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No. LXII.

LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

BY REV. MICHAEL RUSSELL,

Author of "Egypt," "Palestine," "Nubia and Abyssinia," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

New-York:

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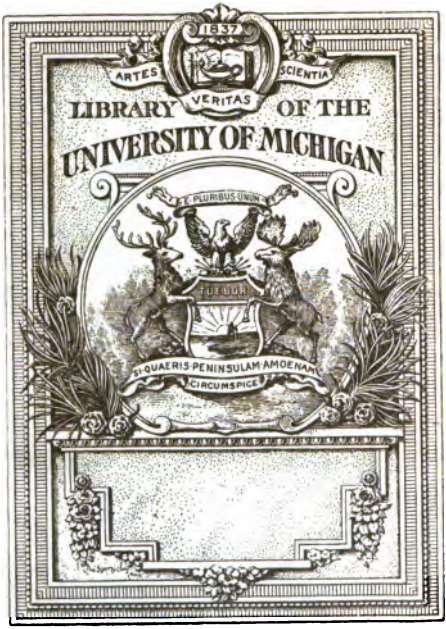
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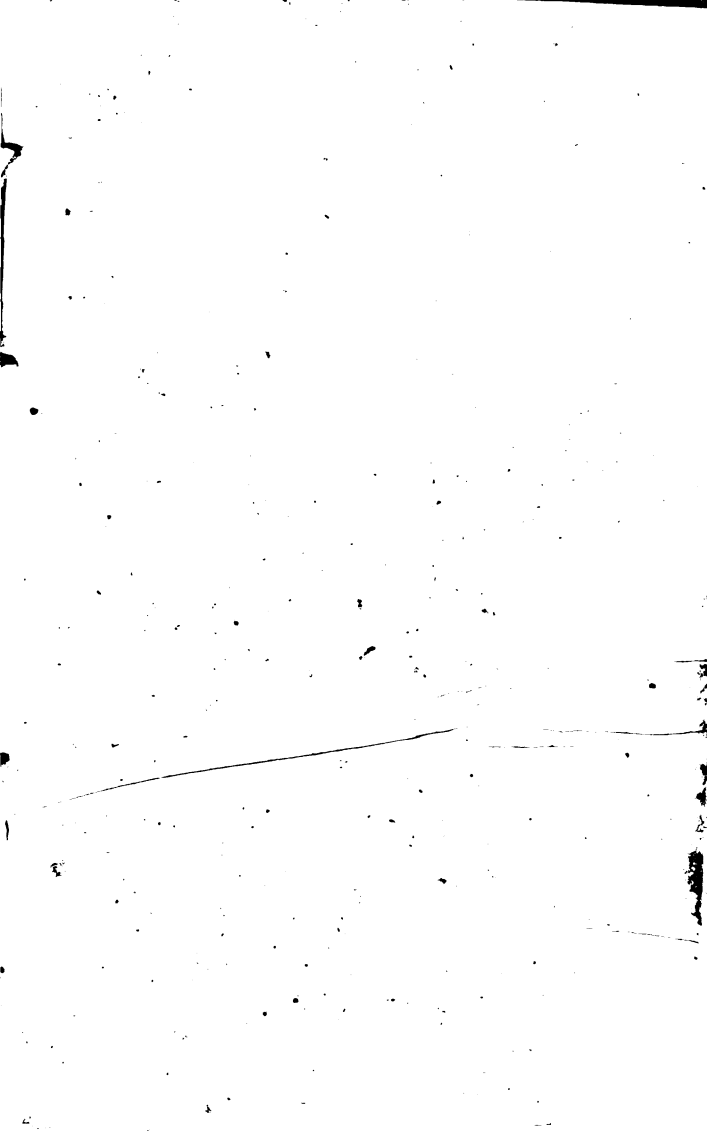

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59. James's *History of Charlemagne.* With a Portrait.
60. Russell's *History of Nubia and Abyssinia.*
61, 62. Russell's *Life of Oliver Cromwell.* With a Portrait.

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WALKER PT GIMBER S.T

OLIVER CROMWELL

ENGRAVED FOR HARPER'S FAMILY LIBRARY

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1823.

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LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

BY THE

REV. M. Michael RUSSELL, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF "A CONNEXION OF SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY," "HISTORY OF PALESTINE," "HISTORY OF EGYPT," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET,
AND SOLD BY THE BOOKSELLERS GENERALLY THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

1833.

PREFACE.

THE object of these volumes is to give a popular outline of the History of Oliver Cromwell, who, it is allowed on all hands, was, in many respects, the most extraordinary man that England has ever produced. Like all persons who from a low beginning have risen to elevated rank, he had ardent friends, and most violent enemies; and hence the record of his life, in most instances, has either been an undistinguishing eulogy or a furious invective. The personal and political animosity which sprang from the double struggle of the Civil War survived a long time the events which marked its progress; as a proof of which, we have only to mention the bitter hatred which was directed against the memory of Cromwell by the writers who espoused the royal cause immediately after the Restoration, and who continued to exercise a powerful influence over the public mind as long as the Stuart dynasty occupied the throne.

But in this as in all other instances where the triumph of faction is carried too far, or where the cause of truth is sacrificed to the interests of a party, a strong reaction took place, as soon as the bias was

removed which had perverted at once the judgment and the feelings of the people. The men of the Commonwealth were restored once more to public favour; the virtues of Hampden, and the patriotism of Pym, became again subjects of popular veneration; and the ablest writers were not ashamed to acknowledge, that even the Protector himself possessed many high qualities, both as a statesman and a soldier; that he increased or maintained the glory of his country; and that he wanted nothing to secure for him a place among the most illustrious of princes but a just title to exercise the power which he had seized with an armed hand.

In this case, as in the former, there was manifested a decided tendency to excess. The hypocrisy and dissimulation of Cromwell were forgotten, or represented as nothing more than that political caution which was altogether indispensable in the difficult circumstances wherein he administered the government. His ambition, even when it deviated the farthest from the path of sincerity and honour, was identified with that honest love of fame which warms every generous bosom; or if it was admitted to be in any respect questionable, it was vindicated as the justifiable feeling of self-defence, which compels a man to take out of the hand of an enemy the sword which he is sure would be used against himself. Again where it was not possible to throw upon his character the direct rays of approbation, an attempt was made to secure for it a favourable light, by darkening to the utmost degree the actions and motives of King Charles the First.

The contrast now stated will be fully illustrated by a perusal of the works of Clarendon, Heath, Bates, Dugdale, Hollis, Coke, and Slingsby Bethel, compared with those of Milton, Clement Walker, Winstanly, Sydenham, Dawbeny, the author of the Unparalleled Monarch, Gibson, May, and Ricraft. In later times there is a similar diversity in the conclusions, as to the character and policy of Cromwell which have been drawn by Hume and Echard, on the one hand, and Macaulay, Laing, Brodie, and Godwin, on the other. The last-named writer, indeed, combines in his own narrative the highest praise with the deepest condemnation,—representing Cromwell as the best and greatest of mankind, the most humane and generous of patriots, while he charges him with the rankest hypocrisy and deceit, and with the intention of subjugating his countrymen to a state of degradation and slavery.

There is an anonymous work deserving of some notice, entitled "A Short Critical Review of the Political Life of Oliver Cromwell." The titlepage professes that it was written by a "Gentleman of the Middle Temple;" but there is reason to believe that it proceeded from the pen of the learned Bishop Gibson, who was connected by marriage with the Cromwell family. The Biography of the Protector compiled by Dr. Harris is well known, and justly esteemed as a magazine of information collected from the best sources; but the plan which the author pursued, in imitation of Bayle, as it neglects entirely the order of events, exhausts at once the sagacity and patience of the reader. The in-

dustry of Mark Noble, too, has brought to light many interesting facts respecting the genealogy and descendants of Oliver; and as he never rested satisfied without an authentic reference, the various notices which he has imbodied in his book may be confidently received as materials of history. There are, besides, "Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, and of his Sons Richard and Henry," by a gentleman who boasts of having sprung from the Protectoral stock. Of this work, a mere compilation, nothing very flattering can be said; and it is in a great degree superseded by a more recent performance, "Oliver Cromwell and his Times," which is at once more judicious and more impartial.

It has been the study of the present author, while he availed himself of the labours of all his predecessors, to avoid the two extremes which have just been pointed out, and to give an unbiased view of Cromwell's conduct—in his early life; at his first entrance upon public business; in his achievements as a soldier; in his rise to political power; and, finally, in his government of the three kingdoms, which he was the first to conquer. His character throughout is made to depend upon his actions; and the reader, accordingly, is everywhere supplied with evidence by means of which he may at once form his own judgment, and also ascertain the accuracy of the opinions which have been propagated by others.

LEITH, *October* 12, 1829.

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LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

CHAPTER I.

Containing an Account of his Family, as also of his Habits and Domestic Pursuits until he entered upon his Military Career at the breaking out of the Civil War.

As Cromwell occupied no distinguished place in society till he was well advanced in life, his biographers have all along been deprived of the advantage of enlivening their narrative by a relation of those minor circumstances of education, early habits, and propensities on which the interest of personal history has its main dependence. Not being born in that high rank which holds out to all its members the means and inducements for future eminence, he found no one to record his progress through the several stages of childhood and youth; the incidents of which, in most cases, not only afford indications of individual temper and disposition, but also, not unfrequently, form the character of the mass of human beings, and determine the line of their most ardent pursuits. He was nearly forty years of age before he attracted any particular notice beyond the limits of his own family or neighbourhood; and when at length he appeared like the sun at noonday, and assumed a place in the eye of the world which secured for him a lasting celebrity, the occur-

rences of his early days were already forgotten, or only remembered by those who, in describing the path through which he had advanced to power, were too much disposed either to flatter or to condemn.

In writing the life of a man who owed every thing to his own abilities and good fortune, it may seem superfluous to occupy the attention of the reader with genealogical details. It is proper, however, to mention, that Oliver Cromwell belonged to a family which, several generations before his time, had attained to a considerable degree of wealth and reputation. The industry of Mr. Noble has discovered that the ancestor of the Protector, in the fourth remove, was Morgan Williams, or rather Morgan ap William, a Welsh gentleman of respectable property, whose father, William ap Yevan, held an honourable place in the household of Jasper Duke of Bedford, and even, it is said, in that of his nephew, King Henry the Seventh. Mr. Morgan Williams married a sister of Thomas Lord Cromwell, afterward Earl of Essex, through whose powerful interest at court he was enabled to lay the foundation of that opulence and rank which continued to throw lustre on his descendants during several subsequent reigns. His eldest son, under the auspices of the vicar-general, his uncle, rose rapidly into favour with Henry the Eighth, by whom he was elevated to the order of knighthood, and also enriched by the grant of some valuable estates, which, from time to time, fell to the disposal of the crown. An attempt on the part of the Roman Catholics, in the year 1536, to check the progress of the Reformation in some of the eastern counties, afforded to the king a pretext for demolishing, to a still greater extent than he had hitherto thought expedient, the various monastic establishments in that district of England, and for disposing of their revenues to his favourites and dependants. Among other lands bestowed upon Sir Richard, either as the reward of his military ser-

vices, or for a small payment in money, was the estate of Hinchinbrooke, in the county of Huntingdon, which thenceforth became the principal seat of the Cromwell family.

The distinguished person now mentioned assumed the surname of Cromwell, in compliance with a policy suggested by Henry the Eighth, who, with the intention of abolishing all distinction between the English and the Welsh, as well perhaps as for facilitating business in the courts of law, did all in his power to induce the latter people to adopt family names, and to relinquish entirely that more primitive mode of denoting lineal descent which the different branches of the Celtic race appear to have derived from their oriental progenitors. It would seem that Morgan ap William himself had so far accommodated his nomenclature to the new style, that he changed his address to Mr. Morgan Williams; but as this surname was still very recent, his majesty recommended to Sir Richard to use that of Cromwell, in honour of his relation, the Earl of Essex. Hence, as all the other sons of the Glamorganshire squire followed at the same time the example of their eldest brother, the family patronymic fell gradually into disuse; although we are informed that, in almost all their deeds and wills, the progeny of William ap Yevan signed themselves Cromwell *alias* Williams, down to the reign of James the First.

Sir Richard left his estates and honours, which appear to have suffered no diminution from the downfall of his powerful relative Lord Essex, to his eldest son, whose name was Henry. This gentleman was held in high esteem by Queen Elizabeth, who knighted him in the year 1563, and did him the further honour of becoming his guest, at his house of Hinchinbrooke, upon her return from visiting the university of Cambridge. He had six sons, named Oliver, Robert, Henry, Richard, Philip, and Ralph;

the second of whom was the father of the remarkable individual whose character and actions constitute the principal subject of the following narrative.

Mr. Robert Cromwell married the daughter of a gentleman resident in the city of Ely, whose name was Steward, a cadet, it is supposed, of a family of the same name, to whom belonged the lands and castle of Rosyth, in the county of Fife. According to Mr. Noble, he was called William Steward, and described as claiming an alliance to the royal house of Scotland. By other writers he is denominated Sir Richard, Sir Thomas, and even Sir Robert; a circumstance which proves nothing so distinctly as the obscurity into which his lineage had fallen before the fame of his grandson's exploits had awakened any curiosity respecting it in the public mind. Mrs. Cromwell had already been the wife of Mr. William Lynne, the son and heir of John Lynne, of Bassingbourne, and had spent about a year in widowhood, before she contracted her second matrimonial engagement.*

It is stated by the industrious author of the Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, that Robert, the second son of Sir Henry, inherited by the will of his father an estate in and near the town of Huntingdon, consisting chiefly of possessions which formerly belonged to the monastery of Augustine Friars, and amounting, with the great tithes of Hartford, to about three hundred pounds a year. It is added that he usually resided at Huntingdon, in a house which was either part of the old hospital of St. John, or was built upon the site, and out of the ruins of that establishment. But it seems that in

* Her first husband died in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral of Ely, as appears by this inscription:—"Hic inhumatus jacet optimæ spei Adolescens Gulielmus Lynne, Generosus, filius et hæres," &c. After which is mentioned the death of an infant daughter, and then is added:—"Posuit amoris ergo mœstissima illius conjux Elizabeth filia Gulielmi Steward de Ely Armigeri."—Noble vol. ii. p. 197, 198.

this particular the information received by Mr. Noble was not perfectly correct; and as the building in question was that in which Oliver first saw the light, the reader will be pleased with the following notice, conveyed to me by a gentleman who has recently inspected the edifice and adjacent grounds, as well as all the records which respect the family of Cromwell in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon. "That it was not out of the ruins of St. John's hospital that Mr. Robert Cromwell's mansion was erected, is manifest from the fact that the said institution is still existing and flourishing; and from its funds is supported the grammar-school of the town in which Oliver himself was educated. As Cromwell's ancestor Sir Richard obtained a rich dowry of the old abbey possessions from Henry the Eighth, it has been supposed that the house and lands of the Augustine Friars came into the family in this way. But it is stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, that they were granted to Thomas Andern on the suppression of the monasteries; and I ascertained from an inspection of the ancient wills, registered in the office of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, that the house was occupied as a brewery, by a Mr. Philip Clamp, before it came into the possession of Robert Cromwell, the Protector's father. The latter must, therefore, have obtained the property by purchase; and as his fortune was but small, we find that he continued to carry on the brewery formerly established on the premises. The house was built of stone, with gothic windows and projecting attics, and must have been one of the most considerable in the borough. It had extensive back premises, in which the brewery was carried on, and a fine garden. In the year 1810, the estate was purchased by James Rust, Esq., whose extensive improvements have entirely obliterated every trace of the Cromwell mansion. Previous to this date, the chamber in which Oliver was born, and the room under it, re-

mained as they were at the time when that event took place, and an outbuilding noticed by Noble, in which Cromwell was said to have held forth to the puritans, was pointed out to strangers."—"In the nave of St. Mary's Church, Huntingdon, the following notice is to be seen on one of the pillars:—

"Cromwell.
Turpin.
Bailiffs.
1600.

"The church was not built till 1620, and Robert Cromwell, the Protector's father, who must be the person here meant, died in 1617. The inscription was probably made by some curious person, after the name of Cromwell had 'gathered all its fame,' and drawn public attention and inquiry to the ancestors of the Protector."

Mr. Cromwell and his wife are described by a contemporary writer as persons of great worth, and as no way inclined to disaffection either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a small fortune with decency, and maintaining a large family by their frugal circumspection. Several authors of less candour and discernment are eager to disprove the fact, that the father of so great a man as the Lord Protector of three kingdoms could ever have derived any part of his income from trade. But it admits not of the slightest doubt, that Robert Cromwell bought an establishment which had been formerly used as a brewery, and it is only reasonable to infer that he meant to employ it for the same purpose. In reply to this conclusion, it is intimated that the business was managed entirely by his wife, who, by her skill and industry, not only provided funds to support her family in a respectable station, but even to supply her daughters with such fortunes as might recommend them to suitable

marriages. But were there any discredit connected with trade,—that source whence so many of our greatest families have derived their wealth and influence,—would the stain be lessened by removing the imputation from the one parent to the other? It is true, that the satire of royalist writers dwelt much upon the comparatively low origin of Cromwell, and contrasted the domestic scenes of his youth with the splendour which surrounded his latter days at Hampton Court and Whitehall; but his panegyrists inflict a more serious injury upon his parentage by denying facts which are attended with no dishonour, and by inducing their readers to believe that the idleness of his father compelled his mother to be a drudge. Oliver had no occasion to blush for his pedigree. His immediate progenitor served in parliament during the reign of Elizabeth, and occupied a seat upon the bench as a justice of the peace. The signature of Robert Cromwell is also found attached to a certificate addressed to the privy council, 1605, stating that the draining of the fens in Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge (a work which his son afterward resolutely opposed) was practicable, and might be accomplished "without peril to any haven or county." In recommending this great improvement he was joined by sixteen of the principal persons in the four counties, most immediately interested; among whom we find the name of Sir Oliver his brother, a patriotic and loyal character, to whose countenance he appears on various occasions to have been greatly indebted.

An allusion has already been made to the notion, which the Protectoral family is said to have cherished, of being descended by the female branch from the royal house of Stuart. The historian of that family, who left no source of information unexplored, has established on good grounds their right to the honour of which they boasted, although in their days it appears to have been received on the

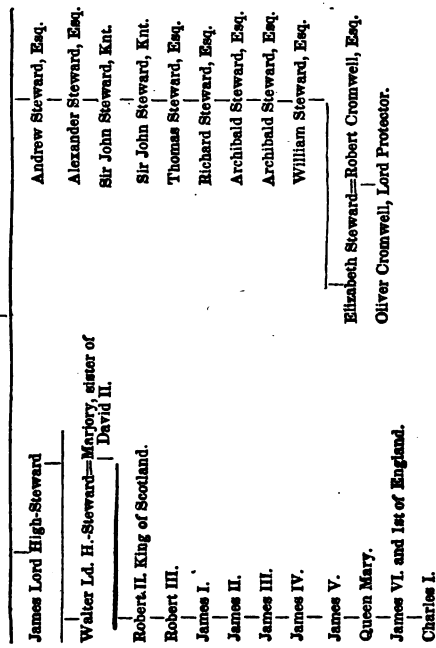
authority of a very obscure tradition. Lord Hailes, in his Annals, too, lends a strong confirmation to the same claim. He remarks, that at the fatal battle of Halidon, two Stuarts fought under the banner of their chief; the one *Alan* of Dreghorn, the paternal ancestor of Charles the First; and the other, *James* of Rosyth, the maternal ancestor of Oliver Cromwell.* Noble, who appears not to have been aware of this authority, traces the lineage somewhat higher; namely, to Alexander the Lord High Steward of Scotland, who had three sons, James, John, and Andrew. The first succeeded to the hereditary office held by his father, which he transmitted at his death to his son Walter; who, marrying Margery, the eldest daughter of King Robert Bruce, and heiress of her brother David, who died without issue, brought the Scottish crown into his family in the person of his son Robert the Second.

The next branch of Alexander's descendants, through his son John, flourished as Earls and Dukes of Lennox, and was ultimately ingrafted into the royal stem, by the ill-omened marriage of Lord Darnley with the unfortunate Mary.

But it is with the offspring of the third son that our inquiry is most intimately connected, as being the ancestor of Cromwell. Andrew Steward of Dundavale, according to the author of the Memoirs, had a grandson, who was appointed one of the attendants of James the First of Scotland, when this prince was sent into France to avoid the cruel jealousy of his uncle, the Duke of Albany; and being taken prisoner in company with his master by the English cruisers, he shared the captivity which Henry IV. thought proper to inflict upon the royal child. He ultimately consented to fix his residence in the south, and even to accept of knighthood from

* Vol. ii. p. 204. Ann. 1332.

the hand of his new sovereign. Hence he became the founder of the first family of Stewards which settled in England, and at the same time the progenitor of Elizabeth, the mother of our hero. The genealogical table is as follows:—*



From this deduction, it appears that Elizabeth Steward, the mother of Oliver Cromwell, and

* See Noble, vol. ii. p. 204, 2d edit.

Charles the First, were cousins in the eighth or ninth degree. The Protector was therefore entitled to say, "I was by birth a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation, and to serve in parliaments;" and he adds, with what truth will appear in the sequel, "I did endeavour to discharge the duties of an honest man in those services."*

This distinguished individual was born at Huntingdon, on the 25th of April, in the year 1599, and baptized four days after, in the parish church of St. John's; his uncle, Sir Oliver, for whom he was named, appearing in the capacity of godfather.† If we may trust to the gossip of his more ancient biographers, his childhood did not pass without many remarkable occurrences, which seemed to indicate that an uncommon fortune awaited his riper years. For example, they say that his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having sent for him when an infant in the nurse's arms, to Hinchinbrooke, a monkey took him from the cradle, and bolting from a window, ran with him upon the leads which covered part of the roof. Alarmed at the danger to which the young visiter was exposed, the family brought beds upon which to receive him, supposing that the creature would drop him from its paws; but, it is added, the sagacious animal, appreciating the value of its treasure, brought the "Fortune of England" down in safety, and replaced him in his bed. On another occasion he made a narrow escape from drowning. He was saved by Mr. Johnson, a clergyman, who, many years afterward, was recognised by Oliver when he was marching at the head of his soldiers through Huntingdon. He asked the aged and loyal

* Speech in Parl. 12th Sept. 1654.

† "Oliverus filius Roberti Cromwell, Gent. et Elizabethæ uxoris ejus, natus 25° die Aprilis, et baptizatus 29° ejusdem mensis, 1559. E Registro Ecclesiæ Paroch. Sti Johannis infra oppidum Huntingdon."

curate whether he did not remember having rescued him from an untimely death? "I do," replied the other, "but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you in arms against your king."* If we may believe the author of a work published the year after Cromwell's death, it will appear that the accidents which befell him were not confined to one element. He was, says Henry Dawbenny, on the point of being consumed by fire, and hence bore a great resemblance to Moses, who endured an equal peril from water. Had this foolish writer been acquainted with the occurrence to which the Protector himself alluded at Huntingdon, he would have formed a still closer parallel between the two personages whom it is the object of his book to compare and to celebrate. The title of his tract is, "History and Policy reviewed in the Heroic Transactions of His Most Serene Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector, from his cradle to his tomb, declaring his steps and princely perfections, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the ascents of the great patriarch Moses, in thirty degrees to the height of honour." In this parallel of thirty points between Cromwell and Moses the man of God, he alludes to one between "Elias and Dr. Luther, between Elisha and Calvin, and between Queen Elizabeth and Deborah, that great princess and prophetess."—"I cannot say," he admits, "that his late highness was extracted from so priestly a family, but altogether as princely, being lineally descended from the loins of our most ancient British kings, and tied in new alliances to the blood of our later kings; but in respect of hair-breadth escapes and miraculous exploits, the resemblance is equally particular and complete."

Another biographer, who yields not less to his fancy than the historian just named, informs his readers, that Oliver was a prodigy of learning at

* Dr. Lort's MSS. communicated to Noble by Mr. Audrey.

the university; that he was exceedingly admired by the bishops, and a great favourite with King James; that he travelled in foreign countries for the improvement of his manners; was remarkable for his gallantries at the court of France; obtained a flattering audience from Louis, and entered into the most endearing intimacy with Richlieu.* The love of truth will not permit any one who knows the early life of Cromwell to extol either the docility of his temper, or the literary triumphs of his genius. Being left alone of three sons, he became a great favourite with his mother, who, although a woman of excellent sense, appears to have indulged the idle disposition which is common to most boys, and to have protected him at home from the chastisement which was due to his faults. Dr. Beard, the schoolmaster of Huntingdon, was severe, and his pupil appears to have been at once playful and obstinate; and hence, the only memorial which has reached us of that early period represents the one flogging without mercy, and the other transgressing without remorse. Heath, who takes much pleasure in darkening the character of young Oliver, relates, that he was notorious for robbing of orchards, and incurred so much scandal by breaking of hedges and enclosures, that he drew upon himself the name of *Apple-dragon*. He adds, too, that he was "dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent country for eating and merchandizing of young pigeons," which he privately removed from the neighbouring dove-houses; whence he thinks himself entitled to insinuate, that in this juvenile plunder there was displayed the inherent tendency of that revolutionary spirit which afterward impelled him to attack royal castles, and even make a burglarious attempt to seize the crown itself.†

* La Vie d' Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti. Amsterdam, 1708.
† Flagellum, p. 5, 6

Every reader is acquainted with the two anecdotes, first, of the dream or vision which is said to have revealed to the future Protector the greatness that awaited him in his maturer life; and, secondly, of the dramatical entertainment, in which the boy is related to have shown some tokens of that vaulting ambition which was afterward laid to his charge by the patrons of the commonwealth. As to the former, we are assured, even by friendly annalists, that on one occasion, when lying in bed in a musing or melancholy frame of mind, a gigantic figure drew aside the curtains, and told him that he should be the greatest man in England, but did not mention the word king. Although he was told of the folly and wickedness of such a story, he persisted in the assertion that it was founded in truth, for which, at the particular desire of his father, he was flogged by Dr. Beard. Notwithstanding this harsh usage, he continued sometimes to relate the occurrence to his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, who told him that it was traitorous to entertain such thoughts. Heath says it was a dream, others maintain that it was an apparition; but Noble admits that "Cromwell mentioned it often when he was in the height of his glory." It is worthy of notice, too, that Lord Clarendon takes notice of this vision. During the deliberations which took place, when an offer of the crown was made to him, "they who were very near to him," remarks the noble historian, "said, that in this perplexity, he revolved his former dream or apparition, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, it had only declared that he should be the greatest man in England, and that he should be near to be king; which seemed to imply that he

should be only near, and never actually attain, the crown."

Whether the boy ever had such a dream or not, is a matter of no consequence in reviewing the history of a life so full of great events; but it is certainly remarkable, if "it was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation." As to the dramatical allusion to the sovereign power with which Cromwell was subsequently invested, "it happened," says Heath, "as was then the custom in all free schools, that a play called the *Five Senses* was to be acted by the scholars of this school, and Oliver Cromwell, as a confident youth, was named to act the part of *Tactus*, the sense of Feeling; in the personification of which, as he came out of the tyring room upon the stage, his head encircled with a chaplet of laurel, he stumbled at a crown purposely laid there, which, stooping down, he took up, and crowned himself therewithal, adding, beyond his cue, some majestical mighty words."

It is manifest that the stumbling upon the crown and royal robe is a part of the action to be performed by *Tactus*, while the soliloquy which follows, without any other "mighty majestical words," gives of itself sufficient expression to the sentiment of youthful ambition.

"Was ever man so *fortunate* as I,
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block?
Roses and bays, back hence; this crown and robe
My brows and body circle and invest.
How gallantly it fits me! sure the slave
Measured *my head* that wrought this coronet.
They lie who say complexions cannot change:
My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd
Unto the *sacred* temper of a KING.
Methinks I hear my noble parasites
Styling me Cæsar or Great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
This precious ointment,—how my pace is mended,—
How princely do I speak,—how sharp I threaten.

Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars,
Ye earth-bred worms!—O for a looking-glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of this change!
Where's my attendant? Come hither, sirrah, quickly,
Or by the wings of Hermes," &c.*

An ingenious attempt has been made to account for the dream, as originating in the excitement and lofty ideas produced by the dramatical performance. The story of the comedy being ascertained to rest on a credible foundation, the exhibition made on that occasion by Oliver, and the revelation of the spectre, which is supposed to have followed immediately afterward, may be connected together in the relation of cause and effect. To young Cromwell might be assigned, whether by his own choice or otherwise, the part of Tactus, or *Touch*. He is made to stumble upon a crown and robe, purposely laid in his way to entrap him; and as this is the incident on which the plot principally turns, it was not to be wondered at that it should lay some hold on the imagination of the youth who sustained it. *After* playing the chief character in such a scene, the wonderful dream (for a dream, if any thing, it must of course be considered) would have to the full as much resemblance to the dramatic incident as those fantasies of the wakeful brain are wont to have when, in our sleeping hours, they recall to us, by grotesque imagery, events of real life in which we have been engaged. Allowing this to be the most probable account of two trifling circumstances, of which so many and such various accounts have been given, it will be readily seen that their whole consequence arose, not from their being intrinsically remarkable,

* This drama was printed in 1617, and in that impression is said to have been first acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterward at the free grammar-school, Huntingdon. The plan of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and robe to be contested for by the Senses. Winstanley is mistaken in supposing Oliver to have acted the part of Tactus at Cambridge, which is contrary to the testimony of all other writers.—Noble, vol. I. p. 252.

but from their subsequent application to the rise and fortunes of Cromwell.*

A tradition is still current at Huntingdon of an accidental meeting between the son of the brewer and Charles the First, when children, and nearly of the same age, at Hinchinbrooke-house, the seat of his uncle Sir Oliver. This occurrence is said to have taken place in the year 1603, on occasion of the journey of Charles, then Duke of York, from Scotland to London; but it must have occurred, if at all, in September, 1604, to which period the coming of this young prince was deferred on account of indisposition. The story, however, derives support from the known fact, that the mansion of this singularly worthy and loyal knight was generally one of the resting-places of the royal family when on their journeys from the north to the English capital. In the former year, for instance, when James was on his way to take possession of his new kingdom, he paid a visit to Sir Oliver, and accepted of a splendid entertainment at his hands. But what fixed the attention of political prophets in the succeeding age was the memorable fact, that the two boys had not been long together before Charles and his companion disagreed; and as the former was then as weakly as the other was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitant was worsted. Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity that he made the royal blood flow in copious streams from the prince's nose. This, observes Mr. Noble, was looked upon as a bad presage for that king when the civil wars commenced.†

In the same mansion, at a somewhat later period, Cromwell displayed his love for boisterous mirth in a manner so little consistent with good taste and respect for his uncle, that he incurred by it the for-

* Oliver Cromwell and his Times, by Thomas Cromwell, p. 38; Noble, vol. i.

† Cromwell and his Times, p. 36.

feiture of the affection and kindness which had been, till then, lavished upon him by his good-natured relative. The reader will find the details in the following statement, by the author of the Memoirs, abridged from the narratives of Bates and Heath:—

"Sir Oliver was a worthy knight, loved hospitality, and always kept up old customs. Accordingly, at Christmas his doors were thrown open to all, who were not only feasted, but entertained with music, dancing, and the usual sports of the age and place. Among the relations and friends of Sir Oliver came his nephew and godson, by invitation, to partake of the festivity of one of those seasons: but he so far forgot himself that, to humour a depraved taste, he besmeared his clothes and gloves with the most nauseous filth, and accosts the Master of Misrule, in the frequent turnings of a frisking dance, as well as every other person that came in his way, so that the company could scarce bear the room from the intolerable smell. The Master of Misrule, discovering that our young Oliver was the offender, seized and ordered him to undergo a severe ducking in a pond adjoining to the house; Sir Oliver, his uncle, permitting the sentence to be carried into full execution, as a punishment for his dirty behaviour. Perhaps I ought to apologize for relating so filthy a tale; but, as this was the occasion of Oliver's losing his uncle's good opinion, I thought its particular relation could not be dispensed with."*

On the 23d of April, 1616, when he was within two days of completing his seventeenth year, Cromwell was entered of Sidney-Sussex college, in the university of Cambridge.† His genius, however, which was found little fitted for the calm and elegant

* Noble, vol. i. p. 98; Elenchi Mot. &c. pars prima; Heath, Flagellum, p. 12.

† A festo Annuntiationis, 1616. Oliverus Cromwell, Huntingdonien-

occupations of learning, did not receive much cultivation in that seat of the muses. Dugdale informs us that he threw himself into a dissolute and disorderly course of life, being more famous while there for football, cricket, cudgelling, and wrestling than for study; and being of a rough and blustering disposition, he acquired the name of Royster. The friends of the Protector have justly questioned the authority on which these statements are made, and have ascribed to the malignant spirit which pursued his memory after the epoch of the Restoration many similar calumnies, which, at such a distance of time, it was impossible for them to disprove. They have, on the other hand, endeavoured, with much less success, to establish his character as a man of learning, or at least as a patron of scientific pursuits, and a lover of the fine arts. But Cromwell has left no evidence that his mind was ever deeply smitten with an affection for the beauties of poetical or oratorical composition; and Milton, who knew him well, does not ascribe to him any high accomplishments in the way of literature. In his picture of a perfect statesman, drawn in the Second Panegyric presented to his warlike patron, the great bard relates that, in his combination of imaginary excellences, "to a nobility (which, because it is derived from others, is more used to be called theirs than our own) I added a *study of letters;* by which nature should be cultivated, the mind subdued and polished, and reason sharpened. Yet this, in a person taught for the commonwealth and trained for public affairs, I wished should be moderate. For as the art of managing

sis, admissus ad commeatum sociorum, Aprilis vicesimo tertio, tutore Magistro Ricardo Howlet. Regist. Coll. Sid.

(Between this entry and the next is crowded in, in a smaller hand or letter, the underwritten character.)

Hic fuit grandis ille impostor, carnifex perditissimus, qui, pientissimo rege Carolo I. nefaria cæde sublato, ipsum usurpavit thronum, et tria regna, per V. ferme annorum spatium, sub Protectoris nomine indomita tyrannide vexavit.

and governing a commonwealth is for the most part active and practical, it should rather consist of counsel and prudence than of knowledge and wisdom, which are speculative and theoretical. Wherefore it is necessary for him who is brought up to that art of ruling and commanding to be *tinged* indeed with a study of letters, which very seasonably inform and drive away ignorance and unskilfulness from him; yet not to be so deeply tutored as to comprehend them exactly and absolutely in every point. For, I know not by what means, this thorough knowledge of the sciences, when it sharpens the intellect, yet dulls the soul, and breaks its attention for ministering of public affairs. Perhaps because it wastes the spirits necessary for action, and by wasting consumes them, and therefore causes the mind which wants them to languish. Those studies of the wit and mind are tender things. They do not fancy the sun and the crowd: they delight in the shade and in retirement. Noise and business disturb them. They shrink up at the horrors of arms, and are even affrighted at the brawling of the forum. Like noble and delicate maidens, they must rather be kept safe at home, in free custody, than be brought forth into engagements and perils. Wherefore the most noble generals of former ages have so given themselves to be instructed by their preceptors as rather to adorn than profess those studies; and applied themselves just so much to them as should be enough to inform, but not altogether to drown their minds."

Had Cromwell possessed erudition, his panegyrist would infallibly have discovered that no man could successfully govern a commonwealth without it; and with that view would have adduced the examples of all the learned captains in ancient and modern times, from Pericles and Julius Cæsar, down to Frederick the Great. But Milton's object was to compliment his master upon his want of scholastic

acquirements, and to represent these as rather an encumbrance to a statesman, instead of a manifest advantage; an undertaking in which few authors could have acquitted themselves so well, although the task must have been accomplished at the expense both of sincerity and of inclination. Bishop Burnet assures us that Oliver "had no foreign language but the little Latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very viciously and scantily;" and if we were to form a judgment of his literary taste and habits from the specimens of his composition which have come down to our own times, we certainly should not rank his accomplishments above those of a respectable farmer or tradesman in either division of the British dominions.

It has not been ascertained how long he continued at the university; but as his father died in June, 1617, and left his family in no very affluent circumstances, it is probable that his residence did not exceed one-half of the usual period. His mother, it is said, wished to turn his attention to the study of law, and in pursuance of this object sent him to London, where he was to enter one of the inns of court. But it must be acknowledged that there is no part of his history more obscure than this; for while one author asserts that he neglected his reading, and learned only the follies and vices of the town, another maintains that he never was entered at any school of law whatever, and therefore could not be chargeable with the immoralities which are imputed to him during his supposed residence in the capital. A late writer remarks, that all the stories of his excesses while in the metropolis attending Lincoln's Inn must fall to the ground, because he was never there. The most diligent search has now been made, and his name is not found in its records; and Sir James Burrows also, in his Anecdotes and Observations relative to Cromwell and his Family, says that after the strictest investigation his name

has not been discovered in any register of that society.*

But notwithstanding this negative evidence, it still appears very probable that Cromwell was sent to London for the purpose already stated. "He came," says a professed panegyrist, "to Lincoln's Inn, where he associated himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenuous persons; for though he were of a nature not averse to study and contemplation, yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation, and the reading of men and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors." Now, when we reflect that this "portraiture of his Royal Highness Oliver" was published a few months after his death, and by a person who appears not only to have known him intimately, but also to have felt the obligation of devising an apology for his idleness while in town, we cannot refuse to admit that it is more probable the entry of his name may have been neglected, than that a contemporary author should have fallen into a mistake concerning a fact which must then have been so generally known. Wood relates, without any appearance of hesitation, that "his father dying while he was at Cambridge, he was taken home and sent to Lincoln's Inn to study the common law; but making nothing of it, he was sent for home by his mother, became a debauchee, and a boisterous and rude fellow."†

In short, all his biographers, with the exceptions already mentioned, assume his residence in London as an event that could not be disputed.‡ Noble, who upon the whole is friendly to his reputation, records that from the gay capital he returned a finished rake

* "The most probable solution of the difficulty is, that he actually became a student of law in the metropolis, but was entered at some other inn of court."—Cromwell and his Times, p. 41.

† Memoirs of the Protector, by Oliver Cromwell, p. 215. Ed. 1822.

‡ *Fasti*, vol. ii. c. 88.

to the place of his nativity, where, if we may believe his enemies, he followed his vicious courses. The taverns were the chief places of his resort; but his rash and boisterous behaviour prevented his equals from consorting with him, for he could ill brook contradiction at any time, and much less now, when he had not learned, or did not think it worth his while to practise, deceit. He was therefore obliged to take up with less creditable companions, who, if they did not fall into his sentiments, were sure to feel the weight of his arm, and receive a severe discipline from his usual weapon, a quarter-staff. It is laid to his charge, moreover, that he occasionally neglected to pay his reckoning, and, of course, very soon became unpopular among the ale-wives of Huntingdon. When they saw him in the street, they communicated the alarm from house to house, and immediately every door was shut against the noisy bully. The young women, too, who had reason to dread his lively manners, are said to have carefully avoided his approach. In short, Oliver, who had been what one of his historians calls an "unlucky boy," turned out a wild and rather dissipated youth, and thereby afforded some occasion to those who afterward smarted under his government to assail the purity of his juvenile character. "The first years of his manhood," says Sir Philip Warwick, no uncandid judge of his motives, "were spent in a dissolute course of life, in good fellowship, and gaming, which afterward he seemed very sensible of and sorrowful for; and, as if it had been a good spirit that had guided him therein, he used a good method upon his conversion, for he declared he was ready to make restitution unto any man who would accuse him, or whom he could accuse himself to have wronged. To his honour I speak this, for I think the public acknowledgments men make of the public evils they have done, to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them. When he

was thus civilized, he joined himself to men of his own temper, who pretended unto transports and revelations."*

The following letter, written by Cromwell to his relative Mrs. St. John, gives so faithful a picture of his early life, that though it is rather long, the reader will not grudge the space which it occupies, more especially as it has not heretofore been published entire. It is dated Ely, 13th of October, 1638, and is addressed in these terms.

