King had to satisfy so many like Gumble, ardent in testifying to their own services, he can hardly be blamed for not rewarding all those less eloquent instruments to whose actions he owed his crown.

His Grace the Duke of Albemarle, at any rate, did not forget the friend of General George Monck. He wrote to Lord Poulett, who would be likely to do what he could at the request of a man so powerful in the King's Councils.

Nevertheless, the thousand pounds was not paid, perhaps because Lord Poulett himself died in 1665. Colonel Whetham began Chancery proceedings against his son the new lord of the manor, contending that the thousand pounds was due on the principles laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the King, and that sub-tenants must be dealt with separately. Probably, however, he did not live to see the end of the suit.

From one of the sub-tenants he bought the lease of a small estate at Chard, and left the manor-house, to live for the future in a more modest home.

In 1668 he married as his second wife a widow named Elizabeth Gale, and the same year the Chard Parish Registers record under the date of September :

"Nathaniel Whetham the elder, Gent[n].
Buryed the 16th day."

No tombstone remains to mark the spot where he lies.

By a will executed on September 8th, just before his death,[1] Colonel Whetham left one-third of his personal estate to Elizabeth his "now wife, in full satisfaction and discharge of all dowry," and the residue of all his

real and personal estate to be divided between his two surviving sons Nathaniel and Joseph.

It is commonly said that the families of the soldiers of the Commonwealth gained no permanent social advancement from their deeds. In the case of the descendants of Colonel Whetham this statement does not correspond with the facts.

His second son Joseph seems to have died without issue, but his elder son Nathaniel, who had married a

[1] Prerog. Court. Cant. 11, Coke.

daughter of Adrian Scrope, of Wormesley, County Oxon, left two sons, Thomas and John.[1]

Thomas, a lieutenant-general in the Army and colonel of the 12th regiment of foot, became Governor of Berwick and Holy Island, and in 1715 commanded the forces in Scotland in the absence of Argyll and Stair. He left a son John, who was the owner of Kirklington Hall and other property in the county of Nottingham. The estates passed to the descendants of his cousin John Whetham, Dean of Lismore, and remained in the family for about one hundred and fifty years.

Most of the descendants of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, from that day to this, have been soldiers. One of them, General Arthur Whetham, who was born in 1753 and died in 1813, was for a time Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth.

Although the lineal descendants of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham left the west of England soon after his death, other branches of his family remained in Somerset and Dorset. Nathaniel's brother, James Whetham of Trull, also purchased lands from the Parliamentary Commissioners. He left several sons who lived in Taunton and the neighbourhood. One of his grandsons joined Monmouth in 1685, and was duly hanged by Jeffreys.

But, as so often happened, the family seem to have been divided in the great quarrel of the seventeenth century. A manuscript muster-roll of the garrison of Portsmouth shows that Andrew Whetham, a young cousin of the late Governor, was serving in 1661

[1] Burke's *Landed Gentry*, editions 1840-1900.

"under the Comand of his Royall Highnes the Duke of Yorke."

Moreover, Colonel Whetham apparently was not on good terms with his brother Robert. The pedigree given on p. 3 must have been registered at the College of Arms during the interregnum, and we may safely assign it to information supplied by Colonel Whetham himself. While the children of Nathaniel, James, and John are entered therein, the bare name of Robert alone appears, though he was living at Drimpton, quite near his brother John at Broadwindsor, and was at the time the father of four children. His eldest son, Thomas, born in 1618, seems to have been absent from home during the years of the Civil War, and only reappears about 1649. Considering the usual cause of family estrangements at that time, we may perhaps surmise that Robert did not agree with the political views of Nathaniel and James, and that his son Thomas might have been found serving in one of the armies of King Charles the First.

Seal of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham
(Enlarged.)

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THE END

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