"To my beloved cozen, Mrs. St. John, att Sir William Marham his house, called Oates, in Essex, present theise:

"Deare cozen, I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee upon this opportunitye. Alas, you do too highly prize my lines and my companie! I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am, and the meane improvement of my talent, yett to honour my God by declaringe what hee hath done for my soule, in this I am confident, and will be soe. Truly then this I finde, that hee giveth springes in a dry and barren wildernesse where no water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifies blacknesse: Yet the Lord forsaketh mee not. Though he doth prolonge, yett hee will (I trust) bring mee to his tabernacle, and his restinge-place. My soule is with the congregation of the first-borne; my bodye rests in hope; and if heere I may honour my God, either by doeinge or by sufferinge, I shal be most glad. Truely noe poore creture hath more cause to putt forth himself in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wadges before hand; and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept me in his

* Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I. p. 276.

Sonn, and give me to walk in the light, and give us to walk in the light as hee is in the light! He it is that enlighteneth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dare not say he hydeth his face from mee; hee giveth mee to see light in his light. One beame in a darke place hath exceeding much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shininge upon so dark a hart as mine. You know what my manner of life hath beene! O, I lived in and loved darknesse, and hated the light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true, I hated godlinesse; yet God had mercy on me. O, the richnesse of his mercy! praise him for mee; pray for mee, that hee whoe hath begunn a good work would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good friends in that family, whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for their love; I bless the Lord for them, and that my sonn by their procurement is so well. Lett him have your prayers, your councile; let mee have them. Salute your husband and sister from mee; hee is not a man of his word; he promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epinge, but as yett I received no letters; putt him in mind to doe what with conveniency may be donn for the poore cozen I did sollicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord be with you, soe prayeth your trulye loving cozen,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

"My wife's service and love presented to all her friends."

The advocates for the immaculate sanctity of Cromwell's youth insist that the expressions of self-abasement contained in the above letter imply nothing more than that general feeling of unworthiness which is inseparable from the principles of a true Christian. But it is obvious that in the retrospect which he takes of his past days, there is a comparison between the state in which he formerly

was, with that to which he had then attained. "You know what my manner of life hath been! O, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light: I was a chief, the chief of sinners." Hence there is an air of plausibility in the reasoning of those who believe that the aspersions cast upon his character by Heath, Dugdale, and others were not altogether without foundation. There are few persons, it has been well observed, who will become converts to the opinion that the passage just cited should be interpreted as merely conveying such a deep internal sense of past unworthiness as the most consistently moral character may be supposed to feel, and express in epistolary confidence to a friend. Cromwell here does more than convey to his cousin such a conviction as confined to himself; for his words express, not so much a description of his own feelings, as an appeal to Mrs. St. John's knowledge of what his manner of life had been; and therefore, from his allusion to offences which were known to this lady, we may infer that his aberrations from the path of virtue were no secret to the rest of his relations and acquaintance.* Nor is this conclusion rendered in any degree more doubtful by the great change which soon afterward took place in his views and habits. Nay, the strong language of abhorrence in which he describes the tenor of his early life, and the ardour of his sentiments in regard to the new path upon which he had entered, will be held by persons of experience as a presumptive proof, of no small weight, that Oliver had not been altogether a stranger to the deceits of intemperance.

But to the dispassionate and candid reader it will at once appear, that both the friends and the enemies of Cromwell lay more stress than enough upon the childish freaks and youthful sallies which the angry spirit of party has recorded against him.

* Cromwell and his Times, p. 62.

Admit all that is laid to his charge, and after weighing it in the ordinary balance of the world's estimation, it will not be found to exceed the irregularities to which many purer hearts than his would not hesitate to plead guilty. Suppose it were established beyond the challenge of the most resolute skepticism that Oliver occasionally abstracted a little fruit without asking the key of the orchard; that he was somewhat rude in his manner of saluting the girls of Huntingdon when he happened to meet them in the fields; and even that, when defeated in an argument over a pint of ale, he once or twice sought redress in the use of a ready fist or a cudgel, opposed, we must presume, to equal weapons on the part of his antagonists,—would the verdict justify us in pronouncing upon him a sentence of utter condemnation, or to brand him as the chief of sinners? Certainly not; and hence we cannot approve the waste of argument which has been employed on both sides of this question, to convince the world that Oliver Cromwell in his youth was not like most other men of the same age, and in the same class of society.

It would be doing injustice to Cromwell's memory, says Mr. Noble, not to mention, "that the worthy and curious Mr. Edward Ferrar of Huntingdon acquainted Sir James Burrows, about eighty years ago, that they had no traces in that neighbourhood of Oliver's having led a dissolute life; but really," he adds, "they are exceedingly ignorant of every thing respecting their great townsman!" We must, nevertheless, admit that this testimony, imperfect as it is, has a favourable bearing on the youthful reputation of the Protector; and where it is not contradicted by positive evidence, it ought to be received to its full extent. Had his irregularities been as frequent and notorious as they are described by Heath and other party-writers, it is more than probable that some distinct traces of them would

have remained in the place of his birth. His contemporaries, it is true, had but little interest in remembering him after the Restoration, when the great object with all classes seemed to be to forget him as speedily as possible; and local reminiscences, we all know, when they are not strengthened by associations of national fame or of popular regard, soon sink from the current of tradition.

About the time he completed his twenty-first year, he formed an alliance with Elizabeth the daughter of Sir James Bouchier of Essex, by whom he received a considerable accession to his income. At the same period, too, he is said to have regained the affections of his relatives, the Hampdens and Barringtons, as well as of his uncle Sir Oliver, all of whom he had alienated, more or less, by his thoughtless or undutiful conduct. He fixed his residence at Huntingdon, his native place; but in what manner he employed himself during the seven years which preceded his entrance into parliament cannot now be ascertained. It is clear, however, that he no sooner found himself at the head of a family, than he became very rigid in his manners, and devoted much of his time to religious duties. His house was ever open to such of the non-conformist ministers as could not conscientiously comply with the ritual of the established church. He encouraged them in their opposition, and aided them in their endeavours to obtain a relaxation of the laws by which they had bound themselves to observe the ceremonies and to use the liturgy of the national religion. Nor did he confine his exertions to the advancement of their cause in the regular courts of law, and by an appeal to the liberality of the bishop: he preached in support of their principles wherever he found a willing audience, and joined with them in public prayer, with a view of securing their ultimate success. By these means

he paved the way for the popularity which attached to his name at Huntingdon, and which, in due time, procured for him the honour of representing that borough in parliament.

It has just been admitted that it was impossible to ascertain what was the nature of his employment at Huntingdon from the period of his marriage till he was returned a member of the third parliament of Charles the First. The author of his Life and Times thinks it very probable that he adopted his father's business, and attempted to increase his income by employing the family brewery. "The satirical ballads of that day," he observes, "ridiculed him for having been a brewer, a liberty that scarcely would have been taken with him at a time when there were so many living who, from their own personal knowledge, must have been acquainted with his history, had there been no actual foundation for the lack of gentility which was thus intended to be imputed to him. And it appears to the writer, that a passage quoted from a panegyric, thought to have been composed by Milton, in support of the opinion that Cromwell never engaged in trade, would admit of a construction more consonant to the conclusion just advanced. The passage in question runs thus:— 'Being now arrived to a mature and ripe age, all which time he spent as a private person, noted for nothing so much as the culture of pure religion and an integrity of life, he was *grown rich* at home, and had enlarged his hopes, relying upon God and a great soul, in a quiet bosom, for any the most exalted times.' Now, does not the expression *grown* rich seem to imply the inference that it was by some trade or profession his property had thus increased; since to live without business, and at the same time to bring up a numerous family in a genteel way, could hardly have conduced to its accumulation?"*

* See Note A, at the end of the volume.

In domestic life he appears to have been very happy, for, although his lady was destitute of personal charms, and occasionally exhibited, it is said, some symptoms of family pride, she was prudent in the management of her household, and affectionate towards her husband. There remains but one letter written by her to Cromwell, when he was in Scotland at the head of the army, and as it is the only specimen of her epistolary talents which has been handed down to posterity, no apology can be necessary for inserting it at this stage of the narrative.

"December the 27th, 1650.

"My Dearist,

"I wonder you should blame me for writing nowe oftnir, when I have sent thre for one. I canenot but think they ar miscarid. Truly if I knog my one hart, I should ase soune neglect myself ase to —— the least thought towards you, hoe in doung of it I must doe it to myself; but when I doe writ, my dear, I seldom have any satisfactore anser, wich makse me think my writing is slited, as well it may; but I cannot but think your love coverse my weknisis and infirmetis. I should rejoice to hear your desire in seeing me, but I desire to submit to the providns of God, howping the Lord, howe hath seperated us, and hath oftune brought us together agane, wil in hies good time bring us agane to the prase of hies name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your abscince, deid not the Lord mak it up in heimself, which I must ackoleg to the prase of heis grace. I would you would think to writ sometims to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes, of hom I have oftune put you in mind; and truly, my deare, if you could think of what I put you in mind of sume, it might be of ase much purpos as others, writting sumetimes a letter to the Presedent, and sumetimes to the Speiker. Indeid, my deire, you cannot think the rong you doe

yourself in the whant of a letter, thugh it wer but seldome. I pray think of, and soe rest yours in all faithfulnise,

"ELIZ. CROMWELL."

Mr. Noble, with a feeling of great candour, admits against Cromwell an imputation of the most nefarious kind, namely, that having by his extravagance wasted his patrimony, he applied to his uncle Steward for assistance, when meeting with a refusal, and finding that by a smooth way of solicitation he could not prevail, he attempted by colour of law to deprive him of his estate; representing him as a person not able to manage it. With this view, he petitioned the king for a commission of lunacy; but his majesty, not being satisfied with the statement on which the claim was founded, did not think proper to grant it. It is added, that Sir Thomas was highly provoked at this unfeeling conduct on the part of his relation; but through the good offices of Oliver's mother, and the intercession of other friends, a reconciliation took place, and the property was in the end bequeathed to the impatient nephew.

This charge was first recorded by Sir William Dugdale, in his "Short View of the late Troubles," and has been repeated in later times by Dr. Harris and Mr. Noble. The author of the Memoirs of Cromwell treats it as a gratuitous calumny fabricated by his political adversaries, and sufficiently disproved by the undeniable fact, that Sir Thomas Steward ultimately made him his heir; taking it for granted that no one whose feelings were attacked in so rude a manner would have been induced, by any consideration, to act so generously. But, without supporting the credibility of a story which none but the Protector's worst enemies could wish to be true, it must not be forgotten that the uncle had no other heir to whom his estates could regularly descend; that his sister was unable to make more than a very

small provision for her son, who had now eight or nine children; and that there is no improbability in supposing that the entreaties of the widow and of Sir Oliver, her brother-in-law, might effect the reconciliation which they are said to have produced. At all events, as it is impossible at this distant day to exculpate the memory of Cromwell by the force of new evidence, his innocence or guilt in the present case must, it is clear, be determined by a reference to the general standard of his character at that period of his life.

It is surprising that so little attention has been paid to the following remarks by Archbishop Williams, pronounced at a meeting of the privy council in 1645. Speaking of Cromwell, his grace says, "I knew him at Buckden, but never knew his religion, being a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintaining their part with stubbornness. He never discoursed as if he were pleased with your majesty and your officers, and indeed he loves none that are more than his equals. *Your majesty did him but justice in refusing his petition against Sir Thomas Steward of the Isle of Ely;* but he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him undo his best friend; and above all that live, I think him the most mindful of an injury."*

It was in the year 1628 that he first appeared in the great council of the nation, as one of the members for the borough of Huntingdon. Mr. Noble narrates that he represented the same borough in the year 1625, being the first parliament of Charles; but this is obviously a mistake, as will appear from the following statement, supplied by the learned friend already alluded to. "A few years since there was a disputed election case in the borough, which was carried to a committee of the House, and it became necessary that authenticated copies of the

* Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams.

returns should be procured from the originals in the town. I examined these, and found that Cromwell sat only once for Huntingdon, namely, in the third parliament of Charles the First, as stated above. In the first parliament of that monarch, the former members, Sir Henry St. John and Sir Henry Mainwaring, were returned."

Cromwell has been blamed for some degree of acrimony against the church, when acting as one of the committee of religion. The parliament had taken offence at some injudicious sermons preached by Dr. Mainwaring, and condemned him to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to be suspended for three years, and to be declared incapable of future preferment. The learned divine, in compliance with the desire of the Commons and the judgment of the Peers, made a public submission, in which, among other things, he confessed that in the three sermons complained of there were dangerous passages, inferences, and scandalous expressions. Notwithstanding this, his majesty, prompted, it was thought, by Laud, at that time Bishop of Winchester, granted him a full pardon for all errors committed by him, either in speaking, writing, or printing, and for which he might be hereafter questioned; and in defiance of both Houses, presented him to the living of Stamford-Rivers, in Essex, which he was permitted to hold, with the parish of St. Giles in the Fields. Admitting that the committee of religion acted under legal authority, and that parliament had power to interfere in such matters, it follows that the members were justly entitled to express their indignation at a measure which obviously defeated the main object which they had meant to accomplish. Cromwell thought it his duty to "inform the House what countenance the Bishop of Winchester did give to some persons that preached flat popery, and mentioned the persons by name; and how, by this bishop's means, Mainwaring, who, by censure of last parliament, was disabled from

ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church, and had confessed the justice of that censure, is nevertheless preferred to a rich living. If these," says he, "are the steps to church preferment, what may we expect?" This anecdote, trivial as it may appear, shows at least the bias which his mind had taken, and the ground on which his opposition to government was thenceforth to be maintained.

Upon the dissolution of parliament, Cromwell returned to the duties or amusements of domestic life. In the year 1630, when a new charter was granted by the king to the corporation of Huntingdon, he was appointed a justice of the peace, in conjunction with his old schoolmaster Dr. Beard, and Robert Bernard, Esq., a proof that his hostility to the crown was either not known, or lightly regarded. But his native town did not now prove agreeable to him. Sir Oliver, his uncle, who lived in the neighbourhood, was decidedly loyal, and possessed sufficient influence over the townsmen to keep them steady to the royal cause; and hence he could expect no encouragement in pursuing the line of policy to which his views of duty or of interest had begun to invite him. It is said, too, that he bore with impatience the precedency assumed by Dr. Beard, whose academical rank entitled him to certain honours not granted to his ambitious pupil. The embarrassed state of his affairs, too, has been assigned as a reason for his desire to remove to a different part of the country. But, whatever truth there may be in this, there is no doubt that in the year 1631, he prevailed upon his mother, his wife, and his uncle, Sir Oliver, to concur with him in the sale of the lands and tithes which belonged to the family, in order that he might realize such a sum of money as would enable him to engage in some more profitable branch of business. The purchase was made by Richard Oatley and Richard Owen, who paid 1800*l.* for the lands, tenements, leases, and tithes belonging to the widow Cromwell and

her son, situated in Huntingdon, Godmanchester, and Brampton. Lord Sandwich, who now possesses the said property, informed Mr. Noble that, in the rental of the estates there is a small portion of land near Godmanchester still called Cromwell's Swath, and two acres in the manor of Brampton, which continued to bear the name of Cromwell's Acres—the only memorial of a local nature which remains to identify the residence and perpetuate the fame of one of the most remarkable persons that England has produced.

There is, indeed, still preserved at Huntingdon a document to which the Protector's signature is affixed. In 1630, a gentleman in the immediate vicinity of the town wished to buy from the burgesses a small piece of land which lay contiguous to his estate. The corporation and principal inhabitants consented to the transfer, but the lower class of the people raised an outcry against disposing of any part of their common property; when, to obviate this prejudice, the intending purchaser obtained the signatures of as many as were willing to sell the little portion of pasture-ground. The third name in the list is that of Cromwell, immediately after that of his old and stern preceptor Dr. Beard. This occurrence, perhaps, is of no great moment, but it shows that Oliver had not yet deserted the banners of the aristocracy.

With the money which he had raised by the sale of his property Cromwell stocked a farm near St. Ives, where he devoted his attention during four or five years to the pursuits of agriculture. His success, however, in this new undertaking appears not to have corresponded to the usual activity of his disposition; and, whatever may have been the cause of his failure, it is certain that his worldly affairs did not keep pace either with his reputation for piety, or with his influence among his neighbours. It has been surmised that he spent the greater part of his

time in devotional exercises and expositions of the Holy Scriptures. Instead of sending his servants into the fields at an early hour, he detained them at home, it was said, to listen to his enforcement of divine truth, or to his illustrations of the favourite doctrines which at that period began to take possession of the popular mind. In the evening he assembled them once more to hear a repetition of some lecture at which he had assisted in the course of the day; to relate the experiences of which it was expected that every good Christian preserved a minute record; and to compare the progress which they were severally making in the course of practical religion. Meantime the labours of the farm were neglected, and the affairs of the pious master were fast hastening to ruin. The cold and damp air, too, affected his constitution, while his mind became more and more a prey to the most gloomy apprehensions, the fruits of that epidemical fanaticism which was then spreading over both the British kingdoms. His appearance in the parish church was long remembered, from the circumstance that he generally wore a piece of red flannel around his neck, as he was subject to an inflammation in the throat, occasioned by excessive moisture and impure air.

There is probably much exaggeration in the above statement, not only because it is founded upon the representations of his enemies, but more especially because it betrays the most entire inconsistency with the general character of Cromwell, than whom none ever knew better how to accommodate means to ends. It is true he had not yet discovered an object suited to his genius, or calculated to rouse and interest the latent powers of his mind; and being ignorant of farming as a branch of rural industry, he might by his best efforts only involve himself in deeper embarrassments, and in more hopeless poverty. Be this as it may, his experiment at St. Ives is said to have had no other effect than to place him

on the brink of ruin, when by the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, he succeeded to a considerable property in the neighbourhood of Ely, which at once procured for him a more respectable station than he had hitherto occupied, and supplied him with the means of supporting his new rank. Mr. Noble informs us that a large barn which Cromwell built still goes by his name, and that the farmer who now rents the lands which he occupied marks his sheep with the identical irons which Oliver used, and which have upon them the letters O. C. In the town, too, there yet remains a more characteristic memorial of the Protector,—a number of swords possessed by various individuals, and bearing the initials of the warlike agriculturist, a part of the supply, it has been conjectured, that he sent down in the year 1642, and for which the House of Commons voted to him a hundred pounds.

It has been observed, that Cromwell, while he resided at St. Ives, continued to attend the established church; and there is evidence on record that he was occasionally intrusted with the civil business of the parish. But it is clear, at the same time, that he was not on good terms with the clergy. He exerted all the influence which he possessed for the encouragement of fanatical lecturers, both there and at Huntingdon; and it appears that he used the power with which he was invested as one of the committee of religion in the Long Parliament, to persecute the regular incumbents under the most frivolous pretences. The Rev. Henry Downett was vicar of St. Ives at the period in question, who, in the year 1642, was taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms, for refusing to admit a factious lecturer, and forthwith sequestered. Mr. Reynolds, the curate, was silenced by the same tyrannical authority, the exercise of which, on this occasion, has usually been attributed to the instigation of their late townsman, who, if he had been favourably disposed towards them. could

easily have prevented so severe a punisnment.* The industrious compiler of the Memoirs suspects, that by procuring complaints against them, he was the direct and immediate cause of the sufferings of these two orthodox and loyal divines. I am the more apt to believe this to be the case, says he, as Cromwell seems to have harboured revenge against such as had displeased him, and taken it when he became possessed of the means; for, in 1641, he, with his relation Mr. Valentine Walton, informed the parliament against a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, only for words which were pretended to be spoken by him, of high and dangerous consequence, for which the poor man suffered many hardships.†

Dr. Harris obtained from the trustees of the British Museum permission to copy the following letter from Cromwell to his very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dog, in the Royal Exchange, London. It is dated St. Ives, January 11, 1635, and throws so favourable a light on the religious motives of the author, that, as a contrast to the above statement, it ought not to be withheld:—

"Mr. Storie, among the catalogue of those good workes which your fellowe citycenes and our cuntrie men have doun, this will not be reckoned for the least that they have provided for the feedinge of soules: buildinge of hospittals provides for mens bodyes; to build materiall temples is judged a worke of pietye; but they that procure spirituall food, they that build up spirituall temples, they are the men trulye charitable, trulye pious. Such a work as this was your erectinge the lecture in our cuntrie, in the which you placed Dr. Welles, a man of goodnesse and industrie, and abilitie to do good every way: not short of any I know in England, and I am persuaded,

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.
† Noble, vol. i. p. 258.—Journals of the House of Commons.

that sithence his cominge, the Lord by him hath wrought much good amongst us. It only remains now, that he whoe first moved you to this put you forward to the continewance therof; it was the Lord, and, therefore, to him lift we up our harts that he would perfect itt. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thinge to see a lecture fall in the hands of soe manie able and godly men, as I am perswaded the founders of this are, in theise times wherin we see they are suppressed with too much hast and violence by the enemies of God his truth; far be it that so much guilt should sticke to your hands, who live in a citye so renowned for the clere shininge light of the gospell. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdrawe the pay is to lett fall the lecture, for whoe goeth a warefare on his own cost? I beseech you, therefore, in the bowells of Jesus Christ, putt it forward, and let the good man have his pay. The soules of God his children will bless you for it, and soe shall I; and ever rest, your lovinge servant in the Lord,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The estates to which the nephew of Sir Thomas Steward succeeded were certainly far from being inconsiderable, although they consisted rather of long leases and tithes held under the dean and chapter, than of any very extensive freehold or independent possession. It was in the year 1636 that he removed thither; and the auspices under which he commenced his new career promised to him ample and uninterrupted success. The clergy, willing, perhaps, to purchase his friendship, renewed the greater part of his leases for twenty-one years, and appointed him to several important trusts, as a freeman in the episcopal city. But Cromwell, stimulated by an ambition which rendered him discontented, and being, at the same time, the victim of extravagance or thoughtlessness in the management of his private affairs, could find no happiness in the peace-

ful retreat to which his good fortune had conducted him.

It was in the course of the following year that Oliver, despairing of his fortunes in England, or indignant at the tyranny which, according to his views, prevailed both in church and state, resolved to quit his native land, and accompany his cousin Hampden and other adventurers in a voyage to America. The settlements in the New World, which were fast increasing in population and wealth, presented a desirable asylum to those who thirsted for greater liberty than could at that time be enjoyed in the British islands. Lord Warwick had obtained a grant of the seacoast of New-England, extending from Naraganset River a hundred and twenty miles towards the south-west, which he assigned in 1631 to several noblemen and commoners, among whom were Nathaniel Rich, Pym, and John Hampden; forbidding all colonization along this particular tract, until his political friends should be supplied with lands. The government, actuated by that absurd policy which appeared in almost all its public deeds, meant to check the rising spirit of the people, issued a proclamation, prohibiting every one from leaving the country who had not obtained a royal license. This being found insufficient, an order in council was set forth, commanding the lord-treasurer "to take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships, then in the river of Thames, prepared to go to New-England, and for putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein intended for the voyage." In these vessels were embarked Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. It has been well observed, that the king had afterward full leisure to repent this exercise of his authority!

Disappointed in the relief which he had expected to find in a foreign land, he returned to Ely a prey to melancholy and the most violent fanaticism. Sir

Philip Warwick relates, on the authority of Dr. Simcott, who was Cromwell's physician, that "his patient was a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross which stood in the town, and that he had been called up to him at midnight and such unseasonable hours, very many times, upon a strong fancy which made him believe he was then dying." The letter already quoted, addressed to Mrs. St. John, was written at this period, and expresses the strong feeling of remorse and self-abasement with which he was then agitated. Nor were his views of the future more cheerful than his retrospect of the past. He brooded over the evils which his diseased imagination created, and saw no recovery for his affairs, spiritual or temporal, in the distant perspective which opened up before him.

His active mind, however, soon afterward found a more congenial employment, in opposing a measure patronised by the crown, and universally regarded as fraught with the greatest advantage both to the public and to the individual proprietors. A scheme had been projected for draining the extensive fens which in those days covered some of the finest plains in the counties of Lincoln, Cambridge, Northampton, and Huntingdon. The Earl of Bedford appears to have had the deepest interest in the undertaking, and to have incurred the largest share of expense; but as the work was of very great magnitude, the aid of the king was granted on certain conditions, which were at once favourable to the royal revenue and satisfactory to the other landholders. As no regular account of the transaction has been preserved, it is not easy to explain the grounds on which opposition was raised to this patriotic enterprise. It has been related that the peasantry, who had long enjoyed the privilege of *commoning* in those extensive wastes, expressed their dissatisfaction at the progress of the draining, by means of which they were about to be deprived of

so much profit and amusement. Various claims, too, were urged on the part of the smaller proprietors, whose fields bordered on the fens, which they imagined were not likely to be respected in the ultimate division of the reclaimed territory. A meeting was accordingly held at Huntingdon, in which Cromwell is understood to have inflamed the suspicions of the people, and encouraged them to persevere in their resistance to the king and the nobles, whom he represented as pursuing their own advantage at the expense of the public good. His opposition proved successful, and the plan, which had been to a considerable extent realized, was abandoned for several years.*

In the volume entitled "Oliver Cromwell and his Times" there is an attempt made to present this affair in a light considerably different, and much less creditable to the king. It is insinuated that his majesty, upon seeing the work nearly completed, wished to seize a large portion of the land for his own use, and to deprive the Earl of Bedford of ninety-five thousand acres, which had been set apart as a remuneration for his trouble and expense. But the reader will not find in any contemporary writer the slightest authority for this imputation upon the integrity of Charles. Sir Philip Warwick relates, that the nobleman just named, and the other principal gentlemen whose habitations bordered on the fens, "made propositions unto the king to issue out commissions of sewers to drain those lands, and offered a proportion freely to be given to the crown for its countenance and authority therein." He adds, that the commissioners appointed to hear the claims of the numerous persons who thought they had certain rights of commonage never could satisfy them, although they exerted themselves to the utmost. The vulgar grew clamorous against the lords and

* Warwick's Memoirs, p. 27

others who had joined the king in the undertaking, and the commissioners were withstood by the remonstrances and threatenings which everywhere met their ears. Hence the project was relinquished by all parties for the time; and Cromwell, who by his zeal and talent had gained an immense accession of popularity, was thereafter denominated "Lord of the Fens."

The occurrence now mentioned, although of a local and temporary interest, laid the foundation of Oliver's fortune, by paving the way for his return to parliament. The resolution, as well as the ability, which he had manifested in defeating the united power of the crown and of the principal landholders in the adjoining counties marked him out as a fit man for more important business. Hampden and others of his relations, who already anticipated that crisis in political affairs which soon afterward involved the country in the calamities of a civil war, discovered with much satisfaction that their kinsman possessed the very qualities which were most likely to be available in a contest between the king and the legislature. He proved himself to be a character of invincible determination and constancy wherever his passions were engaged, and an object worthy of his exertions occurred to call forth his strength. He was described by his cousin, the celebrated patriot now named, as one that "would sit well at the mark;" alluding to his perseverance, and the firm hold which he took of every occasion by means of which a friend might be served or an enemy discomfited. It has been said too, I know not well on what authority, that the citizens of Cambridge took an interest in the question which respected the rights and expediency implied in the measure which Cromwell opposed, and were therefore not inattentive to the part which this popular orator assumed in thwarting the views of the privileged classes. His success in canvassing for the seat which he

afterward held, as one of their representatives in the House of Commons, has been attributed to the zeal which he showed in protecting their interests in the marshy lands. At all events, it admits not of any doubt that the ability displayed by him against the royal commissioners at Huntingdon recommended him to that more momentous duty which he was soon afterward called upon to discharge at Westminster.*

The necessities of the king, and the disturbed state of affairs in Scotland, rendered necessary that meeting of parliament which, after a long interval, took place early in the year 1640. The reputation which Cromwell had acquired in Cambridge by his public spirit in the dispute respecting the fens, as well as by the display of his gifts in occasional preaching, had recommended him so effectually to the lower class of the burgesses, that, as has been already intimated, they elected him as one of their representatives. Heath tells a story, with the intention of inducing his readers to believe that the election was not accomplished without some degree of artifice, and that the future lord-general owed his return to a successful stratagem on the part of Timms, a member of the common council, who had been accustomed to walk on Sundays to the Isle of Ely to hear his religious addresses, and to be edified by the purity of his doctrine. It is more probable that he was indebted for the honour of a seat in parliament to the influence of Hampden, and to the rising fame of his own character as a decided enemy to the court and an advocate for popular rights. The only circumstance which throws any colour of probability on the narrative of the Flagellum is the subsequent elevation of Richard Timms himself; who, in the parliaments of 1654 and 1656, was nominated to represent the city of Cambridge by the authority of the Protector and his council of state.

* Cromwelliana, p. 2.

The pecuniary affairs of Cromwell at this important epoch of his history have been variously represented. The most probable conclusion is, that he still retained a portion of the funds which he had realized by the sale of his lands and tithes, when he resolved to expatriate himself and remove beyond the Atlantic. Dugdale, says that "being necessitatee by his low condition to quit a country-farm which he held at St. Ives, and betake himself to mean lodgings in Cambridge, the schismatical party there chose him a burgess for their corporation in that unhappy Long Parliament which began at Westminster upon the third of November, in the year one thousand six hundred and forty." This view of his condition is completely contradicted by the advances which he made in the beginning of the troubles to assist the funds of the parliamentary leaders. He contributed 500*l.* for raising a force to crush the rebellion in Ireland; he purchased a quantity of arms, to which allusion has been made, to send down to his native county; and he paid 100*l.* as the hire of certain wagons provided for the Earl of Manchester when about to put his army in motion against the king. We may therefore believe the author of a tract called the "Mystery of the good old Cause," who asserts that "there were letters of Cromwell to be seen in the hands of a person of quality, wherein he mentions his whole estate to amount to about 1300*l.*, which at that time (prior to the commencement of the civil war) he intended to lay out upon a purchase of drained fen-lands." The possession of such a sum might, it is clear, enable him to make all the disbursements above mentioned; and assuredly the extent of his benevolences at that critical moment demonstrates that he had resolved to identify his future fortunes with the issue of the great contest in which the nation was about to engage.

The description given of Cromwell at this period by Sir Philip Warwick, although familiar to most

readers, is so closely connected with the subject in hand that it cannot be omitted. "I have no mind," says the knight, "to give an ill character of him, for in his conversation to me he was ever friendly; though at the latter end of the day, finding me ever incorrigible, and having some inducements to suspect me a tamperer, he was sufficiently rigid. The first time that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor: his linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason; it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynn's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council Table unto that height that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill-will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real but usurped power—having had a better tailor and more converse among good company—in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at White-

hall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. Of him, therefore, I will say no more but that verily I believe he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another as successfully and greatly performed."

I have less pleasure in quoting the words of Dr. South, who is said to have been sufficiently complaisant to the Protector when in the plenitude of his power, but who, in a brief space after the Restoration, speaks of him as follows:—"Who that had beheld such a *bankrupt, beggarly fellow* as Cromwell first entering the parliament-house, with a *threadbare torn cloak and a greasy hat* (and perhaps neither of them paid for), could have suspected that in the course of so few years he should, by the murder of one king and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, be invested in the royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a king but the changing of his hat into a crown?"

The following anecdote confirms still farther the same view of Cromwell's appearance when he became a member of the celebrated republican legislature: Lord Digby, going down the parliament stairs with Mr. Hampden, and not knowing Oliver personally, said, "Pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man, for I see he is on our side, by his speaking so warmly to-day?"—"That sloven," said Mr. Hampden, prophetically, "whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, which God forbid! in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

No wise panegyrist of Cromwell will maintain that, in point of wealth, learning, eloquence, dress, or any external accomplishment, he could bear a comparison with the majority of the members even of the Long Parliament. The secret of his eleva-

tion, therefore, must be sought for in the exercise of talents which were entirely independent of those outward advantages which, in the first instance at least, conciliate attention, and bespeak a favourable hearing even in the most factious assembly. Fervour, zeal, and knowledge of the subject under debate command at length the most reluctant auditor, and confer the charm of oratory on a bare statement of facts. We find accordingly that he soon gained the respect of the House by the depth of his arguments, though delivered without grace, eloquence, or even clearness; and he gradually rose in the favour of the more discerning of the members by his penetration, his unwearied diligence, his courage, and perseverance. He accommodated himself to the dispositions of the leading persons of his own side; he studied carefully the views and temper of every one whose influence was likely to shape the determinations of his compatriots; and he availed himself equally of the strength and of the weakness of character which he found prevailing around him.

This chapter, which has been devoted to the domestic history of Cromwell, may be properly concluded with a short description of his person. He is said to have been in early life of a robust make and constitution, and his aspect manly, though clownish. At a later period, he became what Noble calls "rather a coarse-looking man." He had suffered much from the fatigues of a military life, from the anxiety which surrounded the high station to which he ultimately attained, and perhaps from the disappointments incident to an ambition which aspired to a still more lofty eminence. His countenance was usually weather-beaten, his complexion sallow, his features strongly marked, and his nose of a flaming red. In a volume entitled Butler's Remains, it is said that "Cromwell wants neither wardrobe nor armour; his face was naturally buff, and his skin may furnish you with a rusty coat-of-

mail; you would think he had been christened in a lime-pit, and tanned alive." There is much more abuse of this contemptible kind to be found in other royalist writers, who, when the government was restored, thought they could not supply too strong food to gratify the appetite for revenge which the severities of the protectorate had excited. It is not to be questioned, however, that his physiognomy must have presented a particular conformation. Clarendon says, "that he had something singular and ungracious in his look and appearance." And a lady, who records her recollections of him in the Annual Register, remarks, that when she saw him, his face was very pale, and his nose of a deep red.*

But, notwithstanding these disadvantages in point of look, manner, and expression, he left every other competitor far behind him in the race of fame and power. He rose to a rank higher than any subject in England had ever enjoyed, carried with him the approbation of a considerable portion of the people, commanded the applause of foreign nations, and has left a name which will in all future times continue to hold a distinguished place in the history of his country. It must, therefore, be a subject of interesting investigation to detail the origin of those causes which gradually produced that unwonted condition of things, the effects of which were experienced in the temporary downfall of monarchical

* His eyebrows, we are told, were large and shaggy, his countenance approaching to the circular, and the feature already so often mentioned attracted the attention of every beholder. When Major-general Massey was introduced to the presence-chamber at the Hague, after his escape from England, immediately after the violent death of Charles the First, the Marquis of Montrose, by way of drollery, asked him "how Oliver's nose did?" Clement Walker says, that when Cromwell ordered the soldiers to fire, in the insurrection of the London apprentices, "his nose looked as prodigiously upon you as a comet;" and speaking of the government making treason no treason, he adds, that should the House vote that "Oliver's nose is a ruby, they would expect you to swear it and fight for it." The reader who can derive amusement from this low wit will find some more extracts at the end of the volume, Note B.

government, a change in the form of religion, and the substitution of a polity, both in church and state, altogether unknown to the English people. A brief review of the leading principles and events which paved the way for the operations of the Long Parliament, and the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, will constitute the main subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Containing a short Account of the Political and Religious Principles which led to the Civil War in the reign of Charles the First.

Although no conclusions are more uncertain than those which rest upon the philosophy of history, it is nevertheless perfectly obvious that we shall read in vain the annals of the human race, unless we derive from them a deeper knowledge of the motives which influence man in his social relations, and of those more general principles upon which all government must have its ultimate support. It is the error of ignorant statesmen to account for the most important events by a reference to the particular circumstances in which they find themselves placed, instead of looking back to the progress of the opinions which had produced the crisis which they wish to regulate, or of endeavouring to detect the source of the evil which they are desirous to remedy. They are disposed to regard the movement before their eyes as the result of causes which had not operated before, and which are not likely to be called into action again; and hence they not only lose the most valuable lessons of practical wisdom, but voluntarily shut their eyes upon the path through which they might escape from all the

difficulties by which they feel themselves surrounded.

The history of a revolution, in particular, cannot fail to be instructive, because it usually proceeds from desires and passions which are openly avowed, and are in fact incapable of concealment. In this case the effect appears so closely combined with the cause, that the examination of the one immediately reveals the nature of the other: and although the varying circumstances of political life, in different ages and nations, necessarily give rise to peculiarities in the source and character of the innovations proposed, still a knowledge of the permanent principles of the human heart will prove a safe guide to him who has understanding enough to profit by experience. In tracing the natural history of the globe, our inquiries are impeded, not by the magnitude of the subject, nor by the length of time which has elapsed, nor even by the absence of phenomena similar to those to which, in the actual condition of the earth's surface, our geological conclusions must be restricted; but by the conviction that in the structure, as well as in the early convulsions to which our planet has been subjected, certain physical energies must have been employed which have long ceased to act, and which have only left effects sufficiently distinct to enable us to conjecture the amazing extent of their power. The agitations of the social and political world, on the contrary, bear a greater resemblance to the apparent aberration of astronomical bodies, which can be explained upon principles which are well known, and act with a regular and constant force in a determinate direction.

The British Revolution, which assumed a distinct form in the days of the first Charles, and was completed in the reign of James the Second, originated in causes which can be clearly traced to the period which witnessed the accession of the Tudors. The same great changes in the state of society which led

to the Reformation opened up the path in which the patriots of England advanced to the accomplishment of that not less important object, which was never long absent from their views during the century which preceded the invasion of William the Third. The increase of knowledge and of property among the commons was the main agent, which effected, by a gradual but irresistible operation, the improvement of the constitution, and the enlargement of civil liberty. At a still earlier period, indeed, the theory of government had attained to considerable perfection; for the spirit of the feudal system, under which the forms of political society were originally established in this country, was not inconsistent with the claims of personal freedom in all classes but the very lowest. In opposition to the weak and arbitrary administration of Henry the Third, authority was extorted from the crown to elect and return to parliament two knights for each shire, two citizens for each city, two burgesses for each borough, and two barons for each cinque port, to represent the commons, or community at large. The reigns of Edward the First and of his grandson were distinguished by some important accessions to popular privileges; and if we might judge of the extent of liberty which was enjoyed by the means and precautions which were used for its support, there would be no rashness in asserting that the frame of English law already imbodied the leading principles of a free constitution.

But however perfect the theoretical outline might appear, the administration of the government in a rude age must have admitted many exceptions to a complete security of either person or property. Amid the confusion of the frequent wars in which the country was engaged, and the turbulence of the more powerful barons, the voice of law could not be heard, so as to extend its protection to the lower orders of the people; and it was not until the successful pursuits of agricul-

ture and of commerce had raised the inhabitants of the maritime counties in the scale of wealth and intelligence, that the real benefits of the constitution began to be enjoyed. Such is the natural curiosity inherent in the human mind, that whenever men have the means of information placed within their reach, they are found to examine and compare; and from that moment the grosser corruptions of national policy can only be maintained by force, or by the dread of greater evils which would attend their instant removal. It is accordingly worthy of observation, that so early as the reign of Henry the Fifth, "the times were now come about when light began to spring forth, conscience to bestir itself, and men to study the Scriptures. This was imputed to the idleness and carelessness of the clergy, who suffered the minds of young scholars to luxuriate into errors of divinity, for want of putting them on to other learning, and gave no encouragement to studies of human learning, by preferring those that were deserving. The Convocation, taking this into consideration, do decree that no person shall exercise any jurisdiction in any office as vicar-general, commissary, or official, unless he shall first in the university have taken degrees in the CIVIL OR CANON LAWS. A shrewd trick this was to stop the growth of the study of divinity and WICKLIFFE'S way; and to embellish men's minds with a kind of learning that may gain them preferment, or at least an opinion of abilities beyond the common strain, and dangerous to be meddled with."*

Such expedients for perpetuating the reign of ignorance cannot be attended with much success, and will never be resorted to by those who have learned to read the "signs of the times." The devices of the clergy in the fifteenth century bore some re-

* Bacon's Discourses, part ii.

semblance to the narrow views of James and of his son Charles, who, when they found their subjects becoming more than usually serious, gave orders to republish the Book of Sports. In both cases we perceive a degree of practical wisdom equal to that of men who, to prolong the duration of night, should, at the dawn of day, desire the windows to be curtained and additional candles to be brought. More intelligent and vigilant rulers would, in either instance, have studied the indications of a new era about to open upon the theological and political world, and prepared themselves for the exertions to which they might be called, whether to obviate or to satisfy its claims.

But we must not permit ourselves to dilate upon the remoter causes of that memorable catastrophe, which deprived Charles of life, and raised Cromwell to supreme power. It may be sufficient to observe, that to the policy of Henry VII., who spent the greater part of his reign in studying how to depress the nobles and exalt the throne, may be ascribed those high notions of the kingly prerogative which his son and granddaughter reduced to practice, and which James the First made the subject of learned commentaries. The wars of the Roses had reduced many of the greater barons to poverty or embarrassment, while the increase of luxury inflamed them with the desire of living in a style of expense unknown to their more frugal ancestors. Henry, to gratify their humour, and accomplish his own purposes, permitted them to sell their estates, a privilege not attached to the charter by which they originally held their foeffs; and at the same time prohibited them from maintaining their wonted bands of armed followers. These two measures, indeed, the unrestricted allowance to dispose of their lands, and the interdiction of their numerous retainers, naturally accompanied each other, and the crafty king lived long enough to appreciate the effects of his contri-

vance in the degradation of many of his principal tenants, and in the increasing influence of that more active class, whose property consisted in money and mechanical skill. He saw the soil of his kingdom passing, year after year, into the hands of men who claimed no other privileges, and aspired to no higher consequence, than such as always belong to wealth in a free country; and he possessed art sufficient to transfer to the crown all the power and reverence which his titled vassals had consented to relinquish.

The eighth Henry, who was formed by nature to be a despot, mounted the throne with the determination to maintain all the ground which his father had gained. Lord Bacon informs us, that when this prince assumed the sceptre of England, "there was no such thing as any great and mighty subject who might any way eclipse or overshadow the imperial power." With this advantage on the side of regal authority, he brought with him to the administration of affairs a spirit of that firm and steady temper which was well fitted to break the edge of any rising opposition. Besides the confidence of youth, he was of a nature so elate and imperious, so resolved and fearless, that no resistance could succeed, and hardly any thought of it could be entertained against him. Sir Nicholas Bacon says, that he feared nothing *but the falling of the heavens*, and that though he was a man "underneath many passions, he was above all fear." Still it was long before he thought himself secure against the barons, the old enemies of the throne; and therefore he employed every method of artifice and rapine to sink them much lower than was consistent with the safety of the state. He did not consider the wise maxim repeated by Lord Verulam, that "depression of the nobility may make a king more absolute, but it will at the same time make him less safe;" on the contrary, he pursued the object bequeathed to him by his father, and laboured to establish the prerogative on the ruins

of the privileged orders. With this view, he followed the same example, in placing churchmen in all the offices of trust, and in encouraging to the utmost all branches of trade and commerce; preferring to owe whatever obligations he might be obliged to contract to the wealthy merchants, who flourished under his government, rather than to the haughty lords, who were ever wont to dispute the pretensions of majesty. His power, too, was greatly augmented by that decided step towards the Reformation which threw off the supremacy of Rome. From that moment the throne did not only rest on its own basis, as having no longer any dependence on the papal chair; it rose still higher than ever, for the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not thereby annihilated but transferred, and all the powers of the Roman pontiff now centered in the person of the king. The remainder of his reign shows that he was politic enough to make the best use of the advantages which the course of events had placed within his reach. The high authority in spirituals which he had gained enabled him to hold all men, who either feared or desired greater innovations, in the most entire dependence. In a word, every thing contributed to the advancement of the regal power. The amazing revolution to which his ungovernable passions gave rise was hailed by a majority of the nation as a deliverance from a galling and most invidious tyranny, and was therefore thought worthy of support, even at the expense of the greatest sacrifices. For this reason, the parliament went readily along with the king in all his measures; and, beyond the example of former times, was constantly obsequious to him, even in the most capricious and inconsistent acts of his government.

The despotism which Henry exercised, being in no small degree connected with the peculiar cast of his temper, was somewhat modified by the circumstances in which his son and two daughters admin-

istered the government. But the spirit with which he animated the body politic remained still unchanged. In the days of Elizabeth, the claims of the prerogative were as high, and the power of parliament as low, as during the reign of her imperious father. The main object of her people, for many years after she ascended the throne, was to secure the interests of Protestantism; and, to gain an end of such transcendent importance to their temporal and spiritual welfare, they were willing to postpone all considerations which respected merely the balance of power among the different orders of the state. Besides, there was so little harmony among the professors of religion, whether of the new form or the old, that the queen had nothing to fear from their combination; and as her life was threatened by fanatical individuals at home, and her country by bigoted sovereigns abroad, all the friends of the Reformation, however much they might disagree on minor points, united in their determination to defend her majesty, and to defeat the designs of the Roman Catholics. In truth, Elizabeth owed much of her strength to the conflicting opinions of her subjects on the great article of religious belief. The leading parties were more solicitous to obtain her countenance than to examine into the grounds of her political administration, or to call in question its consistency with the principles of their more ancient constitution; and hence it was that her reign exhibited to the public eye as many tokens of despotism as could have been collected from the deeds and proclamations of her two immediate ancestors.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the first of the Stuarts ascended the throne of England, he should have fallen into the mistake of supposing that he had succeeded to an absolute monarchy. James, it is obvious, might have maintained that his notions of the prerogative were those which he inherited with the crown; and that, whatever might be pre-

tended from researches into remoter times, his duty was to retain the sovereignty on the footing on which it had stood for several successions, and on which it actually stood when the administration fell into his hands. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Tudor princes, arrogant and despotic as they were, never ventured upon any extraordinary stretch of power, but with the concurrence of parliament. Even the jurisdiction of the star-chamber was confirmed by statute; the supremacy of the sovereign was established by the same authority; and, in a word, the most arbitrary proceedings on the part of the king were recommended to the nation, not as sanctioned by the inherent prerogative of the crown, but as emanating from the collected wisdom of parliament. Impetuous and self-willed as Henry the Eighth was, he had still so much respect for the ancient forms of business, that he induced or compelled the legislature to afford countenance to his most tyrannical measures. Nay, he extorted from the representatives of the people that most extraordinary of all concessions, that his proclamations should have the force of laws; a resolution which was imbodied in a regular statute, bearing date the thirty-first year of his reign.

Henry, and even Elizabeth, sought a cover for their attacks on the constitution, by acting in an apparent concert with the two houses of parliament. But nothing is more obvious, at the same time, than that the regal power was all the while exercised in so high and arbitrary a manner as gradually to destroy the belief that the people had a legitimate claim to the benefits of a free constitution. Even the language of the legislature itself, with the decrees of lawyers, and the doctrines of divines, ran decidedly in favour of an unlimited prerogative. The "crown had been declared supreme, and to have the chief government of all estates of this realm, and in all causes;" James, therefore, reasoning with perfect

accuracy upon the statutes and precedents with which the practice of a hundred years had supplied him, pronounced the King of England to be above all law; and even Elizabeth, who was not so much disposed to prate about abstract right, occasionally checked her parliaments by reminding them that it was not their part to meddle with what concerned the prerogative royal, and the high points of government.

The constitutional reader does not require to be told, that much of the high-sounding language applied to the English monarchy, after the Reformation, had a reference to the ancient claims of the popedom, which were now pronounced groundless and obsolete. The supremacy of the crown so frequently announced, respected not the power, occasionally assumed indeed, of enacting and dispensing with the laws of the land, but merely the independence of the kingdom with respect to all foreign states, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The divine right, too, or *jus divinum*, claimed for the hereditary sovereign of England, was urged in opposition to the Jesuits, who, to weaken the sentiment of allegiance to an heretical prince, taught everywhere throughout the nation, that regal authority had no spiritual sanction, but originated exclusively in the will of the people. The puritans, with very different views, coincided with the papists in the doctrine now mentioned; and hence, as the foundation of the throne seemed about to be shaken by the prevalence of an opinion so formidable to the peculiar interests of Elizabeth, the clergy of the establishment laboured to prove, that all regular power is of God, and that kings reign by his appointment, and as his vicegerents. From these causes, speculations on the source and nature of kingly government were very commonly pursued during the early years of James; and as he was at all times better fitted for adjusting the members of a syllogism than for the more active duties of his office, he indulged his imagination in theoretical despotism

and abstract tyranny, in both sections of his dominions.

The same monarch, too, while he disgusted the pride of the nobility, by a profuse and indiscriminate grant of the privileges possessed by their order, bullied the commons, whose power he was so little able to resist, that the many triumphs which they gained over his necessities, gave them the full knowledge of their weight and importance,—a knowledge which proved very fatal to his successor. It would have required more ability than James possessed to keep at bay the powerful factions which threatened the peace of his government, and to conceal from them the real weakness of the crown; but as his reign was never agitated by war, the patriots, who watched for an opportunity to check his pretensions, saw his days come to an end without any diminution of his darling prerogative.

Charles the First, it must now be seen, entered upon power at a very inauspicious moment. He inherited from his father a set of notions very unfit for a limited monarchy; and it unfortunately happened that the lessons bestowed upon him in the closet were illustrated and confirmed by the recent history of the country which he was called upon to govern. The rising spirit of liberty had gained much strength since the days of Henry, and had thrown off many of the encumbrances which impeded its progress in the four subsequent reigns. There was no longer any foreign enemy to dread; the principles of the Reformation were now fully established; and the more powerful parties at home had ceased to regard one another with that rancorous jealousy which marked the first steps of their dissension. The great body of the commons, too, were desirous to revive the original principles of the constitution, and thereby to place personal liberty and property on a more secure foundation than they had enjoyed from the death of Richard the Third.

It was therefore tacitly resolved to extort from the young king a relinquishment of the more offensive parts of the prerogative, in return for the supplies of money which they knew he would soon be compelled to solicit. Nor was their expectation on this head either ill-founded or long delayed. The war in which he was engaged against Spain threw him immediately upon the resources of parliament; the leaders of which, having concerted their plan of operations, made known, by the most unambiguous proceedings, their firm determination to restrict the power of the executive within much narrower limits than had been assumed by the family of Henry the Seventh. The tables of both Houses were accordingly loaded with complaints, petitions, and remonstrances. Committees were appointed to inquire into the manifold grievances which were poured in from all parts of the kingdom; and when Charles asked subsidies, the Commons answered his request by insinuations against his ministers, or by repeating in his ears the murmurs and suspicions of the people. In fact, as soon as the personal income of the sovereign ceased to be equal to his wants in time of war, and he was thereby obliged to apply to his people for aid, the principles of freedom derived support from the negative power of the popular representation. The princes of the Tudor race were supported, in a great measure, by the property of the plundered monasteries, and by the sale of crown lands. Elizabeth repeatedly availed herself of the latter expedient; and James, who in this as in other things followed only the worst part of the example with which that politic queen supplied him, exhausted almost entirely this temporary source of revenue, and left his son to the good-will of his subjects. Nor is it at all improbable, as has been suggested by several historians, that the prospect of rendering Charles dependent upon parliament for supplies led the popular members to engage him in

the Spanish war at the very commencement of his reign.

It was not to be expected that he could long remain on good terms with the members of a parliament who met only to strip him of his power, and to tantalize him with hopes which they meant not to gratify. Impelled by resentment and bad counsellors, he dissolved them again and again before they had time to enter upon public business, and sent them back to their constituents, whose dissatisfaction was not less than their own, to form new plans for accomplishing their object. The wants of his government drove him to expedients which, although not directly contrary either to the law or usages of the nation, had always been deemed in some degree arbitrary and oppressive. Resistance in some cases, and discontent in most, soon convinced him that it was impossible to conduct the affairs of the kingdom without the aid and concurrence of the legislature; for which reason, in the third year of his reign, he convoked the parliament in which Cromwell made his first appearance as one of the members for Huntingdon. In that session the famous Petition of Right passed into a law, by means of which the foundations of English freedom were again laid and amply secured —and could each party have reposed a firm confidence in the sincerity of the other, this triumph, gained by the cause of liberty, would have prevented all the calamities of the civil war. But the king, who made this great concession with reluctance, did not, it was alleged, respect the principles which were thereby established as the rules of his future conduct. The Commons, not without reason, complained of his evasions and delay in the ratification of the statute, and found no difficulty in inducing the nation to believe that he would prove still more faithless in observing its provisions. Disgusted with each other, his majesty prorogued parliament, and summoned it again in the course of a few months; when, finding

the popular members still obstinate and intractable, he finally dissolved their assembly in 1629; resolving to trust for supplies of money to those unconstitutional expedients, as they were now considered, which the practice of former sovereigns had placed within the limits of the prerogative.

Eleven years passed, during which Charles governed without the advice of the great national council. At length, in the beginning of 1640, he found it necessary to assemble both Houses, to crave their assistance in regard to the affairs of Scotland, and to enable him to raise an army for the defence of the borders. But at this period the king perceived that the pretensions which he had endeavoured to check had in the interval gained great additional strength, and that no pecuniary advances could be procured, except at the expense of his royal power. In a fit of impatience, he put an end to their sitting, and thereby avowedly placed at issue the prerogative of his crown and the privileges of his parliament. His best friends regretted this hasty step; for the majority of the members, although ardent in the cause of liberty, had not yet allowed themselves to entertain the idea of degrading the monarchy in the person of their sovereign, or of destroying the balance of the constitution by an undue extension of democratical influence. The necessities of his situation, however, compelled him, in the course of the same year, to summon again the representatives of the people; and, accordingly, on the third day of November, he assembled that celebrated body of men, whose proceedings, wise and temperate at first, were ultimately so much impelled by popular violence as to defeat the very object for which they had laboured, and to place under the feet of a military despotism the liberties and fortunes of their fellow-subjects.

The more special causes which diverted the affections of the great body of the people from Charles, and thereby accelerated the civil war, were:—

1. His marriage with a daughter of France, who, being a Roman Catholic, and having great influence over the mind of her husband, exposed him to the calumny of being inclined at heart to the popish superstition. It was one of the precepts inculcated by James, in his "Basilicon Doron," that the King of England should marry a princess of the same religion with himself; by which means, many fears would be allayed, and many disputes avoided. "Discrepancy in points of faith," said he, "produces discrepancy in all other matters; and the dissensions of your divines will create discord among the people, following the example derived from yourselves."* The train of priests and other spiritual dependants whom Henrietta Maria brought with her to the court of her husband gave great offence to the public; and hence we find the faithful Nicholas, in the year 1641, addressing his royal master in the following terms: "And for a farther assurance of your majesty's integrity in this Reformation, I humbly offer it to your majesty's consideration, whether it may not be necessary before the next meeting of parliament, to send away all the Capuchins, and dissolve their cloyster; for if your majesty do it not yourself, I am misinformed if the parliament fall not upon them when they come again together; and it would be much more for your majesty's honour, and more acceptable to your people, and, it may be, safer for the Capuchins, if in that particular your majesty prevented the parliament."†

2. The new views entertained of religion by the more zealous Protestants contributed not a little to bring Charles into difficulties, and to place him in opposition to the wishes of a large body of his people. It flows from the very nature of man, that when he

* Discrepans religio discrepantes semper mores secum introducit; et dissentio vestrorum theologorum discordiam etiam in populo gignit, dum a vobis ipsi exemplum sumunt.—P. 83.

† Evelyn, vol. v. p. 39.

has made a change in his maxims or principles, he should withdraw as far as possible from his former opinions, and even entertain a dislike for every thing which associates with them in his recollections. In uncultivated minds this aversion acquires double strength, because an ignorant person does not make the proper distinction between the things which are essential and those which are only subsidiary or concomitant. Hence, we find that the progress of the Reformation, in both divisions of the island, was attended with expressions of popular disgust and indignation against the old communion, which, when examined, will appear to have arisen, not so much from any perception of erroneous doctrine on the part of the Catholic divines, as from a certain horror of rich vestments, painted windows, and unnecessary genuflexions. Now, as some of the ancient ceremonies were retained in the reformed Church of England, as being not only decent and becoming, but also useful for directing the devotions of the congregation, the less instructed and the less liberal portion of the community thought themselves justified in exciting suspicions against the purity of the new religion, and in denouncing as popish every usage which was not entirely novel. The puritans, both in England and Scotland, withdrew their allegiance from the government, because the king would not reduce the church to their model; and, at length, the spirit of enthusiasm diffused itself to such an extent among all classes, as to disappoint the ordinary views of human prudence, and to disturb the operation of every motive which usually influences mankind. Nor was the zeal of Laud, the integrity of whose intentions none will have the boldness to question, well calculated to meet the dreadful emergency in which his duty called upon him to act. Succeeding a primate such as Abbot, who wanted either courage or principle to oppose the extravagances of the multitude, it was indeed next to im-

possible that he should at once restore the church and obtain popularity. But his conduct was so injudicious or so unfortunate, that he sacrificed both: he hastened the downfall of the establishment, increased the embarrassments of the monarch, and finally paid the penalty of his unseasonable ardour on a bloody scaffold. It was, in truth, the miserable fortune of Charles the First to suffer most from the hands of his friends; to see the best principles produce the worst results; and to derive from the devoted attachment of his adherents nothing but disappointment, perplexity, and grief.

3. The proximate cause of the troubles which imbittered the latter part of this monarch's reign was his conduct towards the people of Scotland. He incensed the nobility, by recalling the grants of ecclesiastical property, whereby many of them were enriched; he placed offices of trust in the hands of the clergy, whom they envied or despised; and he attempted an alteration in the ritual of the church, without having ascertained the sentiments of the officiating ministers. But his policy was still more erroneous when he attempted to step back from the position which he found he could no longer occupy with safety; for he then began to court his most inveterate enemies, whom it was impossible for him to gain, and to lavish titles upon others, who had neither patriotism nor gratitude. He confided in men, too, who studied their own interests and neglected those of their master; or who, at least, were always more ready to gratify private revenge than to promote the cause of the public. The Duke of Hamilton, there is little doubt, betrayed, through weakness or disaffection, the cause of the crown in Scotland; while the other noblemen, desirous to retain their share of the ecclesiastical plunder, thwarted in secret the most important of the measures which, in the eye of the world, they pretended to support. Charles conceded every thing to his

northern subjects, and was pleased to hear himself described as a "contented king among a contented people;" but he had scarcely crossed the Tweed on his return to the capital, when an army of Scots entered England, charged with an endless catalogue of complaints and demands. It is said that Lord Saville forged a letter, purporting that the English were desirous of a visit from their Scottish brethren; assuring them, at the same time, that the greatest part of the nobility and gentry would join them in soliciting a free parliament.* Be this as it may, we have high authority for asserting, that, notwithstanding the general change in the temper and manners of the times, as the English are a people not easily roused to action, it was a doubtful question, whether they would have broken so suddenly the "twofold cord of the law and gospel," if Charles had not quarrelled with the popular party in his native country. But this oversight or misfortune on the part of the king, afforded an opportunity of realizing those schemes of government which had long occupied their attention, and of organizing a plan of revolt, should their proposals be rejected.†

The treaty of Rippon, in which his majesty was assisted by his great council of peers, proclaimed to all the world that the dispute between the royal prerogative and the spirit of liberty must be finally decided by force of arms. The parliamentary leaders, who watched and fomented the disaffection which prevailed in the north, strengthened their interests in all quarters, and made secret preparations for the struggle which they could not fail to anticipate. Professing great apprehensions that Charles meant to delude them, they refused all terms of accommodation, but such as they knew he could not accept; while he, on the other hand, having denuded himself

* Wellwood's Memoirs, p. 80; Sir Edward Walker, 206.
† Marchmont Needham.

of some of the principal attributes of sovereign power, and seeing no end to the aggressions of the parliament, thought it wiser to prefer the fortune of war, than merely to retain the name of king, without either its dignity or command. After much fruitless negotiation, his majesty left London, where his presence was no longer respected by the favourers of the new system, and finally erected his standard at Nottingham, on the 25th day of August, in the year 1642.

I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the memorable parliament which waged war with this unfortunate monarch, as given by Clarendon and Milton, two contemporary writers, who possessed the best means of information. "In the House of Commons," says the former, "were many persons of wisdom and gravity, who, being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the court, had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection for the government established by law or ancient custom; and without doubt the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church and state; and therefore all inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them, by suggestions of the dangers which threatened all that was precious to the subject in their liberty and their property, by overthrowing or overmastering the law and subjecting it to an arbitrary power, and by countenancing popery to the subversion of the Protestant religion; and then by infusing terrible apprehensions into some, and so working upon their fears of being called in question for somewhat they had done, by which they would stand in need of their protection; and raising the hopes of others, that by concurring with them, they should be sure to obtain offices and honours, and every kind of preferment. Though there were too

many corrupted and misled by these several temptations, and others who needed no other temptation than from the fierceness of their own natures, and the malice they had contracted against the church and against the court; yet the number was not very great of those in whom the government of the rest was vested, nor were there many who had the absolute authority to lead, though there was a multitude disposed to follow."*

Milton's picture is not so flattering; but to account for the difference, let it be remembered that the delineation applies to two distinct periods. "The people, with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof a parliament such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition, rather than merit, had commended to the same place. But when the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted their new magistracy were cooled and spent in them, strait every one betook himself to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied; spite and favour determined all; hence faction; thence treachery both at home and in the field: everywhere wrong and oppression; foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained in secret or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, (as their breeding was) fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could soothe and humour them best; so he who would give most, or under covert of hypocritical zeal insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordi-

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 184.

nances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly; not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves. And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for their piety or knowledge above others left out, only as each member of parliament, in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the work was done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their parson-like profession, and especially of their boasted Reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms."*

As to Cromwell, with whom we are more immediately concerned, it is now extremely difficult to ascertain what were the precise views with which he entered into public life. But it is manifest that his conduct at that period was marked with a deep impression of gloom and restlessness, and above all by a rankling disaffection towards every person who moved in a sphere higher than his own, or who

* Milton's Prose Works, vol. i. p. 130, and Note C, at the end of this volume.

adopted measures which had not received his approbation. When admitted into parliament, he kept his eyes constantly fixed on subjects of complaint and matters of grievance; and without having devised any particular scheme of reform in church or state, he made no scruple to condemn all who had the management of political and ecclesiastical affairs. When asked on one occasion to express his sentiments on these important points, and to declare openly what changes he might deem expedient, he replied, "I can tell what I would *not* have, though I cannot tell what I *would* have." There is reason to apprehend that this description would have applied to more than half the members of the Lower House.

CHAPTER III.

Comprehending the Incidents which occurred from the meeting of the Long Parliament, in November 1640, *until the new-modelling of the Army, at the suggestion of Cromwell, in the year* 1644.

ALTHOUGH the abilities of Cromwell were better suited to the active duties of the field than to the deliberations of a legislative body, the figure which he made in parliament prior to the commencement of the civil war entitles him to a place among those patriots whose exertions imposed permanent and constitutional limits upon the royal prerogative. The zeal which he had already manifested in the cause of religion recommended him as a member of several committees, appointed from time to time by the House to inquire into the state of the church, and to devise means for its further reformation. He forthwith found himself among men not less inclined than he was to incur all the perils of innovation, on the chance that some advantages might accrue to

the public, or to their individual interests. The unfortunate dissolution in the preceding April had infused into their minds a deep sentiment of indignation, suspicion, and alarm; and they met in November, resolved not to separate until they had deprived the king both of the means and the power to resist or to punish their encroachments. "There was perceived," Lord Clarendon remarks, "a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members of parliament before they met together in the House; the same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, talked now in another dialect, both of things and persons. They used much sharp discourse, and said that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but also pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the tops and corners, that these might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties."

Among the friends of reform were several distinguished persons, such as Clarendon, Falkland, and Hollis, who had no wish to degrade the crown, nor even to diminish its authority farther than the security of a just and rational freedom absolutely required. But the time was now past when such concessions as formerly would have satisfied even the most ardent advocate for popular rights could be received as the basis of an agreement between the sovereign and his people. It was resolved to deprive him of the command of the military and naval forces of the kingdom, to deny him the privilege of appointing the great officers of state, to restrict his power in granting titles and conferring pardons; and, in a word, to reduce the prerogative to a mere sound, and the functions of royalty to an empty pageant. "Should I grant these demands," said Charles, in reply to the

propositions which were submitted to him, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; and the king's *authority signified by both Houses* may still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king. His towns," he added, "were taken from him, his ships, his army, his money; and nothing," he observed, "remained to him but a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God's blessing, he doubted not would recover all the rest."

These severe measures, which were prosecuted with so much resolution by the popular party, alienated from them many members of the Lower House, who were, upon the whole, friendly to the cause of national freedom. The trial and execution of Strafford indicated by no unambiguous tokens the fierce spirit which animated their counsels; and created fears among the more reflecting part of the community as to the ulterior designs of a body of men who seemed more desirous to punish past delinquencies than to provide against future attacks on the constitution. The debates excited by the discussion on the Remonstrance showed clearly that parliament was already much divided on the expediency of depressing the crown to a lower level, and of raising any higher a power less capable of control, and whose pretensions were still more likely to disturb the established principles of government. This famous deed recorded against the king all the unpopular acts of his reign, and omitted no topic which could affect the passions or prejudices of the people: and such an opinion had his enemies of their own strength, that they entertained the hope of seeing it

pass without any opposition. Cromwell, who took a very active part in recommending it to the House, remarked to Lord Falkland that the debate would be but a sorry one. But in this expectation he was very much deceived; for this discussion, the last which was resolutely maintained by the royal adherents in the House of Commons, continued from an early hour in the morning until after midnight, when the measure was carried by a small majority of nine or eleven voices. The members then fell into such a tumultuous dispute upon a proposition to print the Remonstrance, that they were with difficulty separated three hours afterward. "When they voted it," says Sir Philip Warwick, "I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab and Abner's young men, had catched at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden by a short speech prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate until the next morning." In leaving the House, Lord Falkland asked Cromwell whether there had not been a debate! To which he replied, "I will take your word another time," and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, that if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would next day have sold all that he had, and never have seen England more; adding, that he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution.

The violence which already appeared in the lower branch of the legislature was considerably inflamed by the practice, which now began to prevail, of presenting petitions to the House of Commons. Such addresses were copiously poured in from counties, cities, towns, and parishes. The various trades and corporations followed the same example. One by the porters professed to be signed by fifteen thousand individuals, all resolved to "live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament." The appren-

tices of London likewise presented a similar offering of their patriotism; and the beggars joined them in firm resolutions, laid on the table of either House, to protect the interests of property and of personal freedom. The women, too, were seized with the same rage, and appeared in thousands at the doors of parliament, loaded with petitions for instant reform in every department of the civil and ecclesiastical administration. The multitude, in fact, were trained to intimidate the friends of the king, and even to suggest to the legislature such steps as the popular leaders wished to see adopted. The petition of a very low class of persons demanded that justice might be executed upon offenders according to the amount of their crimes, and added, that "if such remedies were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named." The beggars, moreover, already mentioned, who stated that they represented thousands of their brethren, proposed, as an antidote for the public distress, that "those noble worthies of the House of Peers who concur with the happy votes of the Commons should separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body." The female petitioners, especially, were encouraged in their tumultuary proceedings; thanked by a deputation of the members for their seasonable zeal; and solicited to offer up prayers to God for the success of the measures which had thus obtained their approbation.

The war of the pen, in all the large towns, preceded the war of the sword. The adherents of the parliament distributed everywhere the most violent addresses; insinuating against the king very dangerous designs, and alarming the people with the increase of popery, and the arrival of foreign troops. His majesty, on the other hand, endeavoured to sooth the apprehensions of the public by assurances that he had no intention to invade their rights, or to resort again to unconstitutional measures, even for

the supply of his most urgent wants. But the representations of his enemies were more readily received and more extensively circulated among the lower orders, the majority of whom were already prepared to join the standard of the Commons whenever it should be displayed.

It is admitted, at the same time, even by the most zealous of the republican party, that throughout the whole nation the higher and better-informed classes were averse to the intemperate policy which the parliamentary leaders at that period thought proper to adopt. The kingdom was thus divided into two great bodies, the Roundheads and the Cavaliers, according as they avowed their attachment to the new principles of freedom, or to the interests of monarchy. The origin of the former term is thus explained by Mrs. Hutchinson, in her memoirs of her husband: "When puritanism grew into a faction, and the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words, which, had it been a real declension of vanity, and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had been most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking of those things when they were where they would be, showed that they either never took them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things which they durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habits, few of the puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peaks as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleveland, in his Hue-and-Cry after them, begins,—

'With hair in character and luggs in text,' &c.

"From this custom of wearing their hair, that name of Roundhead became the scornful term given

to the whole parliament party, whose army indeed marched out so; but, as if they had been sent out only till their hair was grown, two or three years after, any stranger that had seen them would have inquired the reason of that name. The godly party of those days, when he (Mr. Hutchinson) joined their party, would not allow him to be religious because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase, nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humour, who were many of them so weak as to esteem men rather for such insignificant circumstances, than for solid piety, wisdom, and courage."

But it must not be concealed that, associated with the extravagance and affectation which deformed a large portion of English society, there was much sound principle, virtue, and patriotism. On both sides we see many things worthy of admiration. On the one hand, a brave and intelligent people are about to take the field in the cause of liberty, upon which the recent practice of the government had unquestionably made some serious encroachments; and on the other, a generous nobility, supported by the great body of the minor barons of the kingdom, present themselves in the attitude of defending their sovereign against the fury of democratical ambition, which threatened to tread the crown and sceptre in the dust. If on either part there was an error, it arose from the undue intensity of a laudable motive. As in the physical constitution of the atmosphere the principles which compose the invisible fluid which ministers to life may, by a slight excess of one of the ingredients, be converted into a most virulent poison; so in the temper of the British people, at that important crisis, the infusion of an intemperate zeal for matters of inferior consequence precipitated the most virtuous nation in Europe into the miseries of a civil war.

It is somewhat remarkable that Oliver Cromwell

seems to have been the first who took steps to prepare for actual hostilities. Early in the year 1642 he sent down arms to his native county, and seized the royal magazine in the castle of Cambridge. Shortly afterward, upon hearing that the university meant to forward their plate to the king, he made haste to intercept it at the head of a body of horsemen whom he induced to place themselves under his command. Doubts have indeed been expressed as to his success on this occasion. In a tract denominated the *Querela Cantabrigiensis* it is said that "Master Cromwell, burgess for the town of Cambridge, and then newly turned a man of war, was sent down, as himself confessed, by his masters above, at the invitation of his masters below, to gather what strength he could, and stop all passages, that no plate might be sent; but his designs being frustrated, and his character as an active subtile man thereby somewhat shaken, he hath ever since bent himself to work what revenge and mischief he could against us. In pursuit whereof, before that month was expired, down he comes again in a terrible manner, with what forces he could draw together, and surrounds diverse colleges while we were at our devotion in our several chapels, taking away prisoners several doctors of divinity, heads of colleges, and these he carries with him to London in triumph." There is an entry in the journals of the House of Commons, dated 18th August, 1642, stating that a committee was appointed to prepare "an order for the indemnity of Mr. Cromwell and Mr. Walton, and those that have or shall assist them in the stoppage of the plate that was going from Cambridge to York." But there is an ambiguity even in the terms of this authentic notice which leaves the point undetermined; probability, however, leans to the opinion of those who think that part, at least, of the contribution of the university was actually seized by this sturdy partisan, and added to the treasures of the parliament.

It would appear, too, that he had suggested the expediency of training the inhabitants to military exercises, of associating the eastern counties for mutual defence, and of watching with unremitting vigilance the movements of the opposite party.

In the journals just quoted we find it ordered that "Mr. Cromwell do move the lord-lieutenant for the county of Cambridge to grant his deputation to some of the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town."

There is some obscurity, it must be owned, as to the date and the authority of his first commission, for he is found actively employed in the service of the parliament before the armies on either side were supplied with commanders. But no sooner was the royal standard erected, than he proceeded under a regular warrant to take a share in the fatigues and responsibility of the approaching war. He raised a troop of horse among his friends in the country, where he may be said to have exercised a sort of independent command for the security of the adjoining districts. His popularity and success soon brought to him a great accession of recruits, so that his troop gradually increased into a regiment amounting to a thousand men.

From the very first, Cromwell displayed some of the best qualities of a soldier and commanding officer. The materials, indeed, of his regiment were excellent, and wanted nothing to render them invincible but the discipline which their colonel delighted to enforce. Whitlocke informs us that most of the men were freeholders and freeholders' sons, who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel; and being thus well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately. Heath mentions a fact, in which he is supported by other writers, which shows that Cromwell did not consider that all men who are

actuated by good motives must necessarily prove heroes in the field. "Upon the first muster of his troop, having privily placed twelve resolute fellows in an ambuscade (it being near some of the king's garrisons), upon a signal at the appointed time the same ambush, with a trumpet sounding, galloped furiously towards the main body of their comrades, of whom some twenty instantly fled out of fear and dismay, and were glad the forfeiture was so cheap and easy." Ashamed of their childish and disgraceful conduct, they had not confidence to ask to be allowed the honour of remaining in the corps, or to hesitate resigning their horses to those who should fight the Lord's battle in their stead. Bates, in like manner, bears testimony to the care and ability with which Cromwell prepared his men for the duties of the field, and whereby he carried them on to that pitch of discipline which rendered them the praise of the whole army, and the dread of their foes. He used to look after them daily, and observed how they fed and dressed their horses; and that they might be qualified to endure the hardships incident to the cavalry service, he accustomed them to sleep on the ground, or to share the same bed with the animals upon which they were mounted.

Every one knows that in filling his ranks he preferred those enthusiastic spirits which were most susceptible of deep religious impressions, and who, in taking the sword, imagined that they had received a divine commission to draw it in the special cause of Heaven. But his own account of his first steps as a military man is more interesting than any that has been given by his biographers. "I was a person," says he, "that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a captain of a troop of horse; and I did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust, and God blessed me as it pleased him, and I did truly and plainly, and then, in a way

of foolish simplicity (as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too), desired to make use of my instruments to help me in this work; and I will deal plainly with you; I had a very good friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory was very grateful to you all,—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going into this engagement I saw their men were beaten at every hand; I did indeed, and I desired him that he would make some addition to my Lord Essex's army of some regiments, and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work: this is very true that I tell you; God knows that I lie not. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and, said I, their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? Truly I prescribed him in this manner conscientiously, and truly I did tell him, you must get men of a spirit, and, take it not ill what I say (I know you will not), of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still: I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do something in it, I did so, and truly I must needs say that to you (impute it to what you please), I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did: and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually."

The character given of the Cromwellian soldiers by Sir Philip Warwick corresponds in substance with that which has just been quoted from a better

authority. He asserts that they had all either naturally the fanatic humour, or soon imbibed it. "A herd of this sort of men being by him drawn together, he himself, like Mahomet, having transports of fancy, and withal a crafty understanding, knowing that natural principles, though not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of natural and politic ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of those persons; teaching them, as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God when he led them against the king: and where this opinion met with a natural courage, it made them the bolder, and too often the crueller; for it was such a sort of men as killed brave young Cavendish, and many others, after quarter given, in cold blood. And these men, habituated more to spiritual pride than carnal riot or intemperance, so consequently having been industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place: and at first they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger; and afterward finding the sweet of good pay and of opulent plunder and preferment, the lucrative part made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness."

The same author mentions that in a conversation which he had with Fairfax, the latter acknowledged that the best troops he had in his army were the volunteers from the king's garrisons which from time to time fell to the parliament; and added, "So I found you had made them good soldiers, and I have made them good men." One of Sir Philip's friends, a cavalier like himself, being annoyed with the praises which were constantly bestowed upon the sanctity of the parliamentary forces, as well as with the reproaches which were poured upon the moral defects of those who served under the royal banners, replied to the republican, "'Faith, thou sayest true; for in our

army we have the sins of men, but in yours you have those of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion."

It has been already remarked, that Cromwell, at a very early period in the war, appears to have been intrusted with the defence of the eastern counties, where his presence contributed not a little to keep the cavaliers in check, and to prevent all rising in behalf of the king. Besides his successes at Cambridge, where he secured at once a supply of arms and of treasure, he gained reputation to the cause of the parliament by seizing the person of the high-sheriff of Hertfordshire, when about to denounce both Houses and all their adherents as traitors. Sir Thomas Conesby had received a copy of the royal proclamation, by which the Earl of Essex and his insurgent army, with all who abetted or supported them in their unnatural rebellion, were to be exposed to the ban of the law, and was proceeding to St. Alban's to perform this official duty at the market-place, when, behold! Cromwell appeared at the head of his troop, took the learned knight a prisoner, and sent him off to London.

This service, more valuable for its local impression than for its effect on the progress of military events, was soon afterward followed by one of much greater importance. Having heard that some gentlemen of considerable rank and fortune in the county of Suffolk were to hold a meeting at Lowestoffe, with the view of promoting the royal interests in that quarter, Cromwell marched his regiment thither with the utmost despatch and secrecy; and so well had he concerted his plan, that, while the deliberations were still going on, and no suspicion entertained of an enemy being at hand, he entered the town, shut up all the avenues of escape, and made the principal persons who had assembled within its walls prisoners of war. In the number were Sir Thomas Barber, Sir John Pettus, and from twenty

to thirty others of quality and substance. He found, besides, a large stock of ammunition, and several engines of war,—"enough," says May, "to have served a considerable force. And certain it was," adds the same historian, "that if Cromwell had not surprised them in the nick of time, it had proved a matter of great danger to the country; for within one day after as many more knights and gentlemen that were listed before would have met at the same place."

An instance of Cromwell's impartiality has been recorded by the writer just named, which, as it admits of a varied construction, has by some been ascribed to a strict regard for public duty, while others have regarded it as a proof that in the heart of the republican captain there was a larger place for the feeling of revenge than for gratitude or family affection. Sir Oliver related to the author of the Memoirs of King Charles, that in the beginning of the troubles he received a visit from his nephew at the head of a strong party of horse; that the young man solicited his blessing, and could not be prevailed upon to keep on his hat in his presence; but, at the same time, he robbed the house of all the arms and plate which it contained.

It cannot have escaped the notice of the reader, that several of the exploits now described were performed by Cromwell before the king had erected his standard, and consequently before any offensive measures were adopted on the side of the royalists. That an appeal would be made to arms every reflecting person had distinctly perceived from the moment that the Remonstrance was printed for indiscriminate distribution among the people; and the general histories of the period have recorded that the parliament, immediately thereafter, supplied themselves with the means of opposing their sovereign in the field. No stronger proof could be adduced of the hostile intentions of the popular leaders than the

activity of Cromwell throughout the early part of the year 1642—a circumstance which has not had the weight assigned to it which it appears to merit, when appreciating the views and motives of the two great parties.

It was in the spring of 1643 that the associated counties were threatened by the Lord Capel, who intended to advance against Cambridge with a considerable body of horse and foot. But the vigilance of Oliver could not be deceived. He invited the principal gentry in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Hertford to a conference, where he urged upon them the propriety of uniting all the forces they could raise, in order to repulse the common enemy. "He entreated them to consider seriously how acceptable a service they should render to the king by keeping five whole counties in his obedience; and concluded by drawing their attention to the honours and other rewards which they might justly expect from his majesty in return for so signal a proof of their loyalty!" I have quoted the above notice from the *Mercurius Politicus* of the 10th of March, a journal which has at least the advantage of being contemporaneous. Nor is the credibility of the statement at all diminished by the appeal which Cromwell makes to the patriotism of his audience in the name of the king; for the insurgents, both in England and Scotland, continued throughout the war to profess the utmost reverence for the royal person and authority, and to defeat his armies, take his towns, and demolish his fortresses in order to advance his majesty's interests and honour. The writer of the paragraph fails not to observe the inconsistency with which those ardent friends of the constitution were chargeable; for he adds, "Such excellent arts have they to abuse the people, and make them think they doe good service to the king when they endeavour to destroy him."

The Solemn League and Covenant itself, agree-

ably to the language of its framers, had for its object not only the reformation of religion, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms, but also *the honour and happiness of the king*. The parliament, in this and other similar deeds, must be supposed to have proceeded on the legal fiction, that the sovereign had deserted his own cause, and was in fact contending against himself. They felt, that to render their conduct agreeable to the natural bias in favour of monarchical government it was necessary to separate the royal person from the royal office; and while they used their utmost efforts to subdue the one, to keep up an appearance of the deepest respect for the other. Cromwell, however, as if he regarded this distinction as too metaphysical for the comprehension of common soldiers, and as likely to have a bad effect upon their military conduct, is said to have told his troopers that "he would not cozen them by the perplexed expression in his commission, *to fight for king and parliament:* and that, therefore, if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as upon any private man; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him."*

On the 9th of September, 1642, the Earl of Essex, who had been appointed to the chief command of the parliamentary army, left London to begin the operations of the campaign. The king had previously led his troops towards the west, whither he was followed by the enemy, who, it was presumed, meant to fix his head-quarters at Worcester. Prince Rupert, who had received a commission from his royal uncle, was intrusted with a body of cavalry stationed in the neighbourhood of that city, where, on the 22d of the month just specified, he began the war by an attack on Colonel Sandys, who com-

* Cromwell and his Times, p. 138.

manded a flying party of horse sent out by Essex to obtain information. The advantage was on the side of the assailants, and, though trifling in itself, was hailed as a good omen by the victors, and had the effect of inspiring the adherents of the king with some degree of confidence. Soon afterward his majesty directed his march towards the capital, with the view either of bringing on an engagement, or of disconcerting the measures of parliament, whose greatest strength lay in the city. The two armies came in sight of each other near Keinton, a village in Warwickshire; and after examining the ground, and striving for the usual advantages of position the greater part of a day, the royalists, towards the evening of the 23d of October, advanced from their lines on Edgehill, and threw themselves with great fury upon their adversaries. The impetuosity of Rupert, who commanded the cavalry, disordered and put to flight at the first onset the whole left wing of his opponents, which he pursued with great slaughter for the space of two miles. A similar good-fortune attended the king in the other flank, where the parliamentary forces were likewise defeated and driven from the field. But the eagerness of pursuit, to which the nephew of Charles sacrificed all his victories, had nearly turned the fortune of the day against him. The reserve which Essex had placed under the direction of Sir William Balfour, an experienced soldier, took advantage of the defenceless state in which the royal infantry were left by the departure of the horse, and charged them with great resolution and steadiness. The Earl of Lindsey, who commanded under the king, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Sir Edmond Verney, who bore the royal standard, was killed, and the colours seized for a time by the enemy; and, in truth, before the prince and his victorious cavalry returned to the field, the fruits of their success were entirely destroyed. The battle was suspended, but

not finished: both armies kept possession of the ground on which the changing events of the day had placed them; and as neither felt inclined to renew a conflict which had already proved so bloody, the attack was not renewed by either party. Essex retired to Warwick, and the king to Banbury; each having lost between two and three thousand of their best troops.*

From the composition of his army, although the number of the slain was about equal, the loss was greater on the part of the king, because, as many of his followers were persons of rank, their place could not be so easily supplied as in the case of plebeian soldiers. He was surrounded by a guard of noblemen and gentlemen, who, with their servants, constituted two troops, amounting together to three hundred horsemen. The annual income of this patrician corps was estimated at more than 100,000*l.*, being equal to two-thirds of the rental of all the members of parliament who now conducted the affairs of the nation. Irritated at having been called in derision the Show Troop, those gallant cavaliers at Edgehill requested permission to advance in the first charge. This honour being conceded to them, they rushed into the engagement under the direction of Prince Rupert, who seldom failed to draw victory along with him wherever he displayed his banners; but their success was purchased at a considerable expense of life, while their absence from the king's person in the latter part of the action occasioned, in some measure, the unfavourable change which occurred in the fortune of the day.

No mention is made of Cromwell by any annalist who has narrated the incidents of Keinton Field. Lord Hollis, who professes to have written his Memoirs in 1648, maintains that he purposely abstained from taking any share in the battle, although he was

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 47; May, book iii. p. 16; Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 44.

in the immediate neighbourhood. "He with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; so that certainly he is not the man he is taken for."

But it must not be forgotten that his lordship entertained a great aversion to Cromwell, and was ever ready to believe the most unfavourable reports against the man who outwitted his party, and defeated the plans both of the monarchy and of the commonwealth. It will, however, be seen hereafter that Oliver was disposed on more occasions than one to reserve his strength until an opportunity occurred for distinguishing himself, and of giving a turn to the tide of victory; and hence arose the various insinuations against his personal courage in the field, which originated at Marston Moor, and which, in a greater or less degree, have adhered to his memory ever since.

Early in the following year, after the failure of the treaty at Oxford, the war was renewed with much vigour on both sides. The Earl of Newcastle, who commanded for the king in the north, gained an advantage over Sir Thomas Fairfax at Atherton Moor, and was thereby enabled to threaten Hull, or to prevail upon the Hothams, the governors, to deliver it up into his hands. Mrs. Hutchinson relates, that on this emergency her husband and Cromwell performed an essential service to the parliament. "At that time," says she, "they, being equally zealous for the public welfare, advised together to seek a remedy, and despatched away a post on foot to London, who had no greater joy in the world than such employments as tended to the displacing of great persons, whether they deserved it or not; him

they sent away immediately to inform the parliament of Hotham's carriages, and the strong presumption they had of his treachery, and the ill-management of their forces. This they two did without the privity of any of the other gentlemen or commanders, some of whom were little less suspected themselves, and others, as my Lord Grey, through credulous good-nature, too great a favourer of Hotham. The messenger was very diligent in his charge, and returned as soon as it was possible with a commitment of Hotham, who accordingly was then made prisoner in Nottingham Castle, and Sir John Meldrum was sent down to be commander-in-chief of all those united forces. When they marched away, a troop of my Lord Grey's, having the charge of guarding Hotham towards London, suffered him to escape, and thereby put the town of Hull into a great hazard, but that the father and son were there unexpectedly surprised, and sent up prisoners to London, where they were, after some time, executed."

The inference which the lady draws from that occurrence is somewhat amusing, although it has probably no other foundation than her own fancy. "Those who knew the opinion Cromwell after had of Mr. Hutchinson believed he registered this business in his mind as long as he lived, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment when he deserved it!"

Meanwhile the determined horsemen whom Colonel Cromwell had trained with so much care began to make an impression on the royalists, whether in the field or in the blockade of fortified places. In a skirmish near Grantham he defeated, at the head of these select troops, a body of cavalry more than double their number; of which success he gives a graphic account in the following letter:—

"Sir,

"God hath given us this evening a glorious victory over our enemies. They were, as we are informed, one-and-twenty colours of horse troops, and three or four of dragoons. It was late in the evening when we drew out. They came and faced us within two miles of the town. So soon as we heard the alarm we drew out our forces, consisting of about twelve troops, whereof some of them were so poor and broken that you shall seldom see worse. With this handful it pleased God to cast the scale; for after we had stood a little above musket-shot, the one body from the other, and the dragooners having fired on both sides for the space of half an hour or more, they not advancing towards us, we agreed to charge them; and advancing the body, after many shots on both sides, come with our troops at a pretty round trot, they standing firm to receive us, and our men charging fiercely upon them, they were immediately routed and ran all away, and we had the execution of them two or three miles. I believe some of our soldiers did kill two or three men apiece. We have also gotten some of their officers and some of their colours; but what the number of dead is, or what the prisoners, for the present we have not time to inquire into.

"Oliver Cromwell."

Towards the close of June, 1643, he gained much honour by the relief of the town of Gainsborough, which was menaced by the Marquis of Newcastle. Lord Willoughby had taken it by storm, and garrisoned it with parliamentary soldiers; but not having a sufficient force, he was about to retire before the victors of Atherton Moor, when Cromwell, interposing his regiment between the town and Newcastle's advanced guard, attacked the first division of the royalists, slew their commander, the brother of

the marquis, and checked for a time the advance of the main body. Ludlow, who had the best means of information, relates that when Oliver heard of the movement on the part of Lieutenant-general Cavendish he resolved to attempt the relief of Gainsborough; and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, amounting to more than thrice his number, drawn up near the town. He had no way of attacking them but by passing through a gate and charging up-hill; notwithstanding, he resolved to fall upon them, and, after some resistance, threw them into confusion, killed a number of their officers, and among others the lieutenant-general. It is said that Cromwell's men gave no quarter, but that, driving the fugitives into a bog, they butchered them without mercy, not excepting the officers of highest rank. It is to this fact that Sir Philip Warwick alludes when he ascribes the cruelty of the Huntingdon troopers to the morose spirit which they had imbibed with their religious principles. Leaving an imputation so discreditable to be received or rejected according to the value of the authority on which it has reached our times, we may proceed to observe that the conquerors had little time for rejoicing; for the main body of the royalists, hearing of the loss which had been sustained, pushed on rapidly to avenge it in the blood of the insurgents. Cromwell retired first to Lincoln and afterward to Boston, in order that he might join the Earl of Manchester, whose army he was appointed to reinforce, and to exercise the duties of the second in command under that nobleman.

Besides the accession of this valuable body of cavalry, the earl received a detachment of a similar force under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax; after which his muster-roll contained about six thousand foot and thirty-seven troops of horse. To prevent any further additions to his army, the Marquis

of Newcastle advanced towards Boston, prepared to give battle. With this view he despatched a large body of dragoons and regular horse, supposed to amount to eighty-seven troops, under the charge of Sir John Henderson, an old soldier, who longed to measure his sword with Cromwell. Hearing that the latter had formed his line at a place called Winsby-field, near Horncastle, he hastened the march of his squadrons, that he might attack him before the earl could bring up the infantry to his assistance. But the success of the royalist general was not equal to his zeal. Oliver, after announcing the watch-word, "Truth and Peace," gave out a psalm, which was loudly sung by his officers and men as they advanced to receive the charge of their enemies. After sustaining the fire of their whole line, which did little execution, the parliament cavalry put their horses to the full speed, in order to throw themselves upon the advancing column. But ere they could come into contact the royalists saluted them with another volley, which brought Cromwell's charger to the ground, and checked the rapidity of his manœuvre. Scarcely had he risen from the earth when he was again struck down by a powerful hand, and lay for a moment among the slain. Recovering himself once more, he mounted a horse belonging to one of his men, prosecuted the combat with increased spirit, and finally gained so complete a victory that the enemy did not stop their flight until they had reached the neighbourhood of Lincoln, a distance of about fourteen miles. This success was the more important, inasmuch as the king's troops, having enjoyed a long season of prosperity, had begun to despise the parliamentarians; and from this epoch the light of a better fortune dawned upon the cause of the latter, and conducted them at length to still more brilliant issues.

The activity of Newcastle roused the Earl of Essex from his camp near Reading, and induced him to

march towards Oxford. He fixed his head-quarters at Thame, ten miles from that city; but the great body of his army, which had suffered much from sickness, lay dispersed at a considerable distance from their general. Intelligence of this being received by Prince Rupert, he immediately planned a night expedition, in which, making a circuit round the main strength of the enemy, he fell upon two regiments quartered at Wycombe, about thirty miles from London, which he cut to pieces or made prisoners. Essex, enraged at this loss, which reflected upon his vigilance, instantly set out with a force sufficient to intercept the prince in his return. The parties encountered each other at Chalgrave; a skirmish took place, which was attended with nothing remarkable, except the death of Hampden, who, in the confusion of the onset, received a mortal wound. Rupert finally repulsed the assailants, and reached Oxford in triumph. One of the prisoners announced to the victors the fate of the celebrated patriot. He was seen riding off the field while the action was still going on, a thing he had never done before, with his head hanging down, and his hands resting on the neck of his horse; from which appearances the relater justly concluded that he was severely wounded.

The affairs of the parliament, in the early part of the year 1643, were, upon the whole, very far from prosperous. Sir William Waller was sent with a respectable force into the west of England, where the royalists had recently gained some important advantages; and hopes were entertained at Westminster that their favourite general would achieve something whereby their adherents might be preserved from despair. But the success of his plans was by no means adequate to the expectations which had been formed. Though in the celerity of his movements Waller displayed an extraordinary merit, and against such an opponent as Rupert it

was necessary to accomplish rapid marches; yet he seems to have erred, by reposing too much confidence in himself, and by cherishing too much contempt for his enemy. He fought a drawn battle near Bath on the 5th of July, and had a second engagement near Devizes one week later, in which, through the fortune of war, the gallantry of the royalists, and the diligence of the king in sending timely reinforcements, his whole army was defeated and scattered beyond the power of rallying. Indeed, one of the most striking defects of this officer was, that owing to his utter want of discipline, the army which he led out from the metropolis in the most admirable condition was in the course of a few weeks so disorganized and reduced, that he found it necessary to quit the field for the purpose of recruiting, while the enemy was permitted to follow up all his advantages during the most active season of the year.

Another event followed soon afterward, which added not a little to the terror and embarrassment of the popular party. Bristol, although well provided with supplies of all descriptions, and capable of a protracted resistance, surrendered to Prince Rupert on the 26th of July. This appalling occurrence was attributed to the weak nerves of the governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, son of Lord Say; who, although gifted with high powers of intellect and wisdom, was extremely deficient in most of those qualities which constitute a soldier. The nephew of Charles attacked the city on three sides at once with his usual impetuosity; but the strength of the walls would have enabled the garrison to hold out a considerable time, had not their commander, unaccustomed to the agitations which attend the assault of a fortified place, yielded to his fears, and solicited terms.

The precautions suggested by these adverse occurrences show the degree of alarm which pre-

vailed among the parliamentarians. They sent a deputation of their number to Scotland to invite the people of that country to co-operate with them in the cause of national freedom, and to prevent a recurrence of those oppressions under which both kingdoms had so long groaned. At the same time they resolved to fortify London against any sudden attack of the enemy, who, being now master of the field, might gratify his revenge upon both Houses, as well as upon the mass of the citizens. Then was begun that large intrenchment, which encompassed not only the city but the suburbs, to the extent of twelve miles in circumference. To complete this undertaking, thousands went out every day to dig; all professions, trades, and occupations took their turns; gentlemen of the best quality, knights, and even ladies sallied forth from their houses, carrying mattocks, spades, and other suitable implements, "so that," says May, "it became a pleasant spectacle at London to see them going out in such order and numbers, with drums beating before them, which put life into the drooping people, being taken for a happy omen, that in so low a condition they yet seemed not to despair."*

Had not Manchester and Cromwell been more successful in the eastern and middle counties, than Waller and Essex were in the west, the war must have been brought to a conclusion fatal to the views of the parliament. Besides his exploit at Gainsborough, which at least proved the superiority of his soldiers, he took Stamford and Burleigh House, supported the popular cause in Lincolnshire against the Marquis of Newcastle, checked the royalists at Newark, and everywhere protected the borders of the eastern association. A weekly paper of the time, dated 9th May, 1643, mentions, that "he hath

* History of Parliament, book iii. p. 91. Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 130.

2000 brave men, well disciplined; no man swears but he pays his twelve pence: if he be drunk he is set in the stocks or worse; if one calls the other roundhead, he is censured; insomuch that the counties where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join them. How happy were it, if all the forces were thus disciplined!" The Commons, accordingly, in the beginning of August, ordered that a speedy course be taken for the raising of 2000 men more, in the associated counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk, to join with Colonel Cromwell, and that every man of them have a month's pay in his pocket. It was also ordered on the same occasion, that the 3000*l.* appointed to be raised by the associated counties aforesaid, shall be paid to Colonel Cromwell.

His career, at the same time, was marked by a spirit of violence and illiberality in other matters for which no apology can be devised. The *Mercurius Aulicus* relates, that at "Cambridge the Lord Grey of Warke and Master Cromwell did the last week deal very earnestly with the heads of colleges to lend 6000*l.* for the public use; and that the motion not being hearkened to, they kept them all in custody till midnight, except Dr. Brownrigg, the Bishop of Exeter, and Dr. Love; that the said heads being advised to assemble the next day about it, and refusing to do so, were called to the Lord Grey's lodging, and being asked the reason of their refusal, made answer by the Bishop of Exeter, whom they had chosen for their speaker, that they had before consulted the whole university, who had resolved that they could not comply with their desires in that particular, as being directly against their consciences; that Cromwell, when he found them stick to their resolution, said to a friend of his who was then in the place, they would have been content with a 1000*l.* or less for the present turn; not that so little money could have done them good, but that the people might have thought that one of the two

universities had been on their side. And it was also certified, that when they failed to get money by that means, in a fair and voluntary way, they took by violence from the bursars of diverse colleges such monies as were already brought in unto them; and from the tenants of such colleges as dwelt near at hand, such monies as they had in readiness to pay their rents; and well we know what they were counted in the former times, when law and justice were in fashion, who, when a man refused to deliver his purse, used to take it from him."

Six days afterward he went to Peterborough, where he indulged himself in various kinds of plunder; and further, "in pursuance of the thorough reformation which he professed to carry into effect, he did most miserably deface the cathedral church, break down the organ, and destroy the glass windows, committing many outrages on the house of God, which were not acted by the Goths in the sack of Rome." He was guilty of a similar violence at Ely, where he entered the cathedral during divine service, commanded the clergyman to stop, and drawing his sword, gave orders to his horsemen to drive out the congregation. To the present day that venerable pile bears testimony to the visit which it then received from the followers of this military reformer.

While Cromwell was displaying his usual activity in the service of his masters, and had revived the courage of the people in the department where he was appointed to exercise his command, the war languished under Essex and Waller, both of whose armies, by disease and repeated discomfiture, had been rendered unable to keep the field. The former of these officers, indeed, began to open his eyes to the calamities of the country, and to the fatal issue in which the struggle between the king and his subjects was likely to terminate. The parliament had already manifested a determined

feeling of animosity against all the privileged orders, and were still directing the thunder of their power, not only against his majesty, whose interests now appeared incompatible with their own, but also against the nobility, the more dignified and ancient among the gentry, and, in short, against all that class whose wealth and rank were wont to constitute the support of the throne.

The earl had too much penetration not to perceive that the success of his arms would only strengthen the enemies of peace, and thereby postpone all accommodation with the king, and the settlement of the constitution. On the 9th of July, accordingly, he addressed a letter to the House of Peers, in which he states that "his army being neither recruited with horses, nor saddles, nor arms, he could not move but with his whole force, which must be by slow marches, and with infinite injury to the peaceable inhabitants." He therefore requests that, "if it were thought fit, they would send to his majesty to have peace, with the settling of religion, the laws, and the liberties of the subject, and bringing to just trial those chief delinquents who have caused all this mischief to the kingdom; and that if this do not produce a treaty, his majesty may be desired to absent himself from the scene of contention, and both armies may be drawn up near the one to the other, that, if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword."

Their lordships, although not unwilling to listen to this pacific suggestion, found some difficulty in resolving to petition the king in the face of a proclamation which he had lately issued, declaring the parliament of which they were members to be no free parliament. But in the beginning of August they appointed a committee to consider of some propositions fit to be presented to his majesty for settling the present distractions. A petition was accordingly prepared on the 5th of the month just

specified, and sent down to the Commons for their concurrence. The same day a long debate took place in the lower House on the several topics submitted to their review; and so numerous had the friends of peace become, that, when the question was put to the vote whether the propositions from the Lords should be taken into further consideration, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ninety-four to sixty-five. It was then proposed that this further consideration should be entered upon without adjournment or delay; a motion which was negatived by only two voices.

The division now mentioned took place on a Saturday. This circumstance, which in all ordinary cases would not have been attended with the slightest consequence, proved fatal to the patriotic designs of the House of Peers. On Sunday the pulpits of the metropolis rang with the most violent denunciations against all who were disposed to fight the Lord's battle deceitfully, and set forth in the liveliest colours the manifold evils which would arise from entering into terms with the malignants. A court of common council, held the same day, drew up a petition, addressed to the Commons, deprecating in strong language the measure which the other House had recommended. Next morning the lord-mayor, followed by a multitude of the inhabitants, appeared at the doors of the parliament to present the remonstrance of the citizens; while the populace, by shouts and menacing gestures, declared their resolution to enforce the sentiments which it contained, and to secure a continuance of the war. The peers, meanwhile, intimidated by such hostile demonstrations, declared that this riotous assemblage of the people was a breach of parliamentary privilege, and desired a conference with the Commons to provide for their mutual safety and independence. But before order could be restored, the lower House came to a vote, when it was determined, by a majority of

eighty-eight to eighty-one, that no propositions should be sent to the king.

The smallness of the majority on this memorable occasion shows how much inclined the more temperate members of the legislature were to put an end to the destructive war which, during twelve months, had raged in the finest parts of the kingdom. Clarendon tells us, that "the design was for as many members of both Houses as were of one mind to have gone to the Earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, and to have declared their want of freedom; by means of which they made no doubt to have drawn both Houses to consent to an agreement, or to have entered upon such a treaty themselves with the king." This plan was never realized, and other events soon occurred which would have rendered it entirely impracticable.

Every historian has remarked, that if Charles, at the head of his victorious army, had marched to London, and supported by his presence the efforts of his friends, he would, in all probability, have dismayed the disaffected, quelled the turbulent, and induced even the leaders of the popular party to listen to equitable terms. But he yielded to the advice of those who recommended the siege of Gloucester, on the ground that it was not good policy to leave so strong a town behind him. "But," says Sir Philip Warwick, "this counsel proved fatal; for had the king at that period resolved in himself to have struck at the proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that time to have required the Earl of Newcastle to join with him, humanly speaking, he had raised such confusion among the two Houses and Londoners, that they had either sent him his own terms, or, if they had fought him, most probably he would have been victorious. For the counties about London were well affected to the king's cause; and many in London passionately

wished for his approach. But henceforward it befell the king's forces as it did the Israelites, who, being discouraged by the great number of spies, would not march up towards Canaan." Then he quotes the adage, that "the times of grace and of man's repentance have a set appointment;" and that "oftentimes Divine Providence gives a man but one single season to lay hold on." The king fixes on Gloucester, and the Earl of Newcastle as fatally sits down before Hull.

It is well known that Essex, having received large additions to his army, followed the steps of the king with the view of raising the siege; and in this instance, as in many others in the course of the war, the want of proper intelligence on the part of the royalists obtained for the parliament an important advantage. The sound of their cannon was the first notice communicated to Charles that his enemies were at hand. Breaking up in some confusion from before the walls of Gloucester, he retired to Newbury, with the intention of disputing with the republican general the road to London. A battle ensued, which was fought obstinately on both sides, and ended too with such an equality of loss, that either party was found to claim a triumph. The number of slain in the ranks of Essex was greater than that of his adversaries; but, as usual, his majesty was deprived of several gallant officers of high rank, whose deaths would have clouded even the joy of a decided victory. Among others who fell at Newbury was the amiable Lord Falkland, "a person," says Clarendon, "of such prodigious learning and knowledge, of inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that, if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity."

Both Whitlocke and Rushworth speak of the cir-

cumstances attending Lord Falkland's death. They relate that in the morning of the fight, he called for a clean shirt; and being asked the reason of it, answered jocularly, that if he were slain in the battle, they should not find his body in foul linen: but upon being advised by his friends not to engage, as not being a military officer, he replied, with an air of sadness, that he was weary of the times, foresaw much misery to his country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night. He could not be persuaded to the contrary, but entered the battle and was slain.*

About the close of the campaign which terminated the gloomy year 1643, Cromwell took Hilsdon House by assault, and for a time kept Oxford in a state of considerable alarm. By various achievements, particularly his conduct at Grantham and Gainsborough, he had so advanced his military reputation, that public opinion already began to pit him against Prince Rupert, the most daring leader of the royal party. The king, in reply to the remarks of some one who had suggested that his majesty ought to have made an attempt to gain the favour of so formidable a soldier, is said to have exclaimed, "I would that some would do me the good service to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead!" About this period he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Ely, with "the like power of levying money there for his forces as the Earl of Manchester had in the associated counties."

But a new scene was about to open on the public, ushered in by a treaty between the two kingdoms, founded on the Solemn League and Covenant. The progress of the royal armies in the early part of the year, the defeat of Waller, and the inactivity of Essex, dictated the necessity of applying to the Scottish nation for assistance. In the month of July, Sir Henry Vane, Armyn, Hatcher, and Darley, with Marshall, a Presbyterian, and Nye, an Inde-

* See Note D.

pendent divine, were despatched to the north, with full powers to conclude the negotiation. Both the Convention of the Estates and the Assembly of the Kirk had been previously summoned to meet them; their arrival was celebrated with every demonstration of delight: and the letters which they delivered from the English parliament were, according to Principal Baillie, read by some with shouts of exultation, by others with tears of joy. At first, the allies of the parliament insisted upon acting the part of umpires in the grand question at issue between them and his majesty, and of having the power of dictating the terms of reconciliation. But finding that this high ground could not be conceded to them, they became so much the more determined to secure the religious interests of their body, and the extension of their doctrine and discipline over the whole of the sister church. Vane was obliged to admit to the deliberations of the commissioners a deputation from the general assembly, led by their moderator, the celebrated Henderson; and to listen to long harangues on the necessity about to be imposed on the English parliament, army, and inhabitants at large, of signing the Solemn League and Covenant, as the basis of the confederation which was solicited by their brethren in the south. After some discussion, Sir Henry and his colleagues accepted this condition, and thereby ratified a deed by which the people of England, lords and commons, bind themselves "to endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechisms." And they were also by the same covenant to "endeavour, with their estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and

liberties of the kingdoms, that the world might bear witness of their loyalty, and that they had no thought or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness."

This covenant was taken by both houses of parliament on the 25th of September, in the year 1643. Among others who signed it were the names of Lenthal the speaker, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Robert Harley, Oliver Cromwell, Charles Lord Cranborne, William Lord Fitzwilliam, Sir Peter Wentworth, William Lord Monson, Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, Sir Harbottle Grimston, John Dryden, John Selden, Thomas Lord Wenmon, Bulstrode Whitelocke, George Montague, Denzil Holles, and Edward Montague.

The reader, even at this stage, may be inclined to ask in what sense Cromwell could sign a document which bound him to extend and protect the interests of a church which he detested; to preserve the person of a king whom he declared he would shoot with as little compunction as he would any other man; and to declare that he had no thought or intention to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness, when he had already prompted and assisted others in stripping him of nearly all the power which belonged to him as the sovereign of three kingdoms. Dr. Harris answers this question by remarking, that Cromwell must have taken this oath "in the same manner as men take many other things, much against his mind, though he had art enough then to conceal his dislike: for it cannot be thought but it must be very disagreeable to him to be bound to introduce a discipline his large soul abhorred, and to preserve and defend a prince whom he was to fight against, and whose power and greatness were the objects of his dread."

Charles, aware of the efforts which were made to give to his enemies a decided preponderance in the

field, had recourse to two measures from which he expected material assistance. He resolved to summon a parliament to meet at Oxford in the month of January, 1644; and at the same time gave instructions to his deputy in Ireland to enter into treaty with the Catholic confederates, so as to place at his command the army which had been raised to check the insurgents in that divided country.

In regard to the former step, his success equalled his expectations. Forty-three peers and a hundred and eighteen commoners obeyed his requisition; expressing their readiness to co-oporate with him, either for the restoration of peace, or for the more vigorous prosecution of the war. They entered upon their duties by sending to the Earl of Essex a letter, subscribed by the members of both Houses, requesting him to convey to his constituents at Westminster their earnest desire that commissioners might be appointed on both sides to treat of an accommodation. After some dispute in regard to matters of form and precedency, the popular leaders consented to bring forward certain propositions as the basis of an agreement, of which the following is the substance: that the Covenant, with the obligation of taking it, the reformation of religion according to its provisions, and the utter abolition of episcopacy, should be confirmed by act of parliament; that the cessation of the war in Ireland should, by the same authority, be declared void; that a new oath should be framed for the discovery of Catholics; that the penalties of recusancy should be strictly enforced; that the children of Catholics should be educated Protestants; that certain English Protestants by name, all papists who had borne arms against the parliament, and all Irish rebels, whether Protestants or Catholics, who had brought aid to the royal army, should be excepted from the general pardon; that the debts contracted by the parliament should be paid out of the estates of the delinquents; and that

the commanders of the forces by land and sea, the great officers of state, the deputy of Ireland, and the judges, should be also named by the parliament, or the commissioners of parliament, to hold their places during their good behaviour.*

It is obvious, from the spirit of these proposals, that the parliament had no sincere desire for peace, nor any expectation that the king would meet them on ground so extremely unfavourable to his interests. Nor was the disposition to conciliate more manifest on the part of the royalists; for both houses at Oxford had already declared that the Scots had broken the act of pacification; that all English subjects who aided them should be deemed traitors and enemies of the state; and that the lords and commons remaining at Westminster, who had given their countenance to the coming in of the Scots, or the raising of forces under the Earl of Essex, or the making and using of a new great seal, had committed high-treason, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the king and kingdom.

On the other hand, the few regiments which were relieved from duty in Ireland, so far from proving of any benefit to his majesty, only contributed to fill the ranks of his opponents. Having landed at Mostyn in Wales, they advanced into the country, without encountering any resistance until they reached Nantwich, the fortifications of which effectually checked their progress; for while they were engaged in preparations for a siege, Sir Thomas Fairfax attacked them with a superior force, and entirely dispersed their battalions. Nearly two thousand of the private men passed over to the enemy as recruits for the parliament: and among the prisoners was Colonel Monk, who, after a short confinement in the Tower, thought proper to follow the example of his

* Lingard, vol. x. p. 242. Journals of Commons, March 15, &c. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 229–239. Baillie, vol. ii. 1, 6, 10. Journals, 522.

soldiers, and lend the aid of his experience to the cause of the commonwealth.

While the Scots, who had crossed the Border on the 19th January, 1643, were preparing, in conjunction with the Earl of Manchester, for the siege of York, Charles executed in person one of the ablest manœuvres that were performed in the course of the war. Essex and Waller, whose forces, if united, would have amounted to twenty thousand men, marched in two divisions, with the intention of shutting up the king in Oxford. Aware of their intention, and not having more than seven thousand disposable troops, his majesty passed between the hostile corps, and reached Worcester without the slightest interruption. Waller undertook to follow him, while his colleague proceeded with his army into Dorsetshire. The king made a demonstration as if he had intended to march towards Shrewsbury; and when the parliamentary general, in order to prevent him, hastened from Broomsgrove to take possession of that town, he retraced his steps to Oxford, augmented his numbers, and attacked some of the enemy's positions in Buckinghamshire. Waller, again deceived, returned to the banks of the Charwell; and yielding to resentment rather than to just views of military expedience, he brought on a battle at Cropredy Bridge, where he was defeated, with great loss both of men and of reputation.

But, notwithstanding this advantage, the affairs of the king fell into no small embarrassment. The enemy had acquired great strength in the north, where the Earl of Manchester, Fairfax, and Cromwell, with their Scottish allies, had compelled the Marquis of Newcastle to resign the field, and to seek shelter within the walls of York. His majesty, informed of this alarming state of things, commanded Prince Rupert, who was pursuing with much success his wonted career in Lancashire and Cheshire, to collect his forces, and march for the relief of

the besieged army. The following is an extract of the letter which on this occasion was sent by Charles to his nephew, and which certainly exculpates the latter from the charge usually brought against him of fighting without orders. "But now I must give you the true state of my affairs, which, if their condition be such as enforces me to give you more peremptory commands than I would willingly do, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteem my crown little else, unless supported by your sudden march to me, and a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power be found here: but if York be relieved, and you beat the rebels' armies of both kingdoms which are before it, then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift upon the defensive to spin out time until you come to assist me. Wherefore I command, and conjure you, by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, that, all new enterprises laid aside, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your force to the relief of York: but if that be either lost or have freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot undertake that work, that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worcester, to assist me and my army, without which, or your having relieved York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterward have most infallibly will be useless unto me."*

It is probable that the haughty disposition of Rupert, when opposed by a similar temper in Lord Newcastle, would not permit him to show this order to his colleague, as a reason for risking a battle before York; else it is impossible that the historians of that period could have condemned the prince for an obstinate adherence to his own opinion on this head, or that the marquis and some other general officers

* Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. v. octavo edition, p. 128.

should have been so much offended as to leave England, and thereby expose the royal cause in the north to certain ruin.

We are now to describe the battle of Marston-moor, the effects of which were universally felt in establishing the power of parliament in the first instance, and ultimately in placing the fortunes of England in the hands of Oliver Cromwell. In fact, the rise of that distinguished soldier may be dated from this period; for although he had in the course of the preceding year given unquestionable proofs of his courage and ability, yet, as he occupied only a very subordinate rank, the merit of his exploits was in some degree necessarily transferred to the chiefs under whom he served. But his conduct at Marston-moor raised him to higher ground, and enabled him to urge pretensions which his former superiors could not resist, and to practise arts, of which, in spite of their station and influence, they became successively the victims. So many accounts have been given of this memorable engagement, and so much has party spirit been awakened by the claims of the several commanders who figured in it, that it has become extremely difficult to ascertain the movements of the troops on either side, and to assign to each of the confederate armies its exact share of the glory which their united efforts secured. The following details, recorded by a writer in the *Mercurius Britannicus*, a weekly journal, published a few days after the action, and which appear to have been supplied by an eyewitness, are perhaps the fullest and most impartial that have come down to our times.

"I cannot let pass that glorious victory without drawing up the battle once again into their several brigades. General Lesley gave order for drawing up of the battle. The right wing of horse was intrusted to Sir Thomas Fairfax, a man of known valour and resolution; it did consist of his whole cavalry and three regiments of the Scottish horse,

commanded by the Earl of Dalhousie, Earl of Eglinton, and Lord Balgony. Next unto them was drawn up the right wing of the foot, consisting of the Lord Fairfax's foot, and two brigades of the Scottish horse for a reserve. In the main battle were the regiments of the Earl of Lindsay, Lord Maitland, Earl of Cassilis and Kilheads, and two brigades of the Earl of Manchester's; in the reserve was the Earl of Backlugh's (Buccleuch's) regiment, the Earl of Loudon's, Earl of Dumfermling's, Lord Couper's, General Hamilton's, general of the artillery, the Edinburgh regiment, and a brigade of Manchester's. Upon the left wing of horse was the Earl of Manchester's whole cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-general Cromwell, and three regiments of Scottish horse, commanded by Major-general Lesley; and upon their left-hand, near a cross ditch, where the enemy had a regiment of foot, were placed the Scottish dragoons, under the command of Colonel Frizell. Orders being given to advance, the battle was led on by General Hambleton, Lieutenant-general Baillie, and Major-general Crawford; the reserve being committed to the trust of Major-general Lumsdain. There was a great ditch between the enemy and us, which ran along the front of the battle; only between the Earl of Manchester's foot and the enemy there was a plain. In this ditch the enemy had placed four brigades of their best foot, which, upon the advance of our battle, were forced to give ground, being gallantly assaulted by the Earl of Lindsay's regiment, the Lord Maitland's, Cassilis's, and Kilhead's. Major-general Crawford, having overwinged the enemy, set upon their flank, and did very good execution, which gave occasion to the Scottish foot to advance and pass the ditch The right wing of our foot had several misfortunes, for betwixt them and the enemy there was no passage but a narrow lane, where they could not march above three or four in front. Upon the one side of

the lane was a ditch, and on the other a hedge, both whereof were lined with musqueteers: notwithstanding, Sir Thomas Fairfax charged gallantly, but the enemy keeping themselves in a body, and receiving them by threes and fours as they marched out of the lane; and (by what mistake I know not) Sir Thomas Fairfax's new levied regiments being in the van, they wheeled about, and being hotly pursued by the enemy, came back upon the Lord Fairfax's foot, and the reserve of the Scottish foot, broke them wholly, and trode the most of them to the ground.

"Sir Thomas Fairfax, Colonel Lambert, and Sir Thomas his brother, with five or six troops, charged through the enemy, and went to the left wing of horse. The two squadrons of Balgony's regiment, being divided by the enemy each from the other, one of them being lancers, charged a regiment of the enemy's foot, and put them wholly to the route, and afterward joined with the left wing of horse; the other by another way went also to the left wing. The Earl of Eglinton's regiment maintained their ground (most of the enemy's going on in pursuit of the horse and foot that fled), but with the loss of four lieutenants; the lieutenant-colonel, the major, and Eglinton's son being deadly wounded. Sir Charles Lucas and Major-general Porter, having thus divided all our horse on that wing, assaulted the Scottish foot upon their flanks, so that they had the foot upon their front, and the whole cavalry of the enemy's left wing to fight with, whom they encountered with so much courage and resolution that, having interlined their musqueteers with pikemen, they made the enemy's horse, notwithstanding all the assistance they had of their foot at two several assaults, to give ground; and in this hot dispute with both they continued almost an hour, and still maintaining their ground. Lieutenant-general Baillie, and Major-general Lumsdain (who both gave good evidence of their courage and skill), perceiving the greatest

weight of the battle to lie sore upon the Earl of Lindsay's and Lord Maitland's regiment, sent up a reserve to their assistance, after which the enemy's horse, having made a third assault upon them, had almost put them in some disorder, but that the Earl of Lindsay and Lieutenant-colonel Pitscotty behaved themselves so gallantly, that they quickly made the enemy's horse to retreat, killed Sir Charles Lucas's horse, took him prisoner, and gained ground upon the foot.

"The Scottish dragoons that were placed upon the left wing, by the good managing of Colonel Frizell, acted their parts so well, that at the first assault they beat the enemy from the ditch, and shortly after killed a great many, and put the rest to the rout. Lieutenant-general Cromwell charged Prince Rupert's horse with exceeding great resolution, and maintained the charge with no less valour. Major-general Lesley charged the Earl of Newcastle's brigade of Whitecoats, and cut them wholly off, forty excepted, who were made prisoners; and after them charged a brigade of Greencoats, whereof they cut off a great number, and put the rest to the rout. This service being performed, he charged the enemy's horse (with whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell was engaged) upon the flank, and in a very short space the enemy's whole cavalry was routed, on whom our fore troops did much execution to the walls of York, but our body of horse kept their ground. Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Major-general Lesley, having joined, and receiving advertisement that our foot was engaged with the enemy's horse and foot, marched to their assistance, and met with the enemy's horse (being retreated from the repulse which they had from the Scottish foot) at the same place of disadvantage where they had routed our horse formerly; and indeed their success was answerable, if not much worse, for we routed them wholly, killed and took their chief offi-

cers, and most part of their standards. After which we set upon the rear of their foot, and with the assistance of our main battle, which all this time stood firm, we put them wholly to the rout, killed many, and took their officers and colours, and by this time we had no enemy in the field. We took all their ordnance, being in number twenty-five, near a hundred and thirty barrels of powder, besides what was blown up by the common soldiers, above a hundred colours, and ten thousand arms, besides two-wagons of carbines and pistols of spare arms. There were killed upon the place three thousand, whereof, upon a judicious view of the dead bodies, two parts appeared to be gentlemen and officers. There were fifteen hundred prisoners taken, whereof were Sir C. Lucas, Major-general Porter, and Major-general Tellier, besides diverse colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors. The loss upon our part, blessed be God, is not great, being of only one lieutenant-colonel, some few captains, and not three hundred common soldiers."*

The reader will excuse the amplification which encumbers the narrative now given, when he calls to mind that Cromwell's behaviour at Marston-moor, while it laid the foundation of his power, has also been made the ground of an impeachment upon his personal courage. Lord Hollis, after remarking, that without the aid of the Scots, the victory of the 2d of July would not have been gained, adds, "for however Lieutenant-general Cromwell had the impudence to assume much of the honour of it to himself, or rather, Herod-like, to suffer others to magnify and adore him for it, those who did the principal service that day were Major-general Lesley, who commanded the Scottish horse, Major-general Crawford, who was major-general to the Earl of Manchester's brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his

* Mer. Brit. 8th July, quoted from "Cromwelliana," p. 9, 10.

father, commanded the northern brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business; for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth (and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say Cromwell himself has heard it from him—for he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear it), that when the whole army at Marston-moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward; when he came up to them in a great passion, reviling them with the names of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell showed himself, and in a pitiful voice said, 'major-general, what shall I do?' He (begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his superior officer) told him, 'Sir, if you charge not, all is lost.' Cromwell answered he was wounded, and was not able to charge (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldiers' pistols); then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and sending one away with him (who very readily followed wholesome advice), led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his party's designs. This I have but by relation, yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not ashamed or afraid to publish it in all places."*

We should place very little confidence in this accusation, urged, as it is, by one who was animated with the most violent personal dislike to Cromwell,

* Memoirs of Densil. Lord Hollis, p. 15. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 49.

did we not find the same charge recorded by Principal Baillie, in a letter written at London about a month after the action. "The men," says he, meaning the sectaries, as he was used to call them, "are exceeding active in their own way. They strive to advance Cromwell for their head. They ascribe to him the victory of York, but most unjustly; for Humbie assures us, that Prince Rupert's first charge, falling upon him, did humble him so that if David Lesley had not supported him, he had fled. Skeldon Crawford, who had a regiment of dragoons in that wing, upon his oath assured me, that, at the beginning of the fight Cromwell got a little wound on the neck which made him retire, so that he was not so much as present at the service; but his troopers were led on by David Lesley."

At a still earlier period, indeed, that is, fourteen days after the battle, Baillie writes to a friend, who appears to have accompanied the Scottish auxiliaries into Yorkshire, in the following terms: "We were both grieved and angry that your independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpet over all the city their own praises to our prejudice; making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all that service; that the most of us fled, and that those who staid, fought so and so, as it might be. We were much vexed with these reports, against which you were not pleased, any of you, to instruct us with any answer, until Lindsay's letters came at last, and Captain Steward with his colours. Then we sent abroad our printed relations, and could lift up our face. But within three days, Mr. Ash's relation was also printed, which gives us many good words, but gives much more to Cromwell than, we are informed, is his due."

In truth, it appears that the Independents were determined to ascribe the merit of the victory to their favourite champion; while the Presbyterians,

on the other hand, were equally resolved to bestow the laurels of the day upon Major-general Lesley. Both these officers, at the head of their respective bodies of cavalry, repulsed the royalists under Prince Rupert; in the course of which service it is probable that Cromwell received a wound, which disabled him from leading on his troops in the final charge when their antagonists attempted to rally. We are the more confirmed in this opinion by the very remarkable circumstance, that the rumour of Cromwell's absence in the last attack was circulated at London within a few days after the engagement, a space of time which could hardly afford to his enemies an opportunity for fabricating a story altogether without foundation. The same fact is repeated by Salmonet, Laing, and others; hence it is probable that Cromwell retired from the second conflict to have his wound dressed, while his brigade was led on by Crawford or Lesley to the charge.*

But the world has been so much accustomed to hear insinuations against the personal bravery of the most distinguished commanders, that surmises similar to those which have been circulated in regard to Cromwell no longer make any impression. Ludlow, who was by no means favourable to the reputation of his brother officer, acknowledges that the victory, which had been most obstinately disputed, was, in the end, obtained by Cromwell's brigade; and such, it may be added, is the testimony of the greater number of authors who have written the military history of that eventful period.

It is worthy of remark, that part of the obscurity which hangs over the events of Marston-moor has been created by a contemptible feeling of national jealousy, which, even at the present day, is not altogether extinguished. Lord Clarendon, who hated

* Salmonet, Hist. p. 160. Laing, History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 206.

the Scots, labours throughout his whole history to represent them as excessively deficient in all the martial virtues, and as never being able to withstand an onset of his countrymen in the field of battle. Some allowance may, perhaps, be made for the irritated feelings of a royalist, who knew well that the opposition to the government of Charles the First, which ended in the dissolution of monarchy, originated in Scotland; that it was constantly fomented by the disaffected in that country; and that their army at length assisted in accomplishing the object to which their principles first attracted the attention of the political puritans in the south. But what shall be said in defence of a modern author, who, to gratify a passion which is only pardonable in a schoolboy, has for that purpose had recourse to means of which even a schoolboy would be ashamed? Dr. Lingard quotes the language of Clarendon, who says, "that the Scots fled all ways for many miles together, and their general, the Earl of Leven, was taken into custody by a constable, and detained part of the next day." "This," observes the doctor, "has been described as a falsehood and misrepresentation; but," he adds, "yet there was some foundation for it, as appears from Baillie, who acknowledges that Lesley took to his heels." He gives the clause "took to *his* heels," as the very words of the principal, and marks them, too, with the usual signs of a quotation. But, in truth, Baillie does not anywhere make use of the expression which is here attributed to him. On the contrary, the terms which he employs convey a much more sweeping charge, and involve the reputation of greater men than even Lord Leven. He says, "there were three generals on each side, Lesley, Fairfax, and Manchester; Rupert, Newcastle, and King. Within half an hour and less, *all six took them to their heels.*" Dr. Lingard conceals the flight of five heroes, because they were not Scotsmen, and lays the disgrace upon Lesley

alone, because he had the misfortune to be born north of the Tweed!*

It is not without reluctance that I interrupt the narrative to notice such disingenuous paltering. History, at the best, is in many respects a fable, a record of mistakes and prejudices; but in the hands of men who studiously corrupt authorities, and openly pervert the plainest statements, history must become a chronicle of lies. He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much: and he who, in order to minister to a national vanity, now become childish and obsolete, can represent an

* But the above is not enough; he quotes from Baillie two clauses belonging to separate sentences, at the distance of four pages, which he applies to the principal's countrymen, whom he is determined to cover with shame, and adduces as a proof of the accuracy of Clarendon's strictures on the Scottish nation. The words are, "when so many with cowardice fell in disgrace worse than death." Now, so far from being exclusively applicable to the Scottish army, the author of the letter, a few lines above, shows distinctly what was the import of his observation. He says to his friend, "see by this enclosed (an account of the battle) if the whole victory, both in the right and left wing, be not ascribed to Cromwell, and not a word of David Lesley, who in all places that day was his leader. *If his reports of Manchester be true*, you know the flight of some is worse and more shameful than death." Dr. Lingard has penetration enough to perceive that Baillie's remark had an object very different from the one which he assigns to it; but he knows, at the same time, that many of his readers will take him at his word—a security, by-the-way, which is becoming every successive month of less value. "Baillie," says he, "acknowledges that Lesley took to his heels—only Eglinton kept ground there to his great loss." Here again the object is to deceive—to make the reader conclude that all the Scots ran away except Lord Eglinton. But what is the fact as stated by Baillie? His words are; "The disadvantage of the ground, and violence of the flower of Prince Rupert's horse, carried all our right wing down; only Eglinton kept ground there to his great loss." Now of what was the right wing composed, which was thus carried down by the impetuosity of Rupert? It was composed, first, of Sir Thomas Fairfax's whole cavalry, with three regiments of Scottish horse, under Dalhousie, Eglinton, and Balgony; and, secondly, of Lord Fairfax's foot, and two brigades of Scottish infantry as a reserve. Hence it is clear the greater part of the right wing were English; and it is well known, besides, that it was the tumultuous retreat of Fairfax's raw horsemen which threw that division of the army into confusion, and trod down in their haste the foot-soldiers of their northern allies. It was in the same right wing that Eglinton kept his ground to h s great loss, after Fairfax's whole cavalry had turned their backs to the enemy, and were galloping off through the lines of their friends.

author as recording the very reverse of what he has set down, will not, it may be presumed, when he has more important objects to accomplish, hesitate to use greater freedoms with less accessible documents. Principal Baillie, in fact, so far from acknowledging the slackness of his countrymen at Marston-moor, or deploring their cowardice as more painful than death, boldly claims for them the merit of having turned the fortune of the field. "Lindsay," says he, "had the greatest hazard of any; but the beginning of the victory was from David Lesley, who before was much suspected of evil designs; he with the Scots and Cromwell's horse, having the advantage of the ground, did dissipate all before them."

The effects of this great triumph achieved by the parliamentary forces, were sensibly felt throughout the remainder of the campaign. York and Newcastle very soon fell into the hands of the victors; and the power of the king northwards of the river Trent was so much reduced, as to deprive him of all hope of ever recovering, at the point of the sword, the valuable counties which were thus wrested from him. He had already determined to march with the remains of his fine army into the west, where his strongest positions were threatened by Essex; who, contrary to the wishes of his employers, had resolved to advance into that quarter to relieve certain towns which the royalists continued to invest. Lime, at that period besieged by Prince Maurice, was the main object of contention. The celebrated Blake distinguished himself in its defence, and enabled the small garrison to hold out until the approach of the lord-general compelled the assailants to retire. Having accomplished this object, Essex marched against Weymouth, which surrendered to him at the first summons. He then resolved to bring Maurice to a general action, but the prince, whose numbers were not equal to those of the enemy, continued his retreat towards the borders of Cornwall.

The king, meantime, having dispersed the troops of Waller at Cropredy Bridge, found himself at liberty to follow the insurgents, and to watch the motions of this general. He accordingly left Oxford ten days after the defeat of Rupert, and passing through Bath and Ilchester, entered the capital of Devonshire on the 26th of July. The earl, upon hearing of the advance of the royal army, resolved to turn on his steps, and give battle to his majesty on the banks of the Severn; but he is said to have been dissuaded from adopting this plan by the entreaties of some gentlemen who had estates in Cornwall, and who were desirous to save them from the ravages of Prince Maurice. No part of England was better affected to Charles than that remote county. Sir Edward Walker remarks, that it was not till now they "were sensible of the great and extraordinary advantage the rebels have over his majesty's armies by intelligence (the life of all warlike actions), and which, by the loyalty of this people, the rebels here were utterly deprived of; no country in his majesty's dominions being so universally affected to his majesty and his cause; which, for my part, I shall never ascribe either to a greater measure of judgment, or to more humanity than others have, but unto that obedience to their superiors which the rest have cast off. For the gentry of this country retain their old possessions, their old tenants, and expect from them their ancient reverence and obedience. And give me leave to say, if many of the nobility and gentry of this unhappy kingdom had not fallen from the lustre, honour, and virtue of their ancestors, and by their luxury been necessitated to manumise their villains, but had paid that awful reverence to the majesty and greatness of their sovereign as they ought, they might have expected the same proportionably from their inferiors and tenants: and instead of having them their companions, or rather masters, as they now are, they might have had them their

servants; and then I believe this war, which, under pretence of religion and liberties, is to introduce heresy in doctrine, parity in conditions, and to destroy the king, nobility, and gentry, in all probability had not been."*

On the 2d of August, the king and his nephew joined their forces at Launceston; while Essex fixed his head-quarters at Lestwithiel. When in this position, his majesty, who was no stranger to the pacific intentions of the earl, as indicated by the letter which he had addressed the preceding year to the House of Peers, made an attempt to open a negotiation with him. The following communication shows the temper of Charles, and his eagerness to bring to a close the unhappy struggle in which he was engaged with a class of men who, whatever were their original intentions, were now ready to overstep the bounds which divide the love of country from the pursuits of personal ambition.

"Essex, I have been very willing to believe, that whenever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable kingdom which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you: you have it at this time in your power to redeem your country and the crown, and to oblige your king in the highest degree; an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour that may be; such an opportunity as perhaps no subject before hath ever had, or hereafter you shall have. To which there is no more required but that you join with me heartily and really in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our only aim. Let us do this; and if any men shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their king's, country's, and their own good, we will make them happy, by God's blessing, even against their

* His Majesty's Happy Progress in 1644, p. 50.

wills. To this the only impediment can be want of mutual confidence: I promise it you of my part, and as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours by my letter to Hertford from Evesham, I hope this will perfect it, when, as I here do, I have engaged unto you the word of a king, that you, joining with me in that blessed work, I shall give both you and your army such eminent marks of my confidence and value, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust among you, either in relation to the public or to yourself, unto whom I shall then be your faithful friend.—Postscript. If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars: but this will admit of no delay. Liskerd, the 6th August, 1644."*

Essex made no reply to the above communication. Three days after it was sent, some "busie spirit," as Sir Edward describes him, prepared another letter to the earl, to be signed by the principal officers of the united army.

The king discovered the project of his injudicious friend before the epistle was actually forwarded to the head-quarters of the enemy; but "to satisfy all the world of his real desires for peace, he was pleased to give way, that it should be subscribed and sent." The answer from the general was conceived in these terms: "My lords, in the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it. I, having no power by the parliament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust."

Having no longer any hope of finishing the war by treaty, his majesty gave orders to narrow the quarters of his antagonist, and to cut off his supplies. Being certain that, unless provisions were brought by sea, the parliamentary forces would soon be reduced to the necessity of yielding at discretion, he

* Historical Discourses, p. 58.

rejected the opportunities which were repeatedly offered to him of coming to a general action. His hopes at length were realized, for Essex, after instructing his cavalry to make their way through the enemy's line, embarked on the 27th of August with some of his principal officers, and left the infantry to their fate. The king imposed upon them no severer conditions than that they should lay down their arms; neglecting even the usual precaution of binding them not to serve against him during the war.

The parliament behaved with great magnanimity on this occasion. Instead of upbraiding Essex, who, in exposing himself to the disaster by which he had been overtaken, disobeyed a positive order issued by the committee of both kingdoms, the Houses thanked him for his past services, expressed their conviction of his unshaken fidelity, and assured him of their continued affection to his person. At the same time they gave instructions that his army, horse and foot, should be reimbodied in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth and Southampton, and amply supplied with every thing which might be thought requisite to fit them once more for immediate service. Waller, whose battalions had been recruited, and who was on the point of marching for the west, was directed to co-operate with Essex; while Manchester and Cromwell, who had retired into the associated counties, were commanded to bring up their forces, that they might assemble under the same leader, and attack Charles on his return from Cornwall to Oxford.

The king who was desirous, before the approach of winter, to relieve the garrisons of Basing-house, Banbury, and Dennington Castle, concentrated his troops in the vicinity of these posts, and established his head-quarters at Newbury. The parliament's army made haste to attack him; and as Essex, at that instant, laboured under a fit of sickness, the command was intrusted to the next senior officer, the

Earl of Manchester. The conflict was fierce, and extremely obstinate. The soldiers who had laid down their arms in Cornwall, eager to wipe off the disgrace which stained their professional reputation, urged the combat with the greatest fury; and having retaken some of the cannon which, on that occasion, they had been obliged to surrender, they are said to have embraced them with tears of joy. Cromwell, who commanded the cavalry in this battle, added to the high character which his former exploits had merited, and defeated the enemy wherever he had an opportunity of leading his *Ironsides* to the charge. Night, it has been insinuated, saved the royalists from a complete discomfiture; while the general on the other side, either from undue caution, or from personal jealousy, checked the ardour of his troops when about to follow up their advantage. Cromwell, a short time afterward, declared in parliament that Manchester had neglected a favourable opportunity of bringing the war to a close by a total defeat. "I showed him evidently," said the commander of the cavalry, "how this success might be obtained; and only desired leave with my own brigade of horse to charge the king's army in their retreat, leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neutral with the rest of his forces. But, notwithstanding my importunity, he positively refused his consent; and gave no other reason, but that if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions—we should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law."

Upon leaving the field of Newbury, the king placed his ordnance in Dennington Castle, and thereafter pursued his march to Oxford. Being joined by Prince Rupert, he returned in a few days to carry away his guns, and if it should prove necessary, to try the fortune of arms once more against his adversaries. Manchester, although he saw himself thus defied, did not think proper to renew the contest with-

out more certain hopes of success; for which reason he quietly allowed the royal army to remove their cannon, and thereby to convert the opprobrium of defeat into the triumph of victory. Charles, having concentrated his forces under the eye of his enemy, and afforded a temporary relief to the beleaguered garrisons in the neighbourhood, returned to Oxford, where he meant to fix his winter-quarters, and to await the issue of further negotiations.

Meanwhile the affairs of the parliament were brought to the brink of ruin, not by their losses in the field, nor by the failure of their pecuniary resources, but by dissensions among the principal generals. Essex and Waller, so far from co-operating together in the common cause, appeared to take satisfaction in each other's reverses. At Cropredy Bridge, the latter was defeated, while his colleague remained inactive at the head of a powerful force; and when the other was compelled to surrender in the west a fine army to the king, Waller is charged with creating delay in the vicinity of the capital, instead of flying to his assistance with the troops which had been collected for that purpose. But a misunderstanding still more formidable had arisen in the military councils of Manchester. His lieutenant-general, ever since the success at Marston-moor, had continued to entertain suspicions as to the ulterior views of his commanding officer; who, he apprehended, like others of the nobility, was not disposed to push the war any farther, nor to sink the king below the level on which he might make an equitable arrangement with his subjects. Cromwell alleged, "that Manchester had always been backward to engagements in battle, and against ending the war by the sword, and had been an advocate for such a peace to which a victory in the field would have been an obstacle; that since the taking of York (as if he thought the king was now low enough, and the parliament too high), he had declined and shifted off

whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, and especially at Dennington Castle: that before his conjunction with the other armies, he had drawn his army into and detained it in such situations as were favourable to the enemy's designs, against many commands of the committee of both kingdoms, and with contempt and vilifying of the commands: and since, sometimes against the council of war, and sometimes deluding the council, had neglected one opportunity with pretence of another, and that again of a third, and at last persuading them that it was better not to fight at all."*

There can be little doubt that there was some ground for the accusation thus brought against Manchester. The aristocracy at large already perceived that their order was contemned by the commons, and that, in the event of further success against the king, there was great hazard of its being finally abolished. Early in the contest, indeed, the Lower House manifested a determination to place themselves on a footing of equality with the peers. Secretary Nicholas, in writing to his master while in Scotland, relates, that "the committees of both Houses met this afternoon at a conference; they were all bare-headed during the conference, both lords and commons, by a private intimation; but if the lords should have put on their hats, the commons were resolved to have done so likewise."† For these reasons, we may without hesitation believe the leaders of the popular party when they assure us that the noble commanders were more desirous to accommodate matters with the king, than to elevate, by a succession of triumphs, the democratical power of the state, which already menaced with extinction both the others.

Cromwell, from the very first, had attached him-

* Rushworth, vol. v. p. 732.
† Evelyn, vol. v. p. 46.

self to the thorough reformers; that class of men among whom were Vane, St. John, Ireton, and Marten, who imagined that the grievances of the nation could not be redressed so long as the regal authority was permitted to remain. Hence it followed, that the views and interests of the lieutenant-general were decidedly opposed to those of the nobleman under whom he served; and as the success of the one party was incompatible with the safety of the other, it is not surprising that they should have quarrelled.

Two great obstacles stood in the way of the republicans, which it now became their principal study to remove; namely the power of the privileged classes, and the political principles of the Scottish nation. As to the latter, apparently the most formidable, it could only be overcome by dismissing the army under the Earl of Leven; while the former was to be more artfully counteracted by introducing the famous Self-denying Ordinance.

There is no doubt that the Scots, however inconsistent with their principles their actual conduct may be deemed, were sincere in their professions of supporting the monarchy, and even of preserving the person of Charles. Their covenant announced in the most open and prominent manner their resolution to effect these two objects; and, as it has been already observed, they refused to grant assistance to the English parliament, except on the express condition that all the members of both Houses, and every officer in the public service, should place themselves under the same obligation. Cromwell, among the rest, put his name to that celebrated document; and, perhaps, when his views began to expand with his military fame, he could not but feel that, by his signature, he had bound himself to accomplish the very things which he was least desirous to see fulfilled. He contracted a great dislike to the Scots, who were, it is probable, too much disposed to assume a dic-

tating tone in all matters connected with religion; and he is accordingly reported to have said that he would as soon draw his sword against them as against the soldiers of the king. At all events, their principles were diametrically opposed to the projects which seem to have been already entertained by the majority of his friends, inasmuch as these unequivocally implied the existence of a constitutional monarchy, as well as of an established church.

Cromwell, who at that period was friendly to neither, bestowed his countenance upon the Independents, a body of Christians of recent origin in England, and whose distinguishing tenets may be identified with the two propositions, that every congregation constitutes a separate church, and that the pastors, as they are elected by their flocks, so ought they to derive their maintenance from the private contributions of the faithful. The opinions of this class of professors, as they disclaimed the expediency of an establishment, were the most convenient for such of the parliamentary leaders as meditated a radical change in the constitution of the English government. It has been usual to ascribe to his love of liberty in all its forms, and more especially of an entire freedom of conscience, the attachment which Oliver showed to the ecclesiastical polity of the Independents; but it will be found, upon a minuter inspection into his character and motives, that he was not particularly sensitive in regard to the abstract rights of mankind; and that his preference of the congregational model arose from its easy adaptation to his political views, rather than from its more liberal spirit, or its closer resemblance to the practice of primitive times. It must not be concealed, however, that the dread of an inquisitorial power vested in any clerical corporation, however orthodox, had carried the minds of many well-instructed persons to accede to the moderate pretensions of the Independents; "who," says Lord Clar-

endon, "were more learned and rational than the Presbyterians, and though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet they infected, and were followed by the most substantial and wealthy citizens, as well as by others of better condition." But an opportunity will occur hereafter for inquiring into the principles of toleration which prevailed at that important crisis of our history; and as our business at present is with Cromwell and his political allies, we shall proceed to state the measures which he adopted to realize their favourite objects—the fall of the monarchy, and the elevation of the popular branch of the government.

Before the Earl of Manchester and his lieutenant-general proceeded to intercept the retreat of Charles from Cornwall to Oxford,—the movement which brought on the second battle of Newbury,—Cromwell, who had discovered that his friends, the Independents, ran the risk of being finally vanquished in the Assembly of Divines, made and carried a motion in the Lower House, that the "committee of Lords and Commons appointed to treat with the commissioners from Scotland, and the committee of the Assembly, should take into consideration the differences in opinion of the members of the Assembly in point of church government, and endeavour a union, if it were possible; and in case that could not be done, that they should essay to find out some methods by which tender consciences, who could not in all things submit to the common rule which might be established, might be borne with, consistently with Scripture and the public peace, that so the proceedings of the Assembly might not be so much retarded."*

The success which attended this proposal shows clearly that many of the members of the House of Commons, who were originally Presbyterians, must

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 61. Journal of Commons, sub ann.

have seen reason to change their sentiments on the article of church polity. Essex, Manchester, and the chief officers in both armies continued, however, to support that system, on the ground that it was not incompatible with the restoration of the king to the exercise of his authority, nor with the rank and privileges of the peers as hereditary advisers of the crown. In fact, it was at this precise period that the character of the civil war underwent that great change which immediately afterward induced the armies of the parliament to fight, not for the liberties of the nation, but for the ascendency of a party who were already grasping at the reins of government.

The designs of Cromwell did not, indeed, escape the suspicion of Lord Essex, nor of the Scottish commissioners. The former it is true, had taken some personal offence at his report to parliament respecting the battle of Newbury, in which he seemed to lay more blame on the officers of his lordship's army than on those who had served under Manchester and Waller. The Scots, in like manner, were displeased with him, both on account of his aversion to Presbyterianism, and of some expressions which he had used derogatory, as they thought, to the honour of their nation. But it may be presumed, that their fears and aversion had a more worthy object than any that could arise from their individual interests; and when they took counsel whether they might not denounce him as an incendiary, candour requires of us to believe that they were influenced by the higher motives of patriotism and public justice. Whitelocke gives an interesting account of a conference which was held on that subject in the presence of Essex, and of the result in which their deliberations terminated.

"One evening, very late, Maynard and I were sent for by the lord-general to Essex-house, and there was no excuse to be admitted, nor did we know

beforehand the occasion of our being sent for. When we came to Essex-house, we were brought to the lord-general, and with him were the Scots commissioners, Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Meyrick, and diverse others of his special friends. After compliments, and that all were sat down in council, the lord-general requested the lord-chancellor of Scotland to explain the object of the meeting, when the latter spoke as follows:—

"'Master Maynard and Master Whitelocke, I can assure you of the great opinion both my brethren and myself have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have desired this meeting with you. And since it is his excellency's pleasure that I should acquaint you with the matter upon which your counsel is desired, I shall obey his commands, and briefly recite the business to you. You ken very weel that Lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours, and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honour and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards and services; but so it is. And we are nevertheless fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this kingdom in general. It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora may be removed out of the way; who, we foresee, otherwise will be no small impediment to us and the gude design we have undertaken. He is not only no friend to us, and to the government of our church, but he is also no well-wisher to his excellency, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on in his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of that mischief. You ken very weel the accord 'twixt the twa kingdoms, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant; and if ony be an *cendiairy*

between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the matter is wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word incendiary to be? and whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be not sic an incendiary as is meant thereby? and whilke way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sic an incendiary, and that will clip his wings, from soaring, to the prejudice of our cause? Now you may ken that by our law in Scotland, we 'clepe him an incendiary who kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the public damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ*. Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best who are mickle learned therein. And therefore, with the favour of his excellency, we desire your judgment in these points.'"

Whitelocke, having been requested by Lord Essex to give his opinion, after a short preamble, replied in these terms: "The sense of the word incendiary is the same with us as his lordship hath expressed it to be by the law of Scotland, one that raiseth the fire of contention in a state, and so it is taken in the accord between the two kingdoms. Whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be such an incendiary between these two kingdoms, as is meant by this word, cannot be known but by proofs of his particular words or actions, tending to the kindling of this fire of contention betwixt the two nations, and raising of differences between us. If it doth not appear by proofs that he hath done this, then he is not an incendiary, nor to be proceeded against for it by the parliament upon his being there accused for those things. This I take for a ground that my lord-general, and my lords the commissioners for Scotland (being persons of so great honour and authority as you are), must not appear in any business, especially of an accusation, but such as you shall see beforehand will be clearly made out, and to be

brought to the effect intended. Otherwise for such persons as you are to begin a business of this weight, and not to have it so prepared beforehand as to be certain to carry it, but to put it to a doubtful trial, in case it should not succeed as you expect, but that you should be foiled in it, it would reflect upon your great honour and wisdom. Next, as to the person of him who is to be accused as an incendiary, it will be fit, in my humble opinion, to consider his present condition, and parts, and interest in the parliament (wherein Mr. Maynard and myself, by our constant attendance in the House of Commons, are the more capable to give an account to your lordships), and for his interest in the army, some honourable persons here present, his excellency's officers, are best able to inform your lordships. I take Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons, nor is wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself, to manage his own part, or defence, to the best advantage. If this be so, my lords, it will be more requisite to be well prepared against him before he be brought upon the stage, lest the issue of the business be not answerable to your expectations."*

We are informed by the same author, that Hollis and Stapleton, with some other enemies of Cromwell, entered eagerly into the question, and mentioned some particular words and actions which might be successfully employed to prove that he was an active and most dangerous incendiary. In opposition to Whitelocke, too, they insisted that his interest in the House was not so great as it had been represented; and they concluded by expressing their readiness, should it be thought expedient, to come forward as his accusers in the face of the parlia-

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 126.

ment. But the Scottish commissioners declined to proceed in a matter at once so delicate and hazardous, until means were used to collect evidence on the leading articles of the charge; and in this resolution all the other individuals present at length concurred.

Whitelocke remarks, he had reason to suspect that some false brethren who were present, informed Cromwell of all that had passed. Though "he took no notice of any particular passages at that time, yet he seemed more kind to me and Mr. Maynard, than he had been formerly; and carried on his design more actively of making way for his own advantage."* There is no doubt that this was the crisis of Oliver's fate, and that it prompted him to the decisive measure by which he was enabled to wield the power of the whole army, command the parliament, take the life of the king, change the form of administration, and render himself the autocrat of the British empire.

Finding that his intentions could be no longer concealed, and that his opponents were determined to use against him the very weapons which he himself had been accustomed to employ, he resolved, by one bold step, to deprive them for ever of the means of thwarting his interests, or of defeating his plans. Relying upon the activity of his friends in the Lower House, he denounced his commanding officer as false to the trust which parliament had reposed in him, and suggested an expedient for securing the welfare of the nation in future against the indifference of lukewarm friends, and the selfish designs of the aristocracy. In short, he proposed the Self-denying

* Anthony Wood says, "In 1644, when Robert Earl of Essex was about to prove Oliver Cromwell an incendiary, Whitelocke gave him, the said Oliver, timely notice of the design (he being privy to it), and thenceforth he became very gracious with that most active person, who with his party were very willing to engage him as far as they could to them."

Ordinance, the object of which was, to disqualify every person who held a seat in either House for discharging any other office, whether military or civil, with the exception of a few in the latter department, which were particularly specified.

The reader of Cromwell's history will perceive that by his ambition he repeatedly placed himself in circumstances which left to him only the painful alternative of falling a victim to his own devices, or of sacrificing others for his safety. At a later period, when the death of the king became a subject of deliberation, he discovered, it was said, that either his own head or that of Charles must fall to the ground; and, in such a case, he imagined that no one could blame him for the decision which he adopted. In the present conjuncture of affairs, it was evident to all that the officers who had hitherto commanded against his majesty were no longer disposed to prosecute the war, but rather to pave the way for an amicable adjustment of the differences between him and his subjects. Had this plan succeeded, Cromwell and his associates were perfectly aware that, even upon the most favourable arrangement, they would be compelled to return to their former insignificance, and thereby not only to sacrifice all the advantages which they possessed, but also to forego the brilliant prospects which were already opening up to them in the event of a prosperous termination of hostilities.

In his opposition to Manchester and Essex, therefore, the lieutenant-general represented a strong party in the Commons, who dreaded nothing so much as a peace with the royalists. One of their number observes, that "if a war of this nature must be determined by treaty, and the king left in the exercise of his royal authority, after the utmost violation of the laws, and the greatest calamities brought upon the people, it doth not appear to me what security can be given to them (the nation) for the future

enjoyment of their rights and privileges; nor with what prudence wise men can engage with the parliament, who being, by practice at least, liable to be dissolved at pleasure, are thereby rendered unable to protect themselves, or such as take up arms under their authority, if, after infinite hardships and hazards of their lives and estates, they must fall under the power of a provoked enemy, who, being once re-established in his former authority, will never want means to revenge himself upon all those who, in defence of the rights and privileges of the nation, adventure to resist him in his illegal and arbitrary proceedings."*

Influenced by these views, and having no longer any doubt as to the intentions of the noble generals, the Commons listened with a deep interest to the charge which Cromwell brought against the Earl of Manchester. The accusation pointed chiefly to the affair of Dennington Castle, in which the remissness of the commander excited no small degree of surprise and suspicion. In fact, the House, on the 23d of November, made an order that on the Monday following, the lieutenant-general and Waller should declare their whole knowledge and information respecting the late proceedings of the conjoined armies. The substance of the statement made by the former of these officers has been already given; reflecting chiefly on the supposed reluctance of Manchester to end the war by the sword, and conveying an insinuation that he was more desirous to conciliate than to subdue the party which fought for the king. Whitelocke remarks, that Cromwell's narrative gave great satisfaction to the assembly to whom it was addressed.

Three days afterward the earl entered upon his defence in the House of Peers; in the course of which he accused Cromwell of being by his tardiness

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 132.

and disaffection, the principal cause why the king had been allowed to carry off his ordnance from Dennington Castle, without the hazard of a battle. It arose, Manchester alleged, "from his not obeying orders, who being commanded, as lieutenant-general of the horse, to be ready at such a place, by such an hour, early in the morning, came not till the afternoon; and by many particulars, made it clear to have been only his fault."* He added, that for his own part, as he was inexperienced in war, he had done nothing without the advice of his principal officers, of whom the first that dissuaded him from fighting was Sir Arthur Hazlerig (an individual whom Cromwell meant to adduce as a witness to prove his charge), "and," says he, "I must acknowledge that Lieutenant-general Cromwell was sensible of a contradiction in this particular, as, when there was but an information of such a report cast out at random, that I had acted without the advice of the council of war, he professed that he was a villain and liar that could affirm any such thing."†

Not satisfied with this verbal recrimination, his lordship drew up a narrative, in which he imbodied charges of a more serious nature against Cromwell; stating that he meditated the most dangerous innovations, the objects of which were, to abolish the House of Lords, and even to put an end to the peerage altogether; to dissolve the coalition between the two nations; to break up the Assembly of Divines; and to raise an army composed of men devoted to his interests, who would extort from both king and parliament whatever conditions they might think proper to demand. There are particular expressions cited, in relation to this point, which seem worthy of being mentioned. At one time Cromwell having proposed some scheme to which it seemed improbable that parliament would accede,

* Hollis, p. 26. † Rushworth, vol. v. p. 133.

he insisted upon the expediency of his measure, and said to Manchester, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall soon find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law to both king and parliament." "This discourse," continued the earl, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England till I were Mr. Montague, and there were ne'er a lord or peer in the kingdom."*

In due course the Lords communicated to the Commons a copy of the defence made by the earl, as well as his recrimination upon the second in command. But the Lower House, instead of investigating the charge, appointed a committee to inquire whether it were not a breach of privilege, and contrary to the fundamental constitution of parliament, that an accusation against one of their members should be originated by the Peers? A discussion on this point of form occupied the attention of both Houses until the 9th of December; on which day the Commons having resolved themselves into a grand committee, "to consider of the sad condition of the kingdom by the continuance of the war, there was a general silence for a good space of time, many looking upon one another to see who would break the ice, and speak first on so tender and sharp a point. Among whom Oliver Cromwell stood up, and spoke briefly to this effect: 'That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue, the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that, without a more vigorous, speedy, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like soldiers of for-

* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 562.'

tune beyond sea to spin out a war; we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament. For what do the enemy say? nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and what by interest in parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces; it is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power. But if I may speak my conscience without reflecting upon any, I do conceive, that if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief, upon any occasion whatsoever, for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can be rarely avoided in military affairs; therefore, waiving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy which is most necessary; and I hope we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no member of either House will scruple themselves and their own private interests for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.'"*

The argument of Cromwell was opposed by several members, and especially by Whitelocke, who

* Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 375.

pointed out the injustice and practical inconvenience of the intended ordinance. He contended that, if it were thought expedient for the public service that any of the officers at present in command should be removed from the army, the wishes of the House should be made known to them plainly and candidly. "Let them have what they deserve—your thanks for their former good services—and they will not be offended that you, having no more work for them, do lay them aside with honour. But to do a business of this nature by a side wind is, in my humble opinion, not so becoming your honour and wisdom, as plainness and gravity, which are ornaments to your actions." He then alluded to the example of the Greeks and Romans, among whom the greatest offices in peace and war were conferred upon their senators; who, having a deep private interest in the public welfare, were less likely than meaner men to betray their trust; and having a perfect knowledge of the intentions of government, were thereby better qualified to perform their duties in the field. But the speech of the lawyer made no impression on the members, the majority of whom were decidedly in favour of the change suggested by Cromwell. It was accordingly resolved on the following day, That during the time of this war, no member of either House shall have or execute any office or command, military or civil, granted or conferred by both or either of the two Houses of parliament, or any authority derived from both or either of the Houses; and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly.*

On the 19th December the said ordinance passed the House of Commons, and was ordered to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence. A motion had been made in the committee to exempt the Earl of

* Journals of Commons; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 119; Par. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 437.

Essex from the operation of the law, which was negatived by a small majority; and it is worthy of remark, as showing the peculiar influence whence the whole scheme proceeded, that the national covenant was no longer to be used as a test for those who held or executed any public office. The Upper House demurred not a little as to the main provisions of the new statute, as it not only deprived them of nearly all the power and honour which belonged to their order, but inflicted upon them an incapacity which did not extend to any other body of men. They therefore, after some conferences with the Commons, rejected the ordinance on the 15th January, 1645. Meantime, the plan for new modelling the army was brought forward by the committee of both kingdoms, proposing that the military force should consist of 7600 horse, and 14,400 infantry, and be placed under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, assisted by Major-general Skippon. The peers again hesitated, and would perhaps, had there been any prospect of success, have ventured on a direct opposition; but being conscious of their weakness, and apprehensive, it is probable, of a severer blow aimed at their privileges, they contented themselves with a few amendments. Their sanction was obtained about the middle of February; and on the 3d of April following, they passed, with slight modifications, the Self-denying Ordinance itself; soon after which, the Lords Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh resigned their commissions.

By the new model, Sir Thomas Fairfax was not only appointed commander-in-chief, but also invested with the power of nominating all the officers under him, and with the execution of martial law. No mention is made of the king's authority, nor is any clause for the preservation of his person inserted in the ordinance; but the general is directed to "lead his armies against all and singular enemies, rebels,

traitors, and other like offenders, and every of their adherents, and with them to fight; and them to invade, resist, repress, subdue, pursue, slay, kill, and put in execution of death by all ways and means."*

As Cromwell owed to this memorable innovation the rapid rise which he immediately afterward made to power, political and military, it has become a question among historians, whether he could anticipate such effects as likely to result from it, and whether he did not in fact, profess self-denial in order that he might gratify his ambition in the highest points to which it had aspired. In forming our judgment on this head, some weight is due to the charges brought against him by Manchester, whose ulterior views he had once endeavoured to sound; for it is remarkable that Oliver used the very means, and aimed at the precise objects, which were specified in the earl's narrative as sent down to the House of Commons. It may be presumed, therefore, that such visions had occasionally floated before his imagination; and also that, however inconsistent it may appear with his usual caution, he had revealed them in part to his superior officer, over whom, it is admitted, he exercised a predominating influence. The hint conveyed in these words, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall soon find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law to both king and parliament," contains the substance of the crooked policy which Cromwell himself afterward employed, and by which he soon effected all the objects on which his daring spirit had fixed its desires.

It is deserving of attention, too, that his friends had already tried to get the chief command of Manchester's army transferred to him from that nobleman; and that this attempt, which did not fail to excite among the Presbyterians a great degree of

* Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. iii. p. 599.

alarm and suspicion, was not relinquished until they were deserted by every appearance of success. But there is a circumstance which proves still more clearly that the partisans of Cromwell intended that he should occupy a high station in the army, even after the enactment of the self-denying statute; namely, that in appointing officers for the new model, they left the place of lieutenant-general vacant, Sir Thomas Fairfax was nominated to the chief command; Skippon had assigned to him the rank and duties of major-general; and the names of twenty-four colonels were announced as having the charge of so many regiments; but no one was selected to occupy the station of the second in authority. It cannot reasonably be doubted, says Mr. Godwin, that there was a special reason for keeping the name of the officer second in command in reserve; and that reason, as appeared in the sequel, was, that the situation was destined for Cromwell.*

Nor did the elevation of Fairfax to the first place materially impede the progress of the future Protector, or even diminish his influence in the meantime. Sir Thomas, though a brave soldier, had no confidence in his own resolutions, and was much inclined to repose on a more vigorous intellect, in all matters where counsel rather than action was required. The characteristic qualities of his mind were simplicity and openness, equally removed from reserve and from guile. He paid a ready homage to the powerful talents of Cromwell; who, in assuming the office of lieutenant-general, was understood to direct the movements of the army, and to dictate the orders which he appeared to obey. Sir Arthur Hazelrig is said to have described Fairfax as a commander "hewed out of the block for them, fit for their turn to do whatever they will have him, without considering or being able to judge whether hon-

* Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 405.

ourable or honest." But, without adopting this opinion to the full extent, it must be admitted that the man who could deceive Ludlow and Milton, make a tool of Manchester, outwit Vane, and lead, as if blindfolded, the ablest members of the Long Parliament, was more than a match for the gentle and unsuspecting Fairfax.

It has been argued, however, that Cromwell, when he proposed the Self-denying Ordinance, must have acted from disinterested motives, both because he was himself to be subject to the operation of the new law, and also, because, if it had passed when he first brought it forward, as he was not at the moment engaged in any military employment, he could not have found a pretext for continuing in the army. It was as late as the 27th of February, as has been remarked by an ingenious writer, that he was ordered by the parliament, which he had till then attended, to join Sir William Waller, that he might assist him in carrying relief to Melcombe, as well as prevent levies from being made in that neighbourhood for the service of the king: hence, had the Self-denying Ordinance and that for the new model been passed as soon as was expected, both these officers, before the date just mentioned, must have been deprived of their commands, and even rendered incapable of any similar appointment.*

But is it not very obvious that Cromwell could have easily removed the supposed disqualification by resigning his seat in parliament; an alternative of which the noble generals were deprived by their hereditary right to a place in the Upper House? Besides, pretexts could never have been wanting to secure the services of an officer so able and successful. In truth, there is sufficient evidence on record to prove that an expedient was actually employed for this very purpose; or, at least, that an event

* Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. iii. p. 561.

occurred which was used as an argument for continuing the conqueror of Marston-moor at the head of his faithful squadrons. "The next work," says Lord Hollis, "was how again to get in my friend Cromwell; for he was to have the power, Sir Thomas Fairfax only the name, of general: he to be the figure, the other the cipher. This was so gross and diametrically against the letter of the Self-denying Ordinance, that it put them to some trouble how to bring it about. For this, Cromwell's soldiers, forsooth, must mutiny, and say they will have their Cromwell or they will not stir. Yet for these very men had Cromwell undertaken before, when, upon debate, the inconveniency was objected which might follow by discontenting the common soldiers, who would hardly be drawn to leave their old officers and go under new, he could say that his soldiers had learned to obey the parliament, to go or stay, fight or lay by the sword, on their command; which I know prevailed with a great many to give their vote with that ordinance. By this trick a little beginning was made towards the breach of it, which was soon made greater. For they caused a report to be spread that the king was bending with his forces towards the Isle of Ely, which none could save but Cromwell, who must be sent in all haste for that service; and an order of dispensation is made for a very few months, but with such protestations of that party that this was only for that exigency, and that for the world they would not have the ordinance impeached, as Mr. Solicitor said, and that if nobody would move for the calling him home at the expiration of that time, he would. But all this was to gull the House. Mr. Solicitor forgot his protestation, and before that was out there is another order for more months, and so renewed from time to time, that at last their great commander is riveted in the army, and so fast riveted, as, after all his orders of continuance were at an end, he would keep his

command still, which he has done for several months, and does yet, notwithstanding that ordinance, without any order at all of the House for it."*

That there was a mutiny in Cromwell's regiment on the occasion alluded to by Hollis is placed beyond all doubt, by an entry made in the Journal of the Commons on the 20th of March, 1645, where we find, "the humble petition of the soldiers of Lieutenant-general Cromwell, acknowledging the heinousness of their offence in refusing to march with Sir William Waller into the west." Then follows a resolution "that this House doth accept of the acknowledgment and submission of the said soldiers, and do admit them into their former good opinion and favour." It must have been early in March that the lieutenant-general assumed the personal command of his horsemen in the west, as we find him immediately afterward leading them against the enemy at different towns in Somersetshire, while Waller occupied the maritime parts of Dorset. In the course of April he returned towards the north; at which time Essex, Manchester, and the other generals having, in compliance with the Self-denying Ordinance, resigned their commissions, he is said to have repaired to Windsor, where Fairfax was quartered, to kiss the general's hand, and take leave of the army. At this critical moment, says the author of *Anglia Rediviva*, "in the morning, ere he was come forth of his chamber, those commands, than which he thought of nothing less, came to him from the committee of both kingdoms," in virtue of which he marched towards Worcester to intercept a convoy proceeding to Oxford, and to shut up the royalists within the walls of that city.

It would appear, too, that so far down as the middle of May, the new system had not been extended to all the regiments in the service of parliament;

* Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35.

for we find that about the period now specified, the committee of the army were desired by the House, "to consider what sums of money are fit to be provided for that party of horse and foot under the command of Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Major-general Browne which is not within the new model. But on the 10th of June, a letter was read in the Commons from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and diverse of the chief officers of his army, dated at Sherrington two days before, 'desiring that Lieutenant-general Cromwell might command the horse in chief, in Sir Thomas Fairfax his army.' Whereupon it was resolved, that Sir Thomas Fairfax be desired, if he thinks fit, to appoint Lieutenant-general Cromwell to command the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax, as lieutenant-general, during such time as this House shall please to dispense with his attendance; and that Sir Thomas Widdrington prepare a letter to be signed by Mr. Speaker, and forthwith sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him of this vote."*

In this manner was completed the very politic scheme by which the popular party at once prevented the return of peace, and secured the ascendency of their own interests, as well as the temporary depression of the peerage and of the crown. To effect these objects, no plan could have proved more effectual than that of placing Cromwell at the head of the army. He was an enemy to half-measures; and he dreaded the restoration of royal power, as an event which was not only to blast all his prospects of personal aggrandizement, but to defeat the intentions of his dearest friends, and perhaps expose them to the vengeance of the court. But it is manifest at the same time, that from this moment the fate of the king was sealed. No terms which could be proposed as the basis of a settlement would have satisfied the two great parties, or pro-

* Journals, May 11, June 10.

tected the one against the power and suspicions of the other. Henceforth the sword alone was to determine whether England was any longer to hold a place among monarchies, or to undergo the experiment of a republican government.

In the ascendency of Cromwell as a successful soldier was exemplified that result which at one period or another inevitably takes place in all revolutions. A man from among the people, without titles, lands, or privileges, and whose interests have become connected with the progress of the innovation, starts up to direct the course of events; and without any regard to the original object of the quarrel, avails himself of the passions which have been thereby excited, leads on the multitude to accomplish his private purposes, and at length imposes upon their necks a heavier and more galling yoke than that which they have just shaken off. At this time, and instructed as we are by the page of history, every friend of liberty must regret that Cromwell was made an exception to the otherwise unlimited operation of the Self-denying Ordinance. It had been better for the parliament to have suffered a material risk as to the prosperous conclusion of the war, than to have employed so dangerous an instrument. But at the period of which we are treating, not one of them distrusted the principles or motives of the lieutenant-general; and it would have appeared as little less than ruin to the incipient commonwealth, to lay aside the man who, above all others, was best fitted to render her cause victorious.

In short, were there any doubt that the Self-denying Ordinance was meant to serve a particular purpose, it might be removed by the fact that Cromwell, after he had thereby turned out the aristocratical generals, contrived soon afterward to have several of the chief officers of the army elected members of the House of Commons, who at once occupied their seats and retained their commands. But the

consideration which most strongly confirms this view, is founded on the remarkable circumstance already mentioned, that when the troops of the new model were supplied with an establishment of officers, the appointment of lieutenant-general, or second in command, was not filled up; it was reserved for the hero of Marston-moor.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing an Outline of Public Affairs from the Period of the Self-denying Ordinance, to the Surrender of his Majesty by the Scots to the English Parliament.

The new form into which the army was cast opened up for Cromwell a wide path to the accomplishment of all his purposes. In reducing the old regiments, pains were taken to select for the battalions of the new model such officers and soldiers as were most likely to comply with his views in the still greater innovations which he meditated. The rigid Presbyterians were dismissed, and their places filled by Independents; men whose fanatical humours could be more easily excited by the lieutenant-general, who, in this respect, was ever ready to supply the defects of military discipline by the more effectual aids of preaching and prayer.

But while the parliament was engaged in these preparations for war, an attempt was made by commissioners from the king and from the two Houses at Westminster, to negotiate a peace. The meeting took place at Uxbridge, on the 30th of January, 1645, in compliance with the wishes of the moderate on both sides, who were weary of hostilities, rather than from any expectation entertained by the

leaders of either party that the treaty would be attended with a successful issue. The main points submitted to discussion were the Church, the Militia, and Ireland; and the period for deliberation was limited to twenty days. Twenty-six propositions, drawn up so as to give mutual satisfaction to the insurgents of England and Scotland, had been presented to the king at Oxford, on the month of November preceding; and these, put into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners at Uxbridge, were declared to be the only basis on which the people could treat with their sovereign.

As to religion, it is well known that the legislators of Westminster had, the year before, sanctioned a Presbyterian Directory of public worship, in place of the Liturgy, and had even agreed upon several points of ecclesiastical polity subversive of the established church: to these they required the king's consent, as well as to the acts for abolishing Episcopacy, and for constituting the Assembly of Divines. The royal commissioners were authorized to propose a modified form of Episcopal government, by which the bishops should be precluded from exercising any part of their wonted jurisdiction, without the concurrence of a certain number of presbyters to be chosen by the clergy of their diocesses. But no concession that did not imply a full establishment of the Presbyterian church could be received by the other party, who on this head were deprived of all discretionary power. They were further instructed to insist that the Solemn League and Covenant should be rendered obligatory throughout the whole kingdom, and signed even by Charles himself. His majesty's representatives replied, that he could not conscientiously give way to the proposed change in the religious worship of the nation, but that he would willingly grant every reasonable indulgence to those who might have scruples to join it; and consent, moreover, that 100,000*l.* towards the liquida-

tion of the public debt should be raised on the property of the church.

The second point, which respected the power of the sword, presented difficulties neither fewer nor less insuperable than the question of ecclesiastical constitution. The king proposed that the right of appointing officers to the army and navy should be confided for three years to twenty commissioners, ten of whom were to be nominated by himself, and the other ten by the parliament; on condition that, at the end of the period just stated, the usual authority vested in the crown should revert undiminished to him or to his heirs. To this the other party would not accede; on the contrary, they demanded that the power in question should be continued to the two Houses for seven years from the conclusion of this treaty, or for three years after the establishment of a firm and durable peace, and then to be permanently defined and disposed of by act of parliament. As this proposition was obviously meant to deprive Charles, during his whole life, of the most efficient article of his prerogative, it is not surprising that his commissioners should have met it with a decided refusal.

The affairs of Ireland appear not to have engaged the same degree of attention which was bestowed upon the army and the church. In truth, the renewal of the war in that country could only have been resolved upon in the event of a successful termination to the treaty on the part of the secretaries; who, in prosecuting hostilities against the Roman Catholics, were influenced more by religious motives than by considerations of policy. But the parliament had besides reserved a bitter potion for the king in the punishment and proscription of his most distinguished adherents, which they knew well he would not consent to swallow, as long as he had the power of resistance. In the exceptions from pardon imbodied in one of their propositions were

specially mentioned forty of his English friends, and nineteen belonging to Scotland; together with all such of the latter kingdom as had concurred in the votes at Oxford against that country, or been concerned in the insurrection under Montrose and his partisans. In addition to this, they insisted that all judges, lawyers, bishops, and other public functionaries who had deserted the parliament should be rendered for ever incapable of exercising their respective offices, and that a third part of their estates should be forfeited to the public for payment of the national debt. As to all other delinquents, they demanded that a tenth part of their property, if it exceeded 200*l.* in value, or even the half of that sum if they had actually carried arms, should likewise be seized for public uses.

In a word, neither king nor parliament expected, and it is equally certain that neither desired, the accomplishment of this celebrated treaty, in the peculiar circumstances in which they were relatively placed at the period when its deliberations commenced. Each looked for a favourable change in the aspect of affairs. The popular party were about to prepare for the field an army which they knew would have no other object but conquest, and the final establishment of their power. Charles, on the other hand, was not without hope that the arms of Montrose in Scotland, and a powerful reinforcement of soldiers from the sister island, would enable him in the spring to meet his enemies on equal terms, and to recover, during the summer of 1645 all that he had lost in the course of the late campaign.

Dr. Wellwood tells a story, which has been repeated by the author of the Critical History of the Life of Cromwell, the object of which is to account for the failure of the treaty of Uxbridge, on the supposition that Charles would have yielded to the demands of the parliamentary commissioners, had he not received, during the negotiations, a letter

from the Marquis of Montrose, dissuading him from all concessions. We are told, on this authority, that the Earl of Southampton, who is represented as having been extremely desirous for an accommodation, had posted to Oxford, where he fell at the feet of the king, and entreated him to accept the proposals offered by the enemy, at whatever expense it might be to his personal feelings. His majesty is said to have consented, and to have even promised to sign a warrant to that effect on the following morning; but, it is added, that, in the course of the night, he altered his resolution, and became as inflexible as ever.

"The unhappy occasion of this change," observes the doctor,* "has hitherto lain a secret in history, and might have continued such still, if a letter from the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland, of which I have seen a copy, under the Duke of Richmond's hand, did not give a sufficient light into it." The reader may be pleased to peruse a part of the communication now alluded to, as there can be no doubt, whatever truth there may be in Wellwood's anecdote, that it produced a considerable impression on the mind of the king. "Let me humbly entreat your majesty's pardon if I presume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the south last week, as if your majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart than that news from England is like to break it. The more your majesty grants, the more will be asked; and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your majesty a king of straw. Forgive me to

* Wellwood's Memoirs, p. 63, 308. A short Critical Review of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 117, 260.

tell your majesty, that, in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a king to treat with rebel subjects, while they have the sword in their hands. As to the state of affairs in this kingdom, the bearer will fully inform your majesty in every particular. And give me leave, with all humility, to assure your majesty that, through God's blessing, I am in the fairest way to reduce this kingdom to your majesty's obedience. And if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this summer, I shall be able to come to your majesty's assistance with a brave army; which, backed with the justice of your majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of rebellion."

The king, for other reasons, was by no means inclined to come to terms with the parliament, and more especially because he knew the leading members of the Lower House had resolved to prosecute the war. He could not have remained ignorant of the important motion made in the Commons by Cromwell on the 9th of the foregoing December, of which the object was to deprive all the friends of monarchy of the power formerly possessed by them in the persons of Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, of sheathing the sword whensoever the cause of a rational liberty might appear to have been vindicated. The only chance, therefore, which remained to him of negotiating a peace on a footing of equality depended upon the fortune of war; and to that, however inadequate his means and reluctant his supporters were become, he was determined to trust, during the course of another campaign.

The new model seems to have been completed under the direction of Cromwell, who, it has already been remarked, left no efforts unemployed to secure officers and men devoted to his cause, and animated

with a spirit similar to his own. Never was a more singular army assembled than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed, as the officers were in general qualified to assume the spiritual duties, and to unite them with their military functions. During the intervals of active service, they employed themselves in sermons, prayers, and exhortations; yielding their minds in these pursuits to the same emulation which inspired their courage in the field of battle. Enthusiasm supplied the place of study and reflection; and while they poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they mistook that eloquence which, to their own surprise, as well as to that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations conveyed by the agency of the Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience with all the authority which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their leisure hours in prayer, in reading the Bible, or in spiritual conferences; when they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and stimulated one another to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the field resounded as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as with the instruments of martial music; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger in the prospect of that state of never ending peace and security which was placed before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious, and death a pious martyrdom; while, amid the perils of the charge, and the confusion of the conflict, their minds were supported by the delightful assurance that the sword of an enemy would only relieve them from the duties of this

world, to send them to the full enjoyment of the next.*

The royalists presented a striking contrast to the army to which they were opposed. Disgusted in some degree with the high religious pretensions of the republican party, they rushed into the other extreme of licentiousness and impiety. Their habit, too, of living on free quarters, an evil produced by the want of regular pay, encouraged them in the liberties which they were accustomed to take with the property of friends and of foes. Their commanders were obliged to connive at extortions which they could neither prevent nor punish; and the faults which they did not check they were accused of countenancing. Rupert, of whom it was said that he was in all things a soldier,† willingly permitted his troops to enjoy a license to which, as conquerors, he thought them fully entitled within the limits of the parliament, and, in quality of protectors, where

* Dugdale's Short View, p. 721; Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 281; Hume, vol. vii. p. 53.

The following letter from Cromwell to Colonel Hacker will illustrate the above statement:—

"SIR,

"I have the best consideration I can for the præsent in this businesse, and although I believe Captain Hubbert is a worthy man, I heere so much, yett as the case stands, I cannott, with satisfaction to myselfe and some others, revoake the commission I had given to Captain Empson, without offence to them and reflection on my own judgment. I pray lett Captain Hubbert know I shall not bee unmindful of him, and that noe disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to mee about Empson, that he was a better praecher than a fighter or soldier, or words to that effect. Truly I thinke that hee that prayes and praeches best will fight best. I know nothing will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will, and I blease God to see any in this armye able and willinge to impart the knowledge they have for the good of others. And I expect itt be encouraged by all chiefe officers in this armye especially; and I hope you will doe soe. I pray receave Captain Empson lovinglye. I dare assure you he is a good man and a good officer, I would we had no worse.

"I rest your lovinge friend,

"*Dec.* 25, 1650. "O. CROMWELL.

"To Colonel Francis Hacker, at Peebles or elsewhere, these."

† Rupert "*toujours soldat.*"

the inhabitants were devoted to the cause of the king. The opprobrious appellation of "Goring's Crew" continued long in the west to express the resentment of the people who had been plundered by the followers of that general; and his example, it is believed, was imitated by Wilmot, Gerrard, and Granville, whose oppressions became more grievous as the interests which they supported sank into a more hopeless decline.

The first service which Cromwell performed in virtue of his dispensation from the Commons was to intercept at Islip-bridge a body of troops proceeding from the west towards Oxford, with the intention, it was thought, of reinforcing the king, and of enabling him to march with his artillery against some of the garrisons held by the parliamentary forces on the banks of the Severn. He defeated two regiments of cavalry, took a great number of prisoners, and got possession of the standard which the queen had presented to a favourite corps of horsemen. Being in the neighbourhood of Blessingdon House, at that time a place of arms, commanded by Colonel Windebank, he made an assault upon it while a number of ladies were within its walls on a visit to the governor's young wife. The terror of the females compelled the colonel to listen to terms, and finally to surrender the garrison; for which imbecility he was soon afterward tried by a court-martial at Oxford, and condemned to be shot. Cromwell was not less successful in a skirmish with Sir William Vaughan in the same vicinity, whom, with the greater part of his infantry, he is reported to have taken prisoner. But in an attack by Goring, who had advanced from Bristol to assist the king, he was for a moment deserted by his usual good fortune. He had failed in a premature assault on Farringdon House, which was defended by Sir George Lisle, and immediately afterward his quarters were beat up by the royalist general, who dispersed his troops, and

inflicted upon him a very considerable loss. It has been asserted that Oliver was not present with his division when Goring surprised it, being engaged on official duty in the tent of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who lay encamped at some distance. At all events, the king's party were greatly elevated by their victory, as it seemed to confirm their opinion in regard to the inferiority of the newly modelled regiments, from which almost all the officers of experience had been expelled by the intrigues of the Independent faction, both in the army and in the parliament. A rumour, indeed, prevailed during a few days that Cromwell himself was either slain or wounded, and that 2000 of his men had fallen under the sword of the enemy.*

In the early part of the summer the hostile armies were employed in watching the movements of each other. The principal object contemplated by the parliament was the relief of Taunton, which had for some time suffered a close investment under the direction of Sir Richard Granville; while the king, on the other hand, resolved to march towards Wales, to raise the siege of Chester, the garrison of which was now reduced to great distress by the vigilance of Sir William Brereton, who, during several months, had maintained a rigorous blockade. Cromwell, who had been instructed to shut up his majesty in Oxford, found himself unequal to the task; for which reason Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had already reached Salisbury on his way to Taunton, was recalled by the committee of both kingdoms, and desired to lay siege to that city; for, although the king had retired, it contained his stores, his remaining wealth, and some members of his household. The approach of the royalists drove away Brereton from before Chester, and gave liberty to the brave troops which were confined within its fortifications to join

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 852; Heath, 33.

the main body; upon which they directed their march to Leicester, which they took by storm the very day it was first summoned to surrender. The loss of so valuable a post alarmed the parliamentarians in all parts of the kingdoms, and suggested to their government the expediency of raising the siege of Oxford, of concentrating their armies, and of confining the attention of their general to the operations of Charles and Prince Rupert, who seemed determined to penetrate into the north.

It was on this occasion that Fairfax addressed a letter to the two Houses, requesting that they would be pleased to nominate Cromwell his lieutenant-general. He represented that "the esteem and affection which he hath with the officers and soldiers of the whole army, his own personal worth and ability, with the constant presence and blessing of God which have accompanied him, make us look upon it as the duty we owe to you and the public to make it our humble and earnest suit to appoint him unto this employment." This epistle was also signed by several other officers, and particularly by Fleetwood, Whalley, Skippon, and Ireton, "men near unto Cromwell, and probably not wholly ignorant of his designs." The Commons most readily complied with the desire of the general, and gave orders that Oliver, who appears to have gone down to Cambridge for the defence of the associated counties, should forthwith join Fairfax with all the troops under his command. The following note from Sir Thomas to his lieutenant is worthy of insertion, as a specimen of the simplicity and good faith of the writer, who never, until it was too late, allowed himself to suspect the designs of his ambitious colleague.

"Sir,

"You will find by the enclosed note of the House of Commons a liberty given me to appoint you

lieutenant-general of the horse of this army, during such time as that House shall be pleased to dispense with your attendance. You cannot expect but that I make use of so good an advantage, as I apprehend this to be, to the public good; and therefore I desire you to make speedy repair to this army, and give orders that the troops of horse you had from hence, and what other horse and dragoons can be spared from the attendance of your foot in their coming up, march hither with convenient speed; and as for any other forces you have there, I shall not need to desire of you to dispose of them as you shall find most for the public advantage, which we here apprehend to be, that they march towards us by the way of Bristol. We are now quartered at Wilton, two miles from Northampton; the enemy still at Daventry. Our intelligence is that they intend to move on Friday, but which way we cannot yet tell. They are, as we hear, more horse than foot, and make their horse their confidence; ours shall be in God. I pray all possible haste towards your affectionate friend to serve you,

"THOMAS FAIRFAX."

This letter was dated on the 11th of June; and on the second day thereafter Cromwell joined at the head of a considerable body of horse. No sooner was he at head-quarters than he infused into the councils of the commander-in-chief the spirit of enterprise which distinguished his active mind. Fairfax, although he appears to have enjoyed better intelligence than Charles, was still ignorant as to the ulterior views of his enemy; not knowing whether they meant to risk a battle, or to continue their march into the north, with the intention of retrieving the effects of Marston-moor in that important division of the kingdom. Cromwell suggested the propriety of sending out a detachment of horse, to ascertain the exact position of the royalists, and

to attack their rear should they persist in retiring from the scene of action.

The king had been some days at Daventry, still hesitating whether to turn his face eastward, or to pursue his original intention, when news was carried to him, on the 12th of June, that Fairfax had already advanced to Northampton with a formidable army. Upon receiving this intelligence, his majesty next morning retired to Harborough, meaning to go back even as far as Leicester, that he might draw from Newark some regiments of foot, and keep his enemy at bay until the other forces which he expected could have time to join him. But in the course of the ensuing night an alarm was conveyed to Harborough, that the parliamentary general was encamped within six miles of that town. A council of war was immediately held, to which some of the officers were summoned from their beds. It was resolved to fight, and even to anticipate the attack of Fairfax, should he appear to delay his advance. Accordingly, at an early hour on the 14th of June, the army was drawn up on a rising ground about a mile south from Harborough, a position of the most advantageous nature both for the foot, cavalry, and ordnance. The main body of the infantry, amounting to about 2500, was put under the command of Lord Ashley; the right wing of horse, being somewhat less numerous, was led by Prince Rupert; while the left wing, consisting of cavalry from the northern counties, and of some detachments from Newark, in all not exceeding 1600, was intrusted to the charge of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. In the reserve, were the king's life-guards, commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, Prince Rupert's regiment of foot, and the royal horse guards, under Lord Bernard Stuart, recently created Earl of Litchfield.

After remaining in order of battle till eight o'clock, it began to be doubted whether the intelligence which had reached them respecting the enemy was

well founded. The impatience of Rupert carried him two miles in front, with the view of ascertaining the position of Fairfax; and imagining that he saw the van of the parliamentarians beginning to turn their backs, he sent a message to the king to advance at a quick step with his whole line, and begin the pursuit. Charles put his army in motion; and relinquishing the favourable ground which he had originally occupied, led his battalions into the plain which separated Harborough from Naseby. Fairfax, meantime, having formed his cavalry on a gentle eminence immediately behind the last named of these towns, waited the approach of his antagonists, who had not yet passed the level space which divided the two hosts.

Of the parliament's army, the general-in-chief and Skippon commanded the main battle; Cromwell had the right wing, in which he was assisted by Rossiter; the left was confided to Ireton, who, at the instance of his father-in-law, had recently been appointed commissary-general of the horse. The number on each side was so equal, as not to differ 500 men; amounting in either line to about 18,000. The engagement began in the wings, which were chiefly composed of cavalry. Prince Rupert with his wonted impetuosity charged the opposite squadrons in the division of Ireton, which he bore down at the first onset, and drove out of the field. Their commander, who showed no less skill than spirit, attempted again and again to rally them. At the head of a few troops which had kept their ground, he threw himself on a body of the royal infantry; but the latter being armed with pikes, his horsemen could make no impression on their ranks, and he was at length wounded severely in the thigh and face, dismounted, and taken prisoner. In the mean time, the prince, regardless of those whom he left engaged, continued to hew down the fugitives, driving them through their reserves, until he reached the

cannon in the rear, and the wagons loaded with the heavy baggage.

On the other wing, the fortune of the day was different; Cromwell, who commanded the right of the parliamentary army, rushed upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale with the utmost fury; but he, being an old soldier, stood firm, and received the charge with equal gallantry, when, after exchanging all their shot from carbines and pistols, they fell on mutually sword in hand. Rossiter and Whalley gained some advantage at the extremity of the wing, where they routed two divisions of horse, pushing them briskly into the rear. The latter rallied and charged again, but were at length utterly defeated; while the rest of the cavalry, being attacked in flank, found it necessary to retreat and leave the field to the enemy.

While the wings of either army were thus engaged with alternate success, the foot in the centre began the battle with equal fierceness, and for two hours kept up a destructive fire. The king's infantry, led on by gallant officers, and enraged at the defeat of their horse, made a furious attack on that part of the enemy's line which was commanded by Major-general Skippon, who, in endeavouring to maintain his position, received a severe wound. The advantage thus gained by the royalists was only of a momentary duration; for Cromwell, returning with his victorious brigades, fell upon their flank, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its ranks unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax; upon which that general ordered the captain of his life-guard to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in the rear. Sir Thomas with his own hand killed an ensign, and, having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The man afterward boasted that he himself had won this trophy; and upon the words being repeated to

Fairfax, he replied, "Let him retain that honour; I have acquired enough to-day beside."

It is remarked by Lord Clarendon, that this difference was observed all along in the discipline of the king's troops and of those which marched under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell, that though the former prevailed in the charge and routed their opponents, they seldom rallied, and could not be brought together so as to make a second charge the same day. This was the reason why they had not an entire victory at Edgehill. The parliamentary soldiers, on the other hand, if they were successful, or even if they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in their ranks until they received new orders. On the present occasion, the king and the prince could not collect their broken troops, which were still in sufficient numbers upon the field, though they often endeavoured it at the manifest hazard of their own persons. His majesty, addressing the horsemen who had returned with Rupert from the pursuit of the enemy, exclaimed, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" but all his efforts were fruitless, for what could not be accomplished by the cavaliers at a single onset seems to have been considered by them as either impracticable or altogether impossible.

An officer belonging to that spirited body of cavalry which had with so much ease driven the whole of Ireton's wing off the ground, relates that all Fairfax's foot, too, except his own brigade, were pushed back upon the reserves. "But," he adds, "here their officers rallied them and brought them on to a fresh charge; upon which their horse, under Cromwell, having repulsed ours, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, about a quarter of a mile into the rear, faced about and fell upon our infantry. Had our right wing done thus, the day had been secured; but Prince Rupert, according to his custom following the flying enemy, never concerned him-

self with the safety of those behind; and yet he returned sooner than he had done in like cases before. At our return we found all in confusion, our foot broken, all but one brigade, which, though charged in front, flank, and rear, could not be broken, till Sir Thomas Fairfax came up to the attack with fresh men, and then they were rather cut to pieces than beaten; for they stood with their pikes presented every way to the last extremity. In this condition, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, we saw the king rallying his horse and preparing to renew the fight; and our wing of cavalry coming up to him gave him an opportunity to draw up a body of horse so large that all the enemy's horse, facing us, stood still and looked on, but did not think fit to charge us till their foot, which had entirely broken our main battle, were put into order again, and brought up to us. The officers about the king advised his majesty rather to draw off; for since our foot were lost, it would be too much odds to expose the horse to the fury of their whole army, and would only be sacrificing his best troops without any hopes of success."*

The number of slain on the side of the royalists was eight hundred; the parliament's army is supposed to have lost two hundred more; but of the former not fewer than four thousand were taken prisoners. There were also captured the whole of the artillery, eight thousand stand of arms, above one hundred pair of colours, the royal standard, the king's cabinet of letters, his coaches, and the whole spoil of his camp.†

Charles retreated first to Leicester, and afterward to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, followed by Cromwell, who is said to have killed all the stragglers whom he overtook in the way, but to have avoided a general

* Military History of England, p. 276.
† Whitelocke's Memorials, June 14.

action with the royal cavalry, which were still in great strength. After this, his majesty, with a body of three thousand horse, went to Litchfield, and through Cheshire into North Wales; and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about two thousand five hundred, marched to Newark. "This," says the military author already quoted, "was the most fatal action of the whole war: not so much for the loss of cannon, ammunition, and baggage, of which the enemy boasted so much, but as it was impossible for the king ever to retrieve it. The foot, the best that ever he was master of, could never be supplied; his army in the west was exposed to certain ruin, and the north was overrun with the Scots. In short, the case grew desperate, and the king was once upon the point of bidding us all disband and shift for ourselves."*

There is an anecdote on record which applies both to Fairfax and Cromwell, and which is probably founded on the same trifling circumstance. Whitelocke mentions, that the colonel of Fairfax's lifeguard, seeing the general in the thickest of the fight without his helmet, offered his own, which was refused. Heath, on the other hand, who took pleasure in relating any thing which might reflect contempt on Oliver, states, that in the action at Naseby, "a commander of the king's, knowing Cromwell, advanced smartly from the head of his troops to exchange a bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharged, the cavalier, with a slanting back-blow of a broadsword, luckily cut the riband which tied his murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, his party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting threw up his headpiece into his saddle, which Oliver hastily catching,

* Military History, p. 277.

as being affrighted with the chance, clapped it the wrong way on his head, and so fought with it the rest of the day."

The following letter from Cromwell to the parliament will be read with interest, not only on account of the details which it presents, but chiefly as it illustrates the connexion which he thought proper to keep up with that distinguished body. He was only second in command in the army which fought at Naseby, and yet his despatch was written one day earlier than that of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and must indeed have been composed before he set out in pursuit of the royalists. It is dated at Harborough, or, as he spells it, Haverbrowe, June 14, 1645, and is addressed to the Honourable William Lenthal, Speaker of Commons House of Parliament.

"Sir,

"Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. We marched yesterday after the king, who went before us from Daventree to Haverbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him; this day wee marched towards him. Hee drew out to meete us: both armies engaged; wee, after three hours' fight very doubtful, at last routed his armie, killed and tooke about 5000, very many officers, but of what qualitye wee yet know not; wee took also about 200 carriages, all he had, and all his gunns, being 12 in number, whereof two were demie cannon, 2 demie culveringes, and (I think) the rest facers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Haverbrowe to nine beyond, even to sight of Leicester, whither the king fled. Sir, this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie, wherein non are to share with him. The general served you with all faythfulnesse and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would

rather perish than assume to himselfe, which is an honest and a thrivinge way, and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trustye. I beseeche you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in it. He that venters his life for the libertee of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertee of his conscience, and you for the libertye he fights for; in this he rests whoe is your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The fruits of this victory appeared in various forms for the advantage of the lieutenant-general. On the 16th of June, the very day the news of their great success reached parliament, it was resolved that his services should be continued in the army under Sir Thomas Fairfax, during the pleasure of both Houses. The Lords restricted it to three months. On the 8th of August this dispensation was renewed for four months longer; and on the 23d of January following it was extended to six months additional. After this there were no more resolutions about Cromwell's absence from the Lower House. He took it for granted that he had leave; no one offered to move for recalling him; and he soon attained so great a power, that no one with safety could have dared to make such a motion.

The parliamentary forces followed up their success at Naseby, by reducing Leicester, Taunton, and other considerable towns, which till then had been held by the royalists. Goring, at the same time, sustained a signal defeat, and was compelled to retreat to Bridgewater. In this action the military talent of Cromwell was particularly distinguished. An advanced party of horse, regardless of all consequences, was on the point of charging the enemy;

he checked them until the whole of the cavalry had come up, when, putting himself at their head, he attacked the royalists with such vigour and success that nearly their whole body of foot became his prisoners, while he captured also the greater part of their ordnance. He likewise assisted Sir Thomas Fairfax in the reduction of Bristol, advising him to storm a place of so much importance, rather than to lose time in the forms of a regular siege. Rupert, who defended the city, unwilling to incur the hazard of a general assault, delivered it up to the victors of Naseby, together with a large proportion of the royal magazines and warlike stores. In writing to the Speaker on this occasion, Cromwell assures the House that the humble entreaty of the men under his command is, that "in remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are the instruments of God's glory, and their country's good. It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you."

The next exploit of Cromwell was the capture of a strong fortress at Devises, commanded by Sir Charles Lloyd. When summoned to surrender, the governor sent for answer "win it and wear it;" but the activity of his assailant soon brought him to a more complying state of mind. The place was almost instantly taken by storm. Berkeley Castle experienced the same fate; and the city of Winchester was soon afterward given up to him by capitulation. So strict was he in exacting from his men a scrupulous compliance with the articles to which he had agreed, that when a complaint was made by some of the garrison that their property had been plundered by the parliamentary soldiers, he commanded the offenders, six in number, to be tried by a court-martial. Being found guilty and sentenced to death, they expected immediate execu-

tion; but having resolved to take only one life by way of example, he desired them to cast lots to determine which of them should undergo the dreadful penalty of disobedience; and having satisfied the law in this particular, he sent the five others to Oxford, with an account of the proceeding, to Sir Thomas Glenham, the governor; transferring to him the power of putting them to death, or of inflicting such other punishment as he might think proper to adjudge. Sir Thomas sent back the prisoners, accompanied with a grateful acknowledgment of the attention shown by the lieutenant-general to his military engagements.

He next led his victorious columns against Basing House, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester, which he took by assault, and made prisoners of all its garrison, the noble owner himself being of the number. The terror of his arms made his future conquests more easy. Longford House, likewise a castellated mansion and place of arms, surrendered to him at the first summons. Pursuing his course in Devonshire, he engaged Lord Wentworth at Bovey Tracey, and took from him five hundred prisoners, with several standards and other trophies. After which, having replaced himself under the immediate command of Fairfax, he assisted in the reduction of Dartmouth, and in the victory which was gained over Lord Hopton at Torrington. The remains of the royal army, retreating into Cornwall, soon found themselves under the necessity of disbanding or yielding to the general upon terms; a few only preferring to share the fortunes of their commander, who took refuge within the walls of Pendinnis Castle. At length Lord Ashley also being defeated and made prisoner, there was no longer in the field any regular force which could oppose the parliamentary generals. Of this his lordship was so sensible, that he said to his captors, "You have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall our

among yourselves." Exeter having soon afterward surrendered, Cromwell repaired to London and took his seat in parliament, where he received "the hearty thanks of the House for his great and many services."

But the gratitude of parliament was not confined to such demonstrations of their confidence and esteem. In the latter part of the year 1645, an annuity of 2500*l.* appears to have been granted to Cromwell and his family, for the services which he had performed to the public; and soon afterward it was ordered by the House of Commons, that all the lands of the Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert and Sir John Somerset, his sons, in the county of Southampton, be settled upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell, and his heirs, to be accounted as part of the 2500*l.* *per annum* formerly appointed him by this House. To secure the full return of the stipulated income, it was further ordered, on the 31st of January, 1646, that Mr. Lisle do bring in an ordinance for the full granting unto and settling upon Lieutenant, general Cromwell, and his heirs, the manors of Abberston and Itchell, with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, in the county of Southampton, being the lands of John Lord Marquis of Winchester, a delinquent that hath been in arms against the parliament, and a papist.

In a letter from St. John, communicating to his friend the above orders of the House, mention is made of a patent, which is said to have passed the Great Seal the same day on which the communication is dated. "I know not," says Dr. Harris, "what the patent mentioned in this letter means, unless the following resolution of the House of Commons will explain it.—'December 1st, 1645. Resolved, that the title and dignity of a baron of the kingdom of England, with all rights, privileges, pre-eminences, and precedencies to the said title and dignity belonging or appertaining, be conferred and settled on Lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell, and the heirs male of his body; and that his majesty be desired in these propo-

sitions (for a peace) to grant and confer the said title and dignity upon him, and the heirs male of his body accordingly; and that it be referred to the former committee to consider of a fit way and manner for the perfecting thereof.'"

After a fruitless endeavour to recruit his army in Wales, and a demonstration of marching towards the Scottish border, with the view of joining Montrose, the king found it necessary to shut himself up in Oxford, where he spent the following winter. As spring advanced, he received from time to time the unwelcome intelligence that the several towns and fortresses in the west, which till then had acknowledged his authority, were no longer able to resist the arms of the commonwealth; and finally, that the devoted band of royalists who had fought under the banners of Hopton, the last of his generals who kept the field in that part of England, had listened to the terms of Fairfax, and laid down their weapons.

The month of April saw the termination of the Civil War, as far as Charles himself was personally concerned. The victorious arms of Cromwell had swept like a tempest over the counties contiguous to the capital, and had left no stronghold unsubdued which might have afforded refuge to the enemy, or enabled them to collect their scattered troops. Oxford alone remained as the head-quarters of his majesty, and it is obvious that the temporary repose which that city was allowed to enjoy arose rather from the policy of the parliamentary leaders, than from their want of power to reduce it.

The difficulties and contention which afterward agitated the two great parties in reference to the custody of the royal person were already anticipated by the sagacious mind of Cromwell. Were the king to surrender himself to the parliament, a treaty, he well knew, would necessarily follow, as the Presbyterians, who at that period held the reins of government, had no intention either to dissolve the monarchy or to take away the life of the sove-

reign.* It therefore became the main object of Oliver and the Independents, of whom Sir Harry Vane, in the mean while, acted as the agent, to prevent all negotiation with the two Houses, and thereby to compel Charles to have recourse to some such measure as that which he finally adopted. Ashburnham was employed by the king to represent his views to the wily diplomatist just named, and to urge, above all things, his free access to parliament. For this purpose he authorized his messenger to promise large rewards to the generals, to Vane himself, and to his friends; and to give an assurance that, if the other party should still insist upon the establishment of their ecclesiastical polity as an indispensable condition of peace, his majesty would join his forces with those of the Independents under Cromwell and Fairfax, and root out of the kingdom that tyrannical government. Vane returned answers so extremely evasive, that it is not easy to understand what were his precise objects in carrying on this hazardous correspondence. It has been conjectured that he sought to detain the king in Oxford till Fairfax and Cromwell should bring up the army from Cornwall; to amuse, in short, the royal bird, till the fowlers should have enclosed him in their toils.†

Oxford, in the mean time, was invested by Colonel Rainsborough, who received strict orders to prevent the king's escape, lest he should repair to the capital. In truth, Charles all along had so much confidence in the affections of his people, as also perhaps in the dissensions of his enemies, that he entreated nothing with so much earnestness as a personal conference at Westminster. He twice made a proposal to that effect in the opening of the

* "All the royalists in Scotland could not have pleaded so much for the crown and the king's just power, as the Chancellor and Wariston did for many days together." Baillie, vol. ii. p. 203.

† Lingard, vol. x. p. 338.

year 1646; and to obtain a favourable hearing, he offered to grant full toleration to every class of Protestant dissenters, to resign to the parliament the command of the army during seven years, and to yield to them the power of nominating for the next time the lord admiral, the judges, and the officers of state. To this message they did not even deign to make any reply. Unwilling to relinquish the hope of an amicable settlement, he asked whether, if he were to disband his forces, dismantle his garrisons, and return to his usual residence in the neighbourhood of the parliament, they would, in return, give their word for the preservation of his honour and person, and allow his adherents to live without molestation on their own property. But even this submissive proposal was not honoured with an answer. On the contrary, influenced by the dread that he might elude the vigilance of Rainsborough, the parliament issued an ordinance, that if the king came within the lines of communication, the officers of the guard should conduct him to St. James's, imprison his followers, and allow of no access to his person; giving notice at the same time by proclamation, that all Catholics and persons who had borne arms in the king's service, should depart from London within six days, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to martial law.*

At length, when his majesty received information that Fairfax, at the head of his army, had reached Andover, he solicited Colonel Rainsborough to take him under his protection and conduct him to London. Upon meeting with a refusal from that officer, he formed his final resolution of throwing himself upon the generosity of the Scots, with whom, through Montreuil, the French envoy, he had been some time in treaty. It is remarkable that this intention on the part of the unfortunate monarch was known at

* Charles's Works, p. 556. Lingard, p. 353.

London a week before he attempted to realize it. Baillie, in a letter written on the 24th of April, remarks, "Sir Thomas Fairfax's army will now be near Oxford. They would have made us believe that the king had resolved to have broke through to our army for protection from prison; but I suspect the chief spreaders of these reports knew well enough how they kept him fettered in Oxford, with 4000 or 5000 horse, besides their daily treaties with Ashburnham, and those who have the absolute power over him, and keep him still till they deliver him to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and to be disposed upon as Cromwell and his friends think it fittest for their affairs. Cromwell came yesternight to town."

From a due consideration of the facts here stated, it has been thought by no means improbable that the Independents in parliament connived at the escape of Charles, as well as that they with their leaders, Cromwell, Vane, Ireton, and St. John, were far from desiring the termination of hostilities as long as their antagonists were so powerful in the Lower House. On this account, the following statement by Heath is entitled to more attention than his speculations on political motives are usually entitled to command. Alluding to the departure of Charles from Oxford, he says, "Herein Cromwell most cunningly and deceitfully first practised the king's ruin, for whereas, upon the rendition of that city, if the king had been taken in it, a sudden end had been put to the troubles by some composure, which would have marred Cromwell's plots, not to be acted but by a stratocracy and an army. By this means of suffering him to escape, which might easily have been prevented, the war was no nearer a conclusion than at the beginning, if the Scots, as was hoped, howsoever, would have proved honest, and kept their allegiance and faith due to such extraordinary trust and confidence reposed in them."*

* Flagellum, p. 41.

It must be admitted, that it is only from examining the policy which Cromwell subsequently pursued that we discover the probability of the charge which is thus brought against him. It is universally known that he disliked the Scots, whom he accused at a very early period of carrying arms into England, chiefly with the view of imposing their system of church government upon the parliament and people; and hence it may be inferred that he would have had no objection to march his victorious troops against them, had a generous compassion for Charles induced their leaders to adopt his interests, and to make his restoration to power the ground of a national quarrel. At all events, the lieutenant-general could not fail to be better pleased to hear that the king had retired to the Scottish camp than he would have been to see him at Westminster in treaty with the Commons, whose determinations he could not yet fully control. It is manifest, besides, that the Independent party left no means unemployed which might provoke a continuance of the war. "Nothing," says Baillie, "effrays these men so much as a peace." Nay, Cromwell, at the expense of his reputation, displayed some degree of liberality towards the royalists who were taken prisoners in Oxford, that he might thereby get quit of all such impediments as would have delayed his preparations for his "northern warfare."*

The caution with which the Scottish general acted frustrated the hopes of the future Protector, and deprived him of that employment for his arms which of all others he would have preferred. Instead of the movement of troops, an active communication by letters took place between the authorities at Newcastle and Westminster; and Charles once more discovered that his only chance of safety depended upon his success in negotiating with the parliament,

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 212.

the majority of whom still belonged to the ranks of the Presbyterians. Three months elapsed before the propositions were submitted to him by the hands of certain commissioners, who were desired to restrict their deliberations with the monarch to the space of ten days, and not to rest satisfied with any thing short of an entire acceptance of all the conditions with which they were intrusted.* The terms offered on this occasion, were essentially the same as those which had been rejected by him in the preceding year, but rendered somewhat more disagreeable to the royal feelings by a number of additional restraints, and an enlarged list of proscriptions. On the tenth day his majesty replied, that it was impossible for him to return an unqualified assent to proposals of such immense importance; that without explanation he could not comprehend how much of the ancient constitution it was meant to preserve, or how much to take away; that a personal conference was necessary for both parties, in order to remove doubts, weigh reasons, and come to a perfect understanding. He added, that for this purpose it was his intention to repair to Westminster as soon as the two Houses and the Scottish commissioners would assure him that he might reside there with freedom, honour, and safety.†

When the enemies of the king found that the Scots were not disposed, from any chivalrous sentiments in behalf of their native prince, to incur the hazard of a war with the rising commonwealth, they directed all their efforts to prevent a successful issue to the treaty of Newcastle. We are told by a modern historian, that the task of defeating the pacific views on either side was assumed by Cromwell and

* The names of the commissioners were, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Hippesley, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinson. The Lord Chancellor Loudon and the Marquis of Argyle likewise waited upon his majesty on behalf of Scotland.

† Lingard, vol. x. p. 345. Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 243. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 208.

Ireton. The latter a firm and rigid disciple of the republican school, and the former, "of whom," says Mr. Godwin, "it was notorious, that whatever he dared to think that also he dared to speak, had no sooner chosen their part, and determined to fight their adversaries with their own weapons, than they completely threw into shade the pigmy efforts of the Presbyterians. Having once sworn to deceive, the dimensions of their minds enabled them immediately to stand forth accomplished and entire adepts in the school of Machiavel. They were satisfied that the system which they had adopted was just; and they felt no jot of humiliation and self-abasement in the systematical pursuit of it."*

The historian of the commonwealth is not very fastidious as to the qualities of which he constitutes a hero. But as an apology for these two great men, he reminds us that they had fought for political and religious liberty; that they abhorred the views and despised the persons of their antagonists; that they believed, if the Presbyterians succeeded, a worse species of tyranny would follow than that which the leaders of the Long Parliament had conspired to prevent; and that on the present occasion a certain degree of deception was necessary to accomplish a people's safety, and effect the noblest ends. He acknowledges that "hypocrisy was of the very essence of every thing they could effect." But then, Charles, stripped as he was of the ensigns of royalty, was still the centre round which the cabals of party put forth all their power. The Presbyterians were satisfied that if they could win him over to concur with them, they should surmount every obstacle to their views. "In this situation," he exclaims, "should the Independents do nothing? To expect it is to expect what is not in the nature of man. Cromwell and Ireton resolved not thus to be defeated."

* Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 203.

The reader will appreciate the delicacy and skill with which the motives of those celebrated characters are here illustrated and defended. The next step is to give an account of the means which they used to accomplish their patriotic intentions. "One engine they are said to have employed in the execution of their purpose was a clergyman, whose escape from punishment in the Tower they contrived, and whom they commissioned as their agent to the king at Newcastle. This clergyman is conjectured to have been Hudson, the same person who had assisted Charles in his flight from Oxford a few months before, and who, two years afterward, lost his life fighting for the king in the second civil war. He was adapted for their purpose, as being a devoted royalist, and particularly hostile to the Presbyterian party. His instructions were to advise Charles by all means to reject the propositions, and throw himself upon the army, the leaders of which were in that case resolved to replace him in the full exercise of his royal authority, upon the simple conditions of liberty of conscience, and such a security for the military power of the state in their favour as they should think it necessary to require. The same persons who had commissioned Hudson, brought over the Marquis of Hertford, who was now in London, and several other of the king's most distinguished friends, to trust them, and to entertain the same views which they had infused into their agent. These persons, accordingly, furnished Hudson with letters, recommending to Charles to listen to the suggestions which he had to offer."*

The authorities to which Mr. Godwin refers are not quite satisfactory, and would not be held decisive on any great question where they were not supported by collateral evidence. On this point then, so closely connected with the reputation of Crom-

* Godwin, vol. ii. p. 204.

well, the reader will find some notices in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, which appear to corroborate the information of Bamfield, the testimony on which the annalist of the commonwealth principally relies. "At this time," says the bishop, "the Independents, fearing the extremity to which the king was driven might force him to consent to any thing upon which a settlement might follow, betook themselves to *strange methods* to obstruct it; they therefore gave some hopes that they would be willing to dispense with the imposing of the covenant, and consent to a toleration of episcopacy and the liturgy, providing they might be satisfied in other points."*

Whatever may have been the "strange methods" which Cromwell and his partisans employed, there is no doubt that their arts were attended with success. Lord Lauderdale, indeed, wrote from London very earnestly, with the view of undeceiving his majesty, and of assuring him that he possessed the most perfect knowledge that the designs of those persons had no other object but the destruction of the monarchy and the ruin of the royal family. This, adds Dr. Burnet, he continued "to represent, by many letters, both to the king and to those about him; yet his majesty was much wrought upon to give credit to those offers of the secretaries, which made him the less apprehensive of hazard." But may not the conduct of Charles on this occasion, which has hitherto appeared so unaccountable, be in some measure explained by a reference to the plan which was adopted by his enemies to mislead him? Hudson was deservedly a favourite in the royal household, and possessed of no small influence in the king's most secret councils; whence we can easily understand, that if Cromwell deceived him, and could convert his zeal for the cause of his master into an

* Burnet, p. 266.

instrument of fraud, the friends of the monarchy, during the treaty of Newcastle, must in vain have urged the strongest reasons for compliance with the demands of parliament.

It belongs not to the biographer of Cromwell to state the terms of that unfortunate stipulation which provided for the delivery of Charles into the hands of the English commissioners. It is enough to mention, that the rejection of their propositions, and the firmness which he displayed in refusing to give his sanction to their religious model, had so much incensed the majority of the Presbyterians against the monarch, that the Independents had no immediate cause to apprehend a union of their interests. The struggle henceforth is, therefore, not between the power of the crown and that of the people, but between the two parties into which the popular leaders had formed themselves during the progress of the war. In this contest we shall behold Cromwell acting a distinguished part, treading under foot the very authority for which he had fought in the field; using as tools the ablest men of the age; and inducing the friends of liberty to strain their utmost exertions for the establishment of a military despotism, under which the law of the sword superseded for a time the exercise of every other code, in the administration of public affairs.

In taking a retrospect of the events which have marked the course of the four preceding years, it will be acknowledged that for the issue of the war, so favourable to their interests, the parliament were greatly indebted to the courage and military talent of Oliver Cromwell. During the earlier campaigns, the victories gained by their arms were merely nominal, and were therefore usually followed by a depression of their affairs; nor was it until the captain of the Huntingdonshire cavalry rose to the rank of a field officer that the soldiers of the commonwealth could meet on equal terms the high-spirited

troops which followed the standard of the king. At Marston-moor the reputation of Cromwell eclipsed that of every other commander who shared with him the dangers of a doubtful and very perilous engagement; while of the victory of Naseby, if Fairfax was entitled to the first place in the triumph, the true judge of professional merit will bestow the loudest encomium upon the achievements of his lieutenant-general.

But a condition of things much more decisive of his character rose out of his own success. The king was thereby reduced sufficiently low to encourage the hope that the future government of the country might be established on a safe foundation, equally favourable to the just rights of the crown and to the liberties of the people. But such a compromise, which in all circumstances must be attended with great difficulty, was in this case opposed as well by the divided interests of the popular leaders as by the feeling of superiority which swelled in the hearts of the military victors, who now thought themselves entitled to give the law to the beaten royalists. There were, in fact, three parties who claimed the right of being heard in the final settlement of affairs; and it unfortunately happened, that on whatever principle the arrangement should take place, one of the three bodies must be sacrificed to secure the union of the remaining two. A treaty between the king and the Presbyterians necessarily involved the political downfall of the Independents; while an agreement between the crown and the latter class of religionists must infallibly have led to the ecclesiastical discomfiture of their opponents, the adherents of the Covenant and of the Westminster Assembly. In short, it is more easy to describe the embarrassment in which the king, the parliament, and the army, were placed by the conclusion of the war, than to suggest an expedient by which they might have accommodated their differences, and

secured the peace of the nation. An honest patriotism would, no doubt, have accomplished much on both sides; but, unhappily for the reputation of the principal characters engaged in that momentous conflict, the evil spirit of private ambition, rivalry, and personal dislike, had universally mixed itself with the sullen temper engendered by a false religion, as well as with that desire for retribution and reprisal which a long course of hostilities could not fail to create in the national mind. We are now about to see in what manner Cromwell conducted himself amid the dangers and perplexities of his new position; and to determine whether his tactics in parliament and in the council were not equal to those which he displayed in choosing his ground, and fixing the moment of attack, in the presence of an armed enemy.

CHAPTER V.

From the Arrival of the King at Holdenby House, to the Period of his Flight from Hampton Court.

The parliament had no sooner obtained possession of his majesty's person, than they resolved to diminish the numbers of the army, and to remove from the exercise of a dangerous power the more ambitious of the general officers. At the period in question, the majority of the influential members in both Houses were of the Presbyterian persuasion, and consequently hostile to Cromwell and his Independents; for which reason, the latter resolved to employ the influence which they had acquired from their long service in the field, to prevent the accomplishment of a purpose so obviously calculated to

endanger both their interests and their personal safety.

Their bold and sagacious leader divided his time between the camp and the House of Commons, concealing, with his usual dexterity, the plan by which he had determined to oppose the power of the one to the pretensions of the other. It was only from hints which he sometimes dropped in conversation, that his most intimate friends could conjecture what was passing in his mind; and in reference to his views at the interesting crisis which was produced by the surrender of the king into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners, Ludlow communicates the following characteristic notice: "Walking one day with Lieutenant-general Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly against them (the Commons), saying, in a familiar way to me, 'if thy father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserved;' adding further, 'that it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament to whom, let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off. Whereas,' said he, 'when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all envy and blame.' This text, together with the comment which his after-actions put upon it, hath since persuaded me that he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority, and setting up of himself: and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulse, whether I were a fit instrument to be employed by him to those ends. But having replied to his discourse, that we ought to perform the duty of our stations, and trust God with our honour, power, and all that is dear to us, not permitting any such considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our duty, I never heard any thing more from him upon that point."*

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 187.

In conducting the intrigues by means of which the army was finally turned against the parliament, Cromwell employed the subtle mind of Ireton, his son-in-law, and commissary-general. Fairfax, indeed, was still commander-in-chief, and hence the official business of the different corps passed through his hands, and bore the nominal impress of his sanction. But, in fact, as he himself acknowledges, the real power was vested in his lieutenant-general, who used the name and authority of his superior officer to further the ends of his own ambition. "From the time that the army declared their usurped authority at Triplow-heath, I never," says Sir Thomas, "gave my free consent to any thing they did; but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name, in way of course, to all their papers, whether I consented or not, and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under parliamentary authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a general's power been broken and crumbled into a levelling faction. Yet this, I hope, all impartial judges will interpret as force and ravishment of a good name, rather than a voluntary consent, which might make me equally criminal with the faction."*

The measures contemplated by parliament were to draft part of the army for the reduction of Ireland, and to place the remainder on a new footing, under the direction of officers attached to their political principles. The death of Essex, it is true, deprived them of the chief means by which they had hoped to realize their scheme, and, at the same time, gave additional strength to the cause of the Independents. Still their resolution to diminish the ranks of the battalions reserved for home-service continued unshaken; and with this view they sent Cromwell and Ireton to Walden, the head-quarters of the general, charged with orders to sooth the minds of the

* Short Memorials; Somers's Tracts, vol. v. p. 396.

soldiers; to confirm their allegiance to the two Houses; and to induce as many as were wanted for Ireland to engage heartily in that expedition. It is well known that this mission was not crowned with success. The men, whose pay had not been regularly advanced, insisted upon a full discharge of all arrears; complained loudly of the ingratitude manifested by the parliament; produced a long list of grievances which required redress; and pointed out many abuses in the administration of affairs, the removal of which they would not suffer to be longer delayed. It has been said that the lieutenant-general and his son-in-law increased the disaffection, and stimulated the resentment of the troops. Contrary to the trust reposed in them, it is asserted, they very much hindered the service upon which they were sent; not only by discountenancing those who were obedient and willing, but by giving encouragement to the unwilling and disobedient; declaring that there had lately been much cruelty and injustice in the proceedings of parliament against them. In further pursuance thereof, Commissary-general Ireton drew up those papers and writings which were then sent from the army, addressed as well to the legislature as to the kingdom at large; telling the agitators, at the same time, that it was lawful for them to refuse to disband until they had received full satisfaction for their past services.*

To carry on a regular negotiation with their masters at Westminster, the soldiers elected two individuals from every regiment to represent their wishes, and to advocate their cause. The officers had formed a similar association; and hence these two bodies, who constituted a standing committee of management, or council of war, bore some resemblance to the two Houses of parliament. The

* Sundry Reasons by Major Robert Huntington for laying down his Commission.

elective members were originally called adjutators or assistants, but in a little time, either from ignorance or malignant wit, they were usually known by the name of Agitators. They assumed to themselves the right of giving their opinion on all public matters; of disputing the decisions of the government; and of listening to such terms as were proposed for the satisfaction of their brethren in the camp, as well as for the future regulation of military affairs at home and abroad. They were, in short, a deliberative assembly with arms in their hands; and accordingly, when their arguments failed to produce the proper effect on either House, they struck their tents, or abandoned their quarters in the country, and marched in order of battle to the doors of the parliament.

It was at Nottingham, in the month of February, that the general first observed the practices of the agitators, when they met to frame a petition about their arrears. The thing, he allowed, seemed just; but not liking the way, he spoke with some officers who were principally engaged in it, and got it suppressed for the time. It is clear, however, that the instigation upon which the army acted could not be subdued by the gentle measures recommended by Fairfax. The genius of Cromwell, there is little doubt, animated the councils of his military brethren of all classes; and when the camp moved from Nottingham to Essex, the lord-general even felt himself under the necessity of devising a pretext for a step so sudden and irregular.

Every candid historian must regret, that for the important events which fall within the limits of this chapter we have no authority to allege but such as must be derived from annalists who were unfriendly to Cromwell. No advocate of his fame has defined the part which he took in exciting the opposition of the army, or vindicated the motives from which such questionable conduct appears to have proceeded.

Viewed, indeed, as a portion of the intricate game of ambition which he had undertaken to play, the ability which he manifested in thwarting the designs of the parliament cannot be too highly extolled. He knew that the leaders of that renowned convention had resolved to put him down; to strip him as far as they could of all the influence which had attached to his name and character; to subject him to a disqualification for all military employment; and to brand him as an object of suspicion to all lovers of their country. He had heard, too, that votes were carried in the House of Commons for reducing the greater part of the army under Sir Thomas Fairfax, and for prohibiting every officer above the rank of a colonel from serving in the diminished establishment which was to be retained. The same restriction was applied to every individual, whatever might have been his former rank, who refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant; and to all whose consciences would not permit them to conform to the Presbyterian form of worship. In self-defence, therefore, he seems justified in protecting the interests of his profession; and if his ambitious views had not comprehended the renewal of war, and the destruction of a numerous body of his fellow-subjects, there are few who would not approve the resolute policy which he had determined to pursue.

No doubt appears to be entertained by any contemporary writer, that Cromwell set in motion all the intrigues of the military, and at length directed the terror of their arms against his opponents at Westminster. He contrived, however, to conceal himself so artfully in the back-ground, and to employ instruments so well adapted to his purpose, that the work was completed before the unsuspecting general had allowed himself to imagine that his second in command gave any countenance to those frequent acts of insubordination which no discipline

could now suppress. At last, indeed, his eyes were opened; and in the Short Memorial which he has bequeathed to posterity, he laments, in words which cannot be misunderstood, that the success of his army in 1646 "was soon clouded with abominable hypocrisy and deceit, even in those men who had been instrumental in bringing the war to a conclusion. Here was the vertical point on which the army's reputation and honour turned into a reproach and scandal. Here the power of the army I once had was usurped by the agitators, the forerunners of confusion and anarchy."

As Cromwell had undertaken at once to direct the mutinous spirit of the army, and to hoodwink the Commons, he occasionally found himself beset with the most serious difficulties, arising from the impetuosity of the one, and the suspicions of the other. When Sexby and his companions appeared at the door of the House with a petition, and a proposal was made that for their contumacy they should be forthwith committed to the Tower, the lieutenant-general rose in his place and protested that, to his certain knowledge, the army was greatly misunderstood and calumniated. He assured the members, that the soldiers willingly put themselves into the hands of the national representatives, and would conform to any thing which parliament might be pleased to ordain. If the House of Commons commanded them to disband, they would obey without a murmur, and pile up their arms at the door of that assembly. For himself, he entreated them to accept the assurance of his entire submission and obedience. He besought them, therefore, to bear in mind the long services and the pure and entire loyalty of that meritorious body, and to do nothing respecting them in anger, or under false and mistaken notions of resentment.*

* Baxter, p. 59; Warwick, p. 330; Godwin, vol. ii. p. 301; Clement Walker, p. 31.

This temporizing policy completely answered the purpose which Cromwell had in view. The House resolved to send him, Skippon, Fleetwood, and Ireton, to the head-quarters of the army, with a message to the soldiers, certifying them that an indemnity would be passed to relieve all military men from every charge on their conduct during the war; that a sum of money would be remitted for the payment of part of their arrears, and that the remainder would be settled at no distant period. These concessions, however, proceeded on the understanding that the troops were to be disbanded; a consummation which Oliver, Fleetwood, and Ireton were determined to prevent. With this view, the negotiations were protracted from the second of May till the twenty-first, when Cromwell appeared in the House, and made known the terms on which alone the soldiers would submit to lay down their arms. Parliament then began to see the necessity of pressing their measures without delay. Accordingly, on the 28th of the same month both Houses voted a declaration that the army should be reduced immediately, and appointed the Earl of Warwick, Lord Delaware, and Sir Gilbert Gerard to see their resolution carried into effect.

Meantime the camp was removed from Saffron Walden to Bury St. Edmunds, where a general council of officers and agitators was soon afterward held, with the intention of averting the measure recommended by parliament until all the grievances of the army should be redressed. A petition to Fairfax was drawn up under the auspices of Ireton, Rich, Okey, Robert Lilburne, and Harrison, remonstrating, in the first place, against the tyrannical proceedings of the two Houses, and then soliciting that he would order all the regiments to come in from out-quarters, and make speedy preparations for a general rendezvous of the whole army. During the delay thus created, a corps under Colonel Rainsborough refused to

march to the seaside, whence they were to be embarked for Jersey; and, at the same time, Cornet Joyce, an officer in Cromwell's own regiment, proceeded to Oxford with a hundred horsemen to secure the artillery and ammunition deposited in that garrison, in order that, should the military council find it necessary to oppose the votes of parliament by force of arms, they might not be destitute of suitable supplies.

It was impossible that Cromwell, whose influence among the soldiery was known to be very great, should not incur suspicion on the part of the two Houses. His name, it is true, had never once been mentioned in any of the petitions or remonstrances brought forward by the army; while in conducting a debate on the expediency of coercive measures, he was always the most forward to condemn the undutiful behaviour of the agitators, and to inflame the resentment of the Commons. Nay, if we may believe Clarendon, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and anger whenever any intelligence was received from the mutinous regiments. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misfortunes of his country; and he advised the most violent measures for checking the insubordination of the troops. At the same time he called heaven and earth to witness that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger.

But information in the meanwhile reached the parliamentary leaders, that the lieutenant-general was acting a double part; for that the agitators, whose turbulence seemed to create in his breast so much anguish and dismay, were in reality his own creatures, and accustomed to act on his suggestion and authority. It is doubtful whether his enemies in the House upbraided him with his perfidy, and thereby gave him an oppprtunity to defend his conduct; but it is clear that Hollis and his party had

come to the resolution of exposing his treachery to the view of the nation, and even of sending him to the Tower. Cromwell, whose vigilance and sagacity could never be deceived, got notice of this hostile determination in time to evade it. He immediately left London for the army; by whom he was received with the loudest acclamations, and instantly invested with the supreme command, both of Fairfax, and of all the orders of men who professed to serve under him.

Some degree of obscurity, it must be acknowledged, continues to hang over the incident which gave occasion to this open defiance of the parliament. Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimstone, relates the following anecdote, which, it is possible, may have been the occasion of this memorable breach between the civil and military power. "When the House of Commons and the army were a quarrelling, at the meeting of the officers it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell, upon that, said that he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do that. Two officers, who were present, brought an account of this to Grimstone, who carried them with him to the lobby of the House of Commons; they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot, but Grimstone diverted it, and said he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them, it was about the being and freedom of the House. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force upon the House. He had his witnesses at the door, and desired that they might be examined. They were brought to the bar, and justified all they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his

knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the House; he submitted himself to the providence of God, who had thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander; but he submitted his cause to him. This he did with great vehemence and many tears. After this strange and bold preamble, he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that, had it been moved, Grimstone thought both himself and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall; and there was no strength on the other side to carry it further. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the army, and in a few days he brought them up and forced a great many from the House."*

Whatever truth there may be in the above statement, no doubt can be entertained as to the views of the agitators, and the existence of such a crisis as compelled Cromwell to throw himself upon the army. Apprehensive, at the same time, lest the parliament should enter into treaty with the king before their designs were ripe for execution, they resolved to seize his majesty's person, and detain him in the neighbourhood of their camp, until he should finally determine on what ground to make an agreement with his people. For this purpose, on the 1st of June, they despatched Mr. Joyce, the subaltern already mentioned, with a numerous body of horse to Holdenby House, under orders to make the king

* Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 77. Oxford edition.

his prisoner, and to convey him to the head-quarters of the general. Charles, finding all resistance vain, and observing that the guards appointed by the parliament had joined with the troopers under Cornet Joyce, consented at length to accompany his new guides whithersoever they might have instructions to conduct him. He was carried the first day as far as Hinchinbrooke House, and subsequently to Newmarket, in the neighbourhood of which the army was encamped.

The agitators hesitated not to acknowledge that this measure originated in their council; but the general belief attributed it to the artifice of the lieutenant-general, who came down to the army the same day that his majesty arrived. Fairfax was entirely ignorant of the step now mentioned, as well as of the purpose for which it had been adopted. The following morning he attended on his majesty, and endeavoured to persuade him to go back to Holdenby House; promising to supply him with such a military force as would render impracticable all similar attempts on his personal security. The king declined to return; and spoke something about his interest in the army, which showed that certain proposals must have been made to him, before his removal from the parliamentary commissioners. The general immediately summoned a council of war to proceed against Joyce, according to martial law, for this high offence and breach of duty. "But the officers," he adds, "whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather, as I suspected, from a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual."*

Huntington, the major of Cromwell's own regiment, gives an account of this transaction, which leaves no doubt that it originated entirely in the profound artifice of the lieutenant-general. In allu-

* Short Memorials. Somers's Tracts, vol. v. p. 394.

sion to the intrigues practised at Triplow Heath, he remarks, "for the effecting of their further purposes, advice was given by Cromwell and by Commissary-general Ireton, to remove the king's person from Holdenby, or to secure him there by other guards than those appointed by the commissioners of parliament; which was thought most fit to be carried on by the private soldiery of the army, and promoted by the agitators of each regiment, whose first business was to secure the garrison of Oxford, with the guns and ammunition there; from thence to march to Holdenby in prosecution of the former advice, which was accordingly acted by Cornet Joyce, who, when he had done the business, sent a letter to the general then at Keinton, acquainting his excellency that the king was on his march to Newmarket. The general, being troubled thereat, told Commissary-general Ireton that he did not like it, demanding withal who gave those orders. He replied, 'that he gave orders only for securing the king there, and not for taking him away from thence.' Lieutenant-general Cromwell coming then from London, said, 'if this had not been done, the king would have been fetched away by order of parliament.' The same day Cornet Joyce being told that the general was displeased with him for bringing the king from Holdenby, he answered, 'that Lieutenant-general Cromwell gave him orders at London, to do what he had done both there and at Oxford.'"*

A similar statement was made on the authority of Joyce, who complains, that for allowing certain facts to transpire, he was miserably persecuted by the lord protector.† Hollis insists that the plan was arranged on the 30th of May, in a meeting held at Cromwell's house in London; and that the cornet actually received his orders there, to seize the king

* Sundry Reasons, &c.
† Harleian Miscellany, vol. viii. p. 203

and conduct him to the army.* General Ludlow, who probably was better acquainted than any other with the motives which influenced the military council at Triplow, tells us, that the agitators of the army, sensible of their condition, and knowing that they must fall under the mercy of the parliament, unless, by prosecuting what they had begun, they could secure themselves from their power; and fearing that those who had shown themselves so forward to close with the king, out of principle, upon any terms, would now, for their own preservation, receive him without any, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force—resolved to take his majesty out of the hands of the parliamentary commissioners.

There can be no doubt that the reasons now stated were mainly influential in recommending to the partisans of Cromwell the exploit performed by Cornet Joyce at Holdenby. But as Oliver is said to have denied all knowledge of the design, and to have himself declared that he did not issue any order to that effect to the subaltern who accomplished it, certain advocates for the purity of his reputation have used a number of ingenious arguments to prove that the seizure of the royal person did not originate with the member for Cambridge. The author of the volume entitled "Oliver Cromwell and his Times," produces several considerations to prevail upon his readers "to hesitate in believing that the lieutenant-general was actually concerned in the king's removal from Holdenby." He concludes, however, by acknowledging, that it does seem probable that Cromwell both knew that the measure was contemplated, and so far countenanced it as to take no steps to prevent what he trusted to the violence of its planners to execute in their own time.†

The army, now under the direction of that master-

* Memoirs, p. 96. † *Ibid.* p. 194.

mind, who thought nothing was done while there remained any thing to be achieved, drew nearer to the metropolis in order to frighten the parliament into compliance with their wishes. They adopted the bold expedient of accusing of high treason eleven members belonging to the Lower House; who, being Presbyterians, dreaded the resentment of the opposite faction to such a degree, that they vacated their seats, and sought safety in a temporary concealment. They next demanded that the militia of London should be replaced in the hands of those who had exercised the command during the war; depriving thereby of a powerful source of influence their political opponents in the House of Commons, who had recently invested some of their own creatures with the charge of the civic battalions. This concession, however, so much enraged the inhabitants of the city, that they crowded round the doors of the parliament, and, by shouts and menaces of the most alarming nature, compelled the Commons to rescind their vote. Their hatred of the army, at the same moment, renewed their feeling of compassion towards the king; and under the impulse of this generous emotion, they insisted upon a resolution being passed, that the king should come forthwith to London, and be invited thither with honour, freedom, and safety.

The tendency of such an occurrence was too obvious to escape the penetration of the military leaders. Under pretence of freeing the parliament from restraint, they advanced to Hounslow Heath, where they were met by the two speakers, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners, who unanimously declared that they came to the army for protection. Orders were immediately given to lead the troops into the capital; whither they escorted the fugitive members of the two Houses, and restored them to the exercise of their wonted authority. The citizens, among whom

the Presbyterian party had great influence, endeavoured to oppose the entrance of those military umpires. An attempt was made to repair the fortifications, and even to take the field at the head of the militia. Waller and Massey were invited to assume the command of this tumultuary force against the veterans under Fairfax and Cromwell; but the rapid approach of the latter quelled the courage of the civilians, and disposed them to submit to the moderate terms which were held forth by their invaders. By a vote of both Houses the general was made Constable of the Tower of London; and this was immediately followed by a resolution for a day of thanksgiving, that parliament was restored to its honour and freedom with so little effusion of blood. The submission of the city, and the consequent triumph of the Independents, took place on the 6th of August, 1647.

During the greater part of the months of June and July, the king had accompanied the motions of the army; occupying in the neighbourhood of their cantonments such houses as were fit for his residence. At this period began that rivalry of attention to his majesty, on the part of the two great factions who were struggling for ascendency in the nation, which led him to hesitate so long which of their offers he should accept, that he finally lost the good opinion and support of both. The conduct of Cromwell, at this juncture, was liberal and considerate. He granted permission to the king's friends to visit him in private; allowed the royal chaplains to resume their professional duties in the household; and forbade all restraint but such as might be thought necessary to prevent the sudden departure of his captive. On the 1st of July his majesty was indulged so far as to have leave to spend a day or two at the castle of Windsor; and wherever he went, care was taken that preparations should be made for his reception, not inferior to what had been customary in

a royal progress. Cromwell even procured for the king the pleasure of an interview with his younger children, who were still in the hands of the parliament. This meeting took place on the 15th of July; and the princes were further allowed to pass a short time with their royal parent at Caversham, a seat belonging to Lord Craven. The people flocked in great numbers to see them, and strewed the way with branches and flowers.

The king and parliament being both subdued to the interests of the Independents, the thoughts of Cromwell and Ireton were now seriously turned to the important task of placing the affairs of the kingdom on a permanent basis. The higher and more influential of the military officers were disposed to adopt the same views; and hence proposals were drawn up in the name of the army, and presented to Charles for his consideration. The substance of these articles respected, in the first place, certain improvements in the constitution of parliament, the election of members, and the period of sitting. Secondly, it was provided that the military power by sea and land should be for the next ten years at the disposal of parliament; the king not to interfere with the appointment of officers during that period, nor afterward, without the consent of the legislature. No person who had carried arms against the parliament was to hold any place in the public service for five years, nor to be a member of either House until after the lapse of the same space of time. The great officers of state were to be for the next ten years in the nomination of parliament, who afterward were to name three candidates, of whom the king was to select one. Peers who had been made since the removal of the great seal in 1642, were not to sit in parliament without the consent of both Houses. All grants under the king's great seal since that time were to be pronounced void; while all deeds bearing the impress of that used by the par-

liament were to be declared valid. All coercive power in bishops and other ecclesiastical officers, extending to civil penalties, was to be taken away. The use of the liturgy was not to be enjoined; nor, on the other hand, the taking of the Covenant to be enforced. Further, the king, queen, and royal issue were to be restored to safety, honour, and freedom, without diminution of their rights, or limitation to the exercise of regal power, beyond what is contained in the above particulars. Finally, a number of state delinquents, not exceeding five, were to be excepted from the benefit of whatever indemnity might be granted by parliament, in behalf of those who had served in the camp or council of the monarch.

Cromwell appeared very desirous for a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch, says Sir John Berkeley, that "he sometimes complained of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his unwillingness to come up to his majesty's sense: at other times, he would wish that Sir John would act more frankly, and not tie himself by narrow principles." But Charles was staggered by the three articles which provided for the punishment of his friends, their incapacity to serve in parliament, and the omission of all legal support for the episcopal church. In allusion to the fate of Strafford, he declared that no man should suffer for his sake; and concluded an interview to which he had admitted the commissioners of the army, by assuring them that he could not accept their proposals, and, moreover, that their interests could not be long supported without his co-operation. "You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you."

The negotiations thus carried on between the king and the principal officers alarmed the agitators, who imagined that Cromwell had resolved, by a compromise with Charles, to aggrandize himself, and leave them to their fate. At all events, the lieutenant-general affected to consider himself in danger,

and actually requested that Berkeley and Ashburnham, the agents of his majesty, would not repair so frequently and with so little disguise to his quarters. He still, indeed, declared his undiminished anxiety for an adjustment of all differences; imprecating on himself and his posterity the vengeance of heaven, if he were not sincere in his endeavours to serve the king in that particular; but at the same time, he did not conceal his apprehensions in regard to the inconstancy of the army.

It has been usual to charge Cromwell with insincerity in relation to the progress and failure of this negotiation. Ludlow declares his belief, that Ireton never had any intention to close with the king, but only to lay his party asleep while they were contesting with the Presbyterians in parliament. The opinion of contemporary writers coincides for the most part with that of the author now named, in regard both to the commissary-general and his father-in-law; and yet none of them has supplied evidence sufficient to justify an inference so extremely unfavourable to the candour of Oliver. It is, therefore, not improbable that he was in earnest, and was even desirous to dispose of his influence to the king, for a certain degree of wealth and rank to be conferred upon himself and family. There is a story told by the author of the Memoirs of Lord Broghil, on the authority of that nobleman, which has been thought to throw some light on the motives of Cromwell in the latter stage of this transaction. His lordship is said to have entered into conversation with the lieutenant-general upon the subject of the king's execution, when the latter remarked, that if Charles had followed his own mind, and had had trusty servants about him, he had fooled both the parliament and the army; adding, "we had once had an inclination to come to terms with him, but something that happened drew us off from it." "The reason of an inclination to come to terms with him was, we found

the Scots and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable conditions. But while we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber, acquainting us that our final doom was decreed that day: what it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head about ten o'clock the following night, to the Blue Boar Inn in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then at Windsor; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our spy, Ireton and I resolved to take a trusty fellow with us, and in troopers' habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was shut, but the wicket was open, and our man stood to give us notice when any one came with a saddle on his head. Ireton and I sat in a box near the wicket and called for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that disguise till ten o'clock, when our sentinel gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come. Upon which we immediately rose; and when the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with our swords drawn, and told him we were to search all who went in and out there; but as he looked like an honest fellow, we would only search his saddle: which we did, and found the letter we looked for. On opening it, we read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen that he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots, Presbyterians, and the army; that which of them bid fairest for him should have him; that he thought he

could close sooner with the Scots than the other. Upon which we speeded to Windsor, and finding we were not like to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately resolved to ruin him."

There is much appearance of truth in this narrative, because the statement of Cromwell agrees with a variety of other facts which have been brought to light in the course of the negotiation. It is certain that both parties courted the king; and, moreover, that they respectively enlarged their terms of agreement, in proportion as each suspected that the other was gaining ground. Charles balanced their offers with a steady hand, resolved that the faction which bid fairest for him should have him; but not having much confidence in the sincerity of either, he hesitated too long, and was at length rejected by both.

It is not a little remarkable that it was at Windsor, to which place Cromwell and Ireton are said to have returned after making the discovery at the Blue Boar Inn, that these leaders first consented to a proposal for putting the king to death. Charles, in the mean time had retired from Hampton Court, and sought an asylum in the Isle of Wight; a step which the unfortunate monarch was induced to take, in consequence of certain insinuations that his life was threatened by a violent faction in the army.

There had recently sprung up in the ranks a class of political fanatics, who declaimed against all distinctions in society, except such as rested on mental endowments or spiritual gifts, and who, from the objects they professed to have in view, were denominated levellers. This mischievous sect had formed an alliance with the agitators, and thereby acquired so much influence among the common soldiers as to place on a very insecure footing the authority of the regimental officers, and even of the lieutenant-general himself. Animated by a bitter hatred towards kings, nobles, and all the privileged

classes, they viewed with great suspicion the intercourse which subsisted between Cromwell and the royal quarters; and they are represented to have yielded so far on one occasion to their resentment as to meditate the death of that commander, as an apostate from the principles of liberty. It may therefore be regarded as not altogether improbable that, in a fit of intemperate zeal, they, in like manner, used threatening language in reference to the person of the monarch; and hence that Cromwell had some pretext for conveying to him the information which has been supposed to hasten his final resolution. But when, on the other hand, we consider with how much ease he suppressed the turbulence of the levellers, when he saw it necessary to recall them to a sense of military duty, we shall find it difficult to believe that, if no other reason had intervened to break off the treaty with the king, he would have been deterred from his purpose by the murmurs of a few enthusiastical soldiers.

That Cromwell wrote to the officer in command at Hampton Court, is manifest from what transpired during the examination of the latter at the bar of the House of Commons. Addressing the speaker, Colonel Whaley says, "you demand of me what that letter was that I showed the king the day he went away. The letter I shall show you; but, with your leave, I shall first acquaint you with the author, and the ground of my showing it to the king. The author is Lieutenant-general Cromwell; the ground of my showing it was this; the letter intimates some murderous design, or at least some fear of it, against his majesty. When I read the letter, I was much astonished, abhorring that such a thing should be done, or so much as thought of by any that bear the name of Christians. When I had shown the letter to his majesty, I told him I was sent to safeguard him, and not to murther him; I wished him to be confident no such thing should be done; I would

first die at his feet in his defence; and therefore I showed it to him that he might be assured, though menacing speeches came frequently to his ear, our general officers abhorred so bloody and so villanous an act."

It has been supposed that the flight of Charles irritated the levellers, and drove them to the very brink of insurrection. Fairfax gave orders that a remonstrance should be prepared, to refute the calumnies which were directed against the principal commanders, and explain the motives upon which their conduct had proceeded. On the 15th of November, four days after Charles had disappeared, the general and Cromwell went down to the army, in order to read that paper at the head of every regiment. In two corps, which had joined the camp without permission, the majority of the men were extremely disaffected; bearing on their hats a motto expressive of their desires, "The people's freedom, and the soldier's right." One of the battalions yielded to reason, and removed the emblem of insubordination from their caps; but as the other seemed determined to set at defiance the power of discipline, Cromwell sprang into the ranks and seized the most active of the ringleaders. A court-martial, which was immediately held, condemned several of them to be shot; and the sentence was forthwith executed upon one individual, whose fate, as in a former case, was determined by casting lots.

Subordination being restored, Cromwell returned to his duty in parliament, where, on the 19th of November, he gave "an account of the proceedings at the late rendezvous, and how, by God's great mercy, and the endeavours of his excellency and officers, the army was in a very good condition." The House ordered to give Lieutenant-general Cromwell thanks for his good services. A short time after, a solemn fast was kept by the general and his staff. "The duties of the day were per-

formed by divers of the officers, among whom there was a sweet harmony. The Lieutenant-general, Commissary-general Ireton, Colonel Tichburne, Colonel Hewson, Mr. Peters, and other officers prayed very fervently and pathetically. This continued from nine in the morning till seven at night."

Whatever share Cromwell may have had in the departure of the king from Hampton Court, it is manifest that his majesty did not conceive that their negotiation for a settlement of public affairs was to be thereby entirely concluded. On the contrary, he despatched Sir John Berkeley from the Isle of Wight with letters to the principal officers, entreating them to further his views for a speedy accommodation. Hammond had sent his chaplain on a similar message, conjuring the military chiefs, by their engagements, their honour, and conscience, to remove every obstacle out of the way, and not to yield to the fantastic giddiness of the agitators. About an hour after his arrival at Windsor, Sir John went to the general's quarters, where he found the officers of the army assembled; and being admitted, delivered his letters to Fairfax, who immediately requested him to withdraw. After he had attended about half an hour, he was called in again, and told by the general, with some severity in his face, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could say nothing to the king's motion about peace, but must refer those matters, and the king's letters, to their consideration. Then Berkeley looked upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance, who saluted him very coldly, showing him Hammond's letter to them, and smiling with disdain upon it.*

Berkeley proceeds to relate, that being thus disappointed, he went to his lodgings in a state of great uneasiness, and remained there till towards evening, when he sent out his servant to find, if possible, any

* Berkeley's Memoirs. See Note E.

one of his military acquaintances. He fortunately met with one (supposed to be General Watson), who told him to inform his master that he would meet him at midnight in a close behind the Garter Inn. At the time and place appointed they met, when the officer acquainted him in general that he had no good news to communicate; and then, descending to particulars, said, "You know that I and my friends engaged ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the rest were not so, we were abused. That since the tumults in the army, we did mistrust Cromwell and Ireton, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you that we mistrust neither, and that we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagement, to destroy the king and his posterity, to which Ireton has made two propositions this afternoon: one, that you should be sent prisoner to London; the other, that none speak with you upon pain of death, and I now hazard my life by doing it. The way designed to ruin the king is to send eight hundred of the most disaffected in the army to secure his person, and then to bring him to trial; and I dare think no further. This will be done in ten days, and therefore if the king can escape, let him do it as he loves his life." Sir John then asked the reason of this change, since the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and that the officers were become superior since the last rendezvous. He replied, that he could not certainly tell; but conceived the ground to be, that though one of the mutineers was shot to death, eleven more made prisoners, and the rest in appearance overawed, yet they were so far from being so indeed, that two-thirds of the army had since been with Cromwell and Ireton, to tell them, that though they were certain to perish in the enterprise, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their sense; and that if all failed, they would make a division among the troops, and

join with any who would assist them in the destruction of those who should oppose them. Upon which, he added, Cromwell and Ireton argued thus: If the army divide, the greater part will side with the Presbyterians, and will, in all likelihood, prevail to our ruin, by forcing us to make our applications to the king, wherein we shall rather beg than offer any assistance; which if the king shall give, and afterward have the good fortune to prevail, if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promise to ourselves; thereupon concluding, that if they could not bring the army to their sense, it were best to comply with them, a schism being utterly destructive to both. In pursuance of this resolution, Cromwell bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was opposite to the king, acknowledging, as he well knew how to do on such occasions, that "the glory of this world had so dazzled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great work that the Lord was doing."

Sir John further informs us, that next morning he sent Colonel Cooke to Cromwell to let him know that he had letters and instructions to him from the king; but the lieutenant-general returned answer by the same messenger, that he could not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; bidding him be assured that he would serve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin, but desired that it might not be expected that he should perish for his sake.*

Ludlow, who abridges the narrative now given, put little confidence in the promises of Cromwell and his son-in-law the commissary-general. On the contrary, he suggests, that having secured the city by an armed force, persuaded the king to refuse the propositions of the parliament, subdued the levellers, and, by removing his majesty, freed them-

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 228.

selves from his importunity, they had resolved to rid their hands of him altogether. They deemed it more politic, at the same time, to devolve the final negotiations with the monarch upon the parliament, whom they should thereby render responsible for the catastrophe which they saw was likely to take place; for they knew well that the Presbyterian party would not come to an agreement with him on the terms proposed by the army, and that their own faction in the Commons would not now treat on the lowest conditions to which his misfortunes might compel him to descend.

In a case so extremely complicated, and which involved the fate of so many interests, not easy to be reconciled, it is not surprising that there should have been perpetuated against Charles the charge of insincerity. He did not fail to perceive the value of his accession to both of the two parties who courted him; and as it was avowedly a bargain on either side, the imputation of selfish motives might, perhaps, not without some show of justice, have been reciprocally urged by the king, the parliament, and the army. His majesty, too, laboured under a peculiar disadvantage in conducting all the treaties which were proposed to him after the battle of Naseby, inasmuch as he could not negotiate with more than a part of his people at one time; and hence he had no security that his concessions, however ample, would effect the great object which both himself and his opponents professed to have in view.

For example, in the conference which took place at Hampton Court, where Charles rejected the propositions offered by Cromwell and his son-in-law, Sir John Berkeley, being desirous to bring about a settlement, "demanded of Ireton and the other officers, what they would do if the king should consent: by whom it was answered, that they would offer them to the parliament for their approbation."

From this acknowledgment we may perceive, that an acceptance of the terms proposed by the army would not necessarily have formed the basis of a peace with the national representatives; and, consequently, that the sovereign had much reason in his arguments when he requested that commissioners might be mutually appointed by the parliament and by the council of officers respectively, to prepare the way for a personal treaty, in the conclusions of which all interests might be united.

To this plan, however, apparently so equitable, neither the military nor parliamentary leaders could ever be induced to accede. Each wished to negotiate separately; to gain the royalists by closing with their master; to strengthen their own hands, in short, in order that they might be able to put down their rivals. Can it be a matter of surprise, then, that Charles, when he found that the only result at which his negotiations could arrive, was to array the king and the parliament against the army, or the king and the army against the parliament, should have hesitated to conclude with either faction; and that he should have entreated, as he all along did entreat, to be allowed to submit the controversy to the people at large, in the capital of his empire?

In the mean time, his majesty was assailed by reports of various kinds that his life was in danger, and informed that if he wished to escape the hand of an assassin, he must forthwith leave Hampton Court. Being perplexed by the counsels of his secret enemies, and by the zeal of his injudicious friends, he knew not what expedient to adopt. Some advised him to go to London and make his appearance in the House of Lords; others recommended his immediate departure from the kingdom; while a third party suggested an immediate and unconditional compliance with the views of the Presbyterians in Scotland as well as in England. "At

last," says Ludlow, "he resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of Colonel Hammond, the governor there."*

CHAPTER VI.

Containing an Account of the Principal Occurrences which took place from the Time that the King arrived in the Isle of Wight, to the Period of his Execution in January, 1649.

The vigorous measures adopted by Fairfax and Cromwell at the general rendezvous of the army, placed the power of the commonwealth entirely in their hands. The parliament, after the retreat of the eleven members, had shown a disposition to submit to their military guides, and even to promote their views; and every thing would have hastened to a confirmed despotism under the mixed oligarchy of the sword and the gown, had not the people, whose interests had ceased to be remembered by either party, revived for a moment to a sense of the danger with which they were threatened. They had seen the war come to an end without bestowing upon them any of the advantages which they had been led to expect. A sum of money, large beyond all precedent, was raised annually upon the property and labour of the nation; an army exceeding forty thousand men was kept up to overawe the populace, whose battles they pretended to fight; while hundreds of officers, originally poor and of the meanest professions, were now in the enjoyment of great wealth, and some of

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 215.

them not a little disposed to trample on the rights of their less fortunate brethren.*

The king having rejected the four proposals, or bills, as they were called, which were sent to him as the basis of a treaty, Cromwell and Ireton laboured to stimulate the Commons to the most violent resolutions. The latter, professing to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of Many Thousand Godly Men, who had hazarded their lives in defence of the parliament, asserted that the king, by declining the bills, had refused safety and protection to his people. He reminded the members, that their obedience to the sovereign was but a reciprocal duty for his attention to their interests; and that as he had failed on his part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation without consulting any longer so misguided a prince. Cromwell, in like manner, after giving a flattering character of the army, whose valour and godliness he extolled in the highest degree, recommended that the parliament should now guide and defend the kingdom by their own power, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened. "Teach them not," said he, "by your neglecting your own safety, and that of the kingdom, in which theirs too is involved, to imagine themselves betrayed and their interests abandoned to the rage of an irreconcileable enemy, whom for your sake they have dared to provoke. Beware" (and at these words he laid his hand on his sword), "beware, lest despair cause them to seek safety by some other means than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety."

* Mrs. Hutchinson, speaking of Major-general Harrison, says, that he "who was but a meane man's sonne, and of a meane education, and no estate before the warre, had gathered an estate of 2000*l.* a-yeare, besides engrossing grate offices, and maintained his coach and family at a heighth as if they had been borne to principallity." Vol. ii. p. 175.

No sooner, then, was it resolved by the two houses, that no more addresses should be made to the king, and that no correspondence leading to a settlement of affairs should be renewed, than a general ferment agitated the public mind. Every one suspected that it was the intention of those who had assumed the direction of affairs, to abolish entirely the monarchical government, and to introduce in its place a military despotism. The great majority of the nation, accordingly, began to wish for the restoration of the sovereign. Much diversity of opinion prevailed, indeed, with respect to the conditions; but all agreed, that what Charles had so often demanded, a personal treaty, ought to be granted, as the most likely means to reconcile opposite interests, and to lead to a satisfactory arrangement.*

Scarcely a day passed which was not marked by some occurrence indicative of the popular feeling. An alarming tumult in the city, in which the apprentices forced the guard, and ventured to engage the military under the command of the general, was quickly followed by similar disturbances in Norwich, Canterbury, Exeter, and several other places. These were, indeed, soon suppressed by the vigilance of Fairfax and the county committees: but the cry of "God and the king!" shouted by the rioters on these occasions, sufficiently proved that the sentiment in favour of royalty was every hour gaining strength. At the same time, petitions from different public bodies poured into the two houses, all concurring in the same prayer, that the army should be disbanded, and the king brought back to his capital. Cromwell and his friends, aware that it would not be in their power to control the city while their forces were employed in the field, withdrew their opposition in the Lower Chamber so far, as to permit the Presby-

* Lingard, vol. i. p 406.

terian party to carry a vote, that no change should be made in the fundamental government of the realm by king, lords, and commons: and on this ground the citizens declared themselves engaged to live and to die with the parliament.*

Nor were these demonstrations in favour of the king confined to tumults and popular uproars. The men of Kent, under Hales and Goring, flew to arms, and engaged the troops commanded by Fairfax and Major-general Skipton. They were indeed defeated, but the resolution with which they fought at Maidstone endangered for a moment the ascendency of the republicans. The Welsh, at the same time, who throughout the whole war had been friendly to the royal cause, once more assembled under the banners of their chiefs; and Colonel Poyer, the governor of Pembroke Castle, was the first to proclaim the authority of the monarch, and to bid defiance to the threats of the Independents. Several towns followed the example with which they were thus supplied: and in some skirmishes which followed, the advantage was on the side of the royalists.

But the approach of Cromwell at the head of a few regiments of veterans crushed the hopes of the insurgents. Having driven them within their walls, the lieutenant-general immediately invested Pembroke, resolved to carry the fortress in his usual manner by a spirited assault. His men, cheered by the presence of their invincible leader, and inflamed by the fanatical discourses of Hugh Peters, dashed into the ditch, ascended the ramparts, and were about to throw themselves upon the garrison, whom they had hoped to find unprepared, when, on a sudden, they were attacked with the utmost fury, and after a sanguinary conflict amid the darkness and confusion of night, compelled to return to their

* Lingard, vol. x. p. 212.

camp, considerably diminished in number. Six weeks were spent in the siege of Pembroke; an interval which, under more active friends than now conducted the affairs of Charles in the field, might have turned the fortune of the war.

The Scots, whose aid during the whole course of these civil broils, was extremely unpropitious to the monarchy, had again recruited their army to fight for the king and the covenant. The more rigid Presbyterians, suspicious as to the real object of the expedition, had opposed the exertions of Hamilton in all the districts to which their influence extended; and hence the troops which he raised were not only far from being hearty in the cause, but were also ill provided with arms and ammunition, and resorted slowly, and in some instances not without compulsion, to join their standards. Sir James Turner, who held a command during this unfortunate inroad, describes the composition of the corps which were thus assembled, and the blundering conduct of the principal officers after they were set in motion, with an air of so much candour and simplicity, that I shall satisfy myself with an abridgment of his narrative.

"My lord duke marcheth on with this ill-equipd and ill-orderd armie of his, in which I, being colonel of a regiment, officiated also as adjutant-general; or rather indeed doing the deutie of major-general of the infantrie, since there was none named for it. To releive Langdale at Carlisle, brought us out of the roade, and treulie we never came into the right way againe; so true is the old saying, once wrong and ay wrong. At Hornbie, a day's march beyond Kendall, it was advised whether we should march by Lancashire, Cheshire, and the western counties, or if we should go into Yorkshire, and so put ourselves in the straight roade to London, with a resolution to fight all who should oppose us. Callender was

indifferent: Middleton was for Yorkshire: Baillie for Lancashire. My lord duke was for Lancashire, and it seemed he had hopes that some force would join him in his march that way. Whatever the matter was, I never saw him tenacious in any thing during the time of his command but in that. We choosed that way, which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by most rainie and tempestuous weather, and by staying for countrie horses to carry our little ammunition. The vanguard is constantlie given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition he should constantlie furnish guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and, what was more than both these, to have good and certaine intelligence of all the enemies motions. But whether it was by our fault or his neglect, want of intelligence helped to ruine us; for Sir Marmaduke was well near totallie routed before we knew that it was Cromwell who attacked us.*

"Beside Preston in Lancashire, Cromwell falls on Sir Marmaduke's flank: the English imaginé it was one Colonel Ashton, a powerful Presbyterian, who had got together about 3000 men to oppose us, because we came out of Scotland without the general assembly's permission. Marke the quarell. While Sir Marmaduke disputes the matter, Baillie, by the duke's order, marches to Ribble Bridge, and passes it with all the foot, except two brigades. This was two miles from Preston. By my lord duke's command, I sent some ammunition and men to Sir Marmaduke's assistance—but to no purpose, for Cromwell prevailed so, that our English first retired and then fled. It must be remembered, that the night

* Dr. Lingard (vol. x. p. 417) says that Langdale, who had watched the motions of Cromwell, "fell back on the Scottish army near Preston, and *warned the duke to prepare for battle* on the following day." Had this been so, Hamilton would have deserved at the hands of his own army the punishment which he afterward received from the hands of the parliament: but the account given by Sir James Turner is more probable, and explains, if any thing can explain, the wretched management of the combined forces.

before this sad rencontre, Earls Callender and Middleton were gone to Wigham, eight miles from hence, with a considerable part of the cavalry. Callender was come backe, and was with the duke, and so was I; but upon the route of Sir Marmaduke's people, Callender got away to Ribble, where he arrived safelie by a miracle, as I think, for the enemie was between the bridge and us, and had killed or taken the most part of our two brigades of foot. The duke, with his guard of horse—Sir Marmaduke, with many officers, among others myselfe, got into Preston towne with intention to passe a foorde below it, though at that time not rideable. At the entrie of the towne, the enemie pursued us hard. The duke faced about and put two troops of them to a retreat; but so soon as we turned from them, they turned upon us. The duke, facing the second time, charged them, which succeeded well. Being pursued the third time, my lord duke cried to charge once more for King Charles. One trooper refusing, he beat him with his sword. At that charge we put the enemie so far behind, that he could not overtake us so soon. There Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the duke to haste him to his armie; and treulie he shewed here as much personal valour as any man could be capable of."

A council of war being held, it was resolved to retreat during the ensuing night. Baillie and Sir James Turner endeavoured to dissuade the duke from this determination, representing the impossibility of retiring with safety before an enemy so powerful in horse, in bad weather, with deep roads, the soldiers being wet, weary, and hungry, and without ammunition. The authority of the duke, it appears, could not withdraw the major part of the officers from this shameful resolution. The retreat was begun in the dark, and next morning, says Sir James, we appeared at Wigham-moor, "half our number less than we were; most of the

faint and weary soldiers having lagged behind, whom we never saw again." Nothing could exceed the dismay and disorder into which the vanquished army fell. Turner related that when a regiment of horse pressed upon his infantry, he desired the latter to halt and make way for the fugitives, who would otherwise have trodden them down. "But my pikemen, being demented, as I thinke we were all, would not hear me, and two of them runne full tilt at me. One of their pikes, intended for my bellie, I gripped with my left hand: the other run me neere two inches in the innerside of my right thigh—all of them crying that all of us were Cromwell's men. This made me forget all rules of prudence, modestie, and discretion. I rode to our horse and desired them to charge through these foot. They, fearing the hazard of the pikes, stood. I then made a cry come behind them that the enemie was upon them. This encouraged them to charge my foot so fiercelie, that the pikemen threw down their pikes and got into houses. All the horse gallopped away; and, as I was told afterward, rode, not through, but over our whole foot, treading them down."*

This army, as every reader knows, was completely disorganized and fell in pieces. The rear-guard alone, which was a full day's march behind the main body, returned to Scotland in good order; the rest were either cut off by the militia in the several counties through which they attempted to pass, or were detained as prisoners of war. Hamilton himself and some of his principal officers, whom shame prevented from joining the miserable rout of their countrymen, surrendered to the enemy, on the sole condition of experiencing the mercy of parliament. A similar fate awaited Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who, with several of his followers, was overtaken by the enemy at a country inn on the

* Sir James Turner's Memoirs, p. 63–66.

borders of Staffordshire. Cromwell, meantime, continued his march towards the banks of the Tweed, and finally proceeded to Edinburgh. The terror of his name as a soldier extorted from the Presbyterians in that city a show of respect which they did not feel for his character as a leader of sectarians. They yielded, indeed, less reluctantly to his demand for suppressing the royalists, and for replacing the power of the state in the hands of Argyle. Of the events which followed this revolution, Sir James Turner speaks in these terms:—"As soone as the news of our defeate reached Scotland, Argyle and the kirk's party rose in armes' everie mother's sonne; and this was called the Whiggamer rode. David Lesley was at their head, and old Leven in the castle of Edinburgh cannonading the royall troopes when they came in view of him. Yet might they have been all verie soone conjured to be quiet, if the royalists had not suffered themselves to be cheated by a treaty, by which they were obliged to lay down armes, and quit their power in civil and military affairs. Cromwell is feasted by old Leven (pears of one tree) in the castle of Edinburgh, which, within two years after, he made his own. These men who courted him were so faithful to the covenant that, if fame wrong not some of them, they agreed with him, in my Lady Home's house in the Canongate, that there was a necessitie to take away the king's life. Now for the good entertainment the Presbyterians had given this arch-independent, at his return to England, he left Lambert with four regiments of horse to defend them against the malignants—for so were honest men called—till forces of their own were raised, which was soone done. And then acts of state and kirk are made to incapacitate all who had been in England with the duke, all who had abetted that engagement, or had assisted to it, from any office, charge, or employment: and numbers of honest ministers, upon that same ac-

count, were turned out of their benefices and livelihoods."*

The campaign of 1648 was distinguished by an event which is not usually mentioned by historians, —the death of Cromwell's eldest son, who was killed in an action with the enemy's cavalry. This young man, whose name, too, was Oliver, was about nineteen at the breaking out of the civil war; soon after which, by his father's interest, he obtained a commission in the parliament's army. It is certain, from the following incident mentioned in the History of Peterborough, that he was a captain so early as 1643. When the troops under Old Noll were employed in destroying the painted glass and other ornaments of the cathedral, a soldier found a manuscript volume, which he afterward sold to a Mr. Hustin, who prevailed upon him to write the acknowledgment given below.† As a farther proof of this, John Lilburne, in the year 1547, charges the lieutenant-general with having several relations in the army, and, among others, two of his own sons, one a captain of Fairfax's life-guard, the other a captain of a troop of horse in Harrison's regiment;

* Sir James Turner's Memoirs, pp. 68, 69. The following proclamation issued by Cromwell upon his entrance into Scotland is worthy of notice.—"Whereas we are marching with the parliament's army into the kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of the remaining part of the enemy, and for the recovery of the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, these are to declare, that if any officer or soldier under my command shall take or demand any money, or shall violently take any horses, goods, or victual, without order, or shall abuse the people in any sort, he shall be tried by a council of war, and the said persons so offending shall be punished according to the articles of war made for the government of the army in the kingdom of England, which is death. Each colonel or other chief officer in every regiment is to transcribe the copies of this, and to cause the same to be delivered to each captain of his regiment; and every said captain of each respective troop and company is to publish the same to his troop or company, and to take a strict course that nothing be done contrary hereunto. Given under my hand, this 20th September, 1648. CROMWELL."—*Mod. Intell.*

† "I pray let this scripture book alone, for he hath paid me for it; and therefore I would desire you to let it alone—by me, Henry Topclyffe, souldier under Captain Cromwell, Colonel Cromwell's son. Therefore I pray let it alone. Henry Topclyffe, April 22, 1643."

both, says the accuser, raw and inexperienced soldiers. As Richard Cromwell was designed for the bar, the youths now alluded to must have been Oliver and Henry; the latter of whom, it is well known, was a captain of the life-guard. The other, says Noble, was killed in July, 1648, in attempting to repulse the Scotch army that invaded England under the Duke of Hamilton, at which time Colonel Harrison was wounded; the latter circumstance clearly evinces that it was he who was killed, as he is just mentioned above as being a captain in Harrison's regiment.*

The defeat of the allied army in the north determined the fortune of the war in the southern counties. Lord Goring, after sustaining a check from the troops under Fairfax, threw himself into Colchester, which he defended with resolution as long as any hope remained for the royal cause. At length he was compelled to surrender at discretion, when two of his bravest officers, Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, were, by a council of war, condemned to be shot. The latter, tearing open his waistcoat, exclaimed, "Fire, rebels!" and instantly fell. Lisle ran to him, kissed his dead body, and, turning to the soldiers, desired them to come nearer. One of them replied, "Fear not, sir, we shall hit you." "My friends," he answered, "I have been nearer when you missed me." Fairfax was much blamed for this severity; and his character is not relieved from the imputation of vindictive feeling, by the assurance that he acted under the direction of Ireton, the representative of Cromwell.

In the absence of the army the Presbyterians resumed a temporary ascendency in the parliament, and renewed their negotiation with the king. They repealed the vote of non-addresses, and sent proposals for the consideration of his majesty, which

* Noble's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 132.

were discussed at considerable length, at the small town of Newport, in the Isle of Wight. The result was, indeed, unfavourable; but the spirit of conciliation which was thus manifested by the two houses was sufficient to alarm the military demagogues. The council of officers set forth a threatening proclamation, charging the majority of the Commons with apostacy from their former principles, and appealing from their authority to "the extraordinary judgment of God, and of all good people." To provide for the settlement of the kingdom, and the punishment of the guilty, the general marched several regiments into London; quartering them at Whitehall, York House, and the Mews. At the same time, and with similar intentions, they gave orders to remove his majesty from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle; a solitary edifice on the coast of Hampshire, and almost entirely surrounded by the sea.

These arbitrary measures on the part of the army justly alarmed the more moderate division of the Lower House. They remonstrated against the seizure of the royal person, as having been made without their knowledge, and in opposition to their wishes; and being no longer able to conceal from themselves that a thorough revolution in the government was meditated by the Independents, they resolved to take into consideration the concessions which had been made by the king at Newport, and to determine whether they might not be held as a sufficient basis on which to rest the settlement of the kingdom. A debate, which continued three days and a whole night, ended by a vote in the affirmative. The military faction was defeated by a majority of forty-six; and in this resolution the judgment of the Commons unquestionably coincided with that of the mass of the people, who had for some time been extremely desirous for an accommodation with their sovereign. But the officers, although worsted in parliament, did not relinquish

their intention of destroying the monarchy. They marched down two regiments to the house; seized and imprisoned the leaders of the opposite party; intimidated the remainder so as to repel them from their duty; and thereby commanded the future deliberations of that national assembly.

It has been made a question by the biographers of Cromwell, whether he had any share in this celebrated purification, which was administered by Colonel Pride. The lieutenant-general returned from Scotland on the evening of the day on which the operation was performed, and took up his residence at Whitehall; where, and at other places, he declared "he had not been made acquainted with the design; yet that, since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it." But this assertion has not everywhere met with implicit belief, and chiefly for this reason, that no one would have dared to engage in a measure so extremely hazardous, had not Cromwell either suggested it, or given assurances of support. Besides, the plan of such an attack on parliament had occurred to him at an early period, as the only effectual means for counteracting the policy of his antagonists. "Those fellows," said he to Ludlow, "will never leave, until the army pulls them out by the ears." Mrs. Hutchinson also relates that, on a former occasion, "he was in the mind to have come and broken them up," had not her husband, and some of the soberer officers, dissuaded him from it. The idea, therefore, was not new to him; and it is extremely probable that, upon hearing, while he was in Scotland, of the renewed ascendency of the Presbyterians, as well as of their treaty with the king, he communicated to Ireton his wishes as to the interposition of the army, and the dispersion of the hostile members. "Upon the whole, then," says one of the most friendly of his historians, "it may be judged that the lieutenant-general was content (agreeably to a

policy he had before sometimes used), by means of his emissaries, to influence the minds and nerve the spirits of his compeers, in a way calculated to produce certain consequences—which, in the case before us, it was impossible to deny, must have been desirable to him—without directly pointing out, or afterward directly sanctioning their line of conduct; a mode of operation that would square with his asserted ignorance of the plan actually adopted, and was attended with the advantage of leaving him a loophole of escape at all hazards."* In a letter to Fairfax, who had officially countenanced, or at least connived at, the expulsion of the members, Cromwell ascribes the zeal of the army to the direct inspiration of Almighty God.

The fate of the king was already determined; and nothing remained to complete the tragical issue but some considerations as to the grounds and manner of a public trial. It is remarkable, that the capital punishment of Charles had been contemplated with more or less steadiness ever since the beginning of the year 1646; and that the republican party, amid the various ebbs and flows of their political interests, had never allowed this fatal consummation of the struggle in which they were engaged to remain long absent from their counsels for the future settlement of the kingdom. In the month of May, of the year just mentioned, Baillie, in writing to Mr. Alexander Henderson, during the treaty of Newcastle, remarks, that "there is much talk here by all sorts of people of the king's obstinacy; the faction rejoices therein; this disposition contributes greatly to their wicked design: our perplexity for him and ourselves at the present is very great; if he would do his duty in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right: but if God have hardened him, so as I can perceive, this people will strive to have him in their power and make an example of

* Oliver Cromwell and his Times, p. 226.

him; *I abhor to think of it, what they speak of execution.*"*

Before he set out on his last expedition to Wales, and while the ferment created by the levellers continued to agitate the army, Cromwell made several attempts to ascertain what were the real sentiments of the two great parties which divided the nation, in regard to the restoration of the royal authority. For this purpose, he invited to dinner a number of the leading men both among the Presbyterians and Independents; and took an opportunity of ascertaining, during a personal conference, the points upon which they differed, and whether there were any common ground whereon they might meet to accomplish a hearty reconciliation. This at least, according to Ludlow, was the pretext under which he called them together; but the real object, he insinuates, was only to obtain such information as might enable him to direct his course with safety and success, through the difficulties with which recent events had surrounded him. The attempt, whatever might be the purpose which it was meant to serve, terminated in a complete failure. He found it impossible to adjust the rival pretensions of the two ecclesiastical bodies; the one of whom could not endure a superior, the other would not consent to tolerate an equal.

He contrived to bring about another conference, consisting of the grandees, as they were called, of the House and army on the one hand, and of a deputation of the republicans on the other. At this meeting, says Ludlow, who was present, the grandees, of whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of them might be good in itself, or

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 209.

for us, according as Providence should direct us. The commonwealth-men, on the contrary, declared that monarchy was neither good in itself nor good for the people; and they endeavoured to prove the former branch of the assertion by quoting the eighth verse of the eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel, where the rejection of the judges and the choice of a king were charged upon the Israelites by God himself as a very great crime. Several other texts were adduced to establish the same doctrine. As to the inexpediency of monarchical rule, an argument was drawn from the recent experience of the kingdom, and from the losses and sufferings which had arisen from the effort to maintain it. They reasoned, as before, that protection and obedience were reciprocal, and concluded, that as the king had broken his oath to govern according to law, he had set them free from their allegiance. They added, that as he had appealed to the sword for the decision of the things in dispute, and thereby caused the effusion of a deluge of his people's blood, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon the representatives of the nation to call him to account for the same; more especially as the controversy had been determined by the very species of arbitration which he himself had selected. The next step was to establish an equal commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people, and calculated to secure the rights and liberties of all men; and then they might rely upon seeing the hearts and hands of the nation joined to support it, as being at once just in itself, and in all respects most conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the community at large.

These arguments were enforced at great length by the patrons of democracy. But it was not the object of Cromwell to decide in favour of either party. He desired no more than to ascertain what were the views of both, and the means which they might recommend for their accomplishment. "He,

therefore," says Ludlow, "professed himself unresolved; and having learned what he could of the principles and intentions of those present at the conference, he took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired. The next day, passing by me in the House, he told me he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was inclined to join with us, though unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom, I presume, he professed himself to be of another judgment."*

The narration now given contributes to throw considerable light on the political character of Cromwell. He never attempted to force the current of events, but merely to direct its motion towards the objects which he was desirous to effect. He did not even, like a Cassius or an Anthony, make it his study to raise the passions and embark his fortunes on the high tide which he had succeeded in producing; on the contrary, he satisfied himself with marking the direction which the feelings and wishes of those around him had already taken, and shaped his course accordingly. Pagan writers have remarked, that the gods sometimes sport with human affairs; an observation which proceeded from ignorance of that moral relation in things which connects, by an invisible chain, the most important events with causes apparently the most trivial and inadequate. But on the occasion just described, Cromwell turned into jest and the rudest buffoonery a deliberation which respected the lives of thousands, the fate of an ancient family of kings, and the future government of the most important nation in

* Ludlow, vol. i. pp. 238, 239.

Christendom. It was a rule with that wonderful man, that there should be no correspondence whatever between his words and his actions; that his present doings should reveal as little as possible of his intentions respecting the future; and hence the closest observers of his conduct could neither discover what was passing in his mind, nor predict what he would undertake before the setting of the sun. He declared at the conference in which Ludlow harangued against monarchical government, that he was still unresolved; but the line of policy which he immediately afterward pursued, makes it manifest that his determination was already fixed, that Charles Stuart, as he had ceased to reign, should also soon cease to live. In truth, it had previously been a subject of discussion in the council of officers, whether the king should not be brought to justice for his tyranny and oppression; on which occasion, after many prayers offered up by Oliver and the more resolute of his adherents, it was secretly determined that monarchy should be for a time extinguished in the blood of the sovereign.

Perhaps the real sentiments of the army are nowhere more distinctly expressed than in the declaration of the House of Commons, voted by Cromwell and his friends, annulling all former votes in favour of a treaty with his majesty. "Neither can we believe," say they, "that any agreement we could have made with the king in the Isle of Wight, in the condition he was then in, would ever have been observed, either by himself, or any of his party; for, setting aside the bare name of honour, safety, and freedom which the treaty did pretend unto, neither the king, nor any of his, did ever hold him in any other condition than that of a prisoner. And since enforced oaths are in many men's judgments not necessary to be kept, what assurance could we have that he, who so often had failed of his promises made to us when he was free, and at his own disposal, would make

that good to us when he came to be re-established in his royal power, which he had obliged himself to do when he was in durance and a prisoner? And besides, hardly any example can be produced, either foreign or domestic, of any prince once engaged in war with his subjects, that ever kept any agreement which he made with them any longer than mere necessity did compel him thereto. The examples to the contrary whereof are so many and so manifest, and the late bloody violation of the peace betwixt the crown of Spain and the people of Naples, is so fresh in our memories, that we cannot expect any propositions agreed upon at the Isle of Wight should bind the king more than the fundamental laws and his coronation oath; besides his often protestations and engagements in the name of a king and a gentleman, which he hath so often violated."*

Milton, in one of his political tracts, avowedly extols the conduct of the military council in driving the royalists from the House of Commons, and in avenging their cause on the head of the monarch. "If it has always been counted praiseworthy in private men to assist the state and promote the public good, whether by advice or by action, our army sure was in no fault, who, being ordered by the parliament to come to town, obeyed and came; and when they were come, quelled with ease the faction and uproar of the king's party, who sometimes threatened the House itself. For things were come to that pass, that of necessity, either we must be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their side most of the shopkeepers and handicraftsmen in London, and generally those of the ministers who were most factious. On our side was the army, whose fidelity, moderation, and courage, were sufficiently known. It being in our power by their means to regain our liberty, our state, our common

* Parliamentary History, vol. xviii. p. 509

safety; do you think we had not been fools to have lost all by our negligence? They who had had places of command in the king's army, after their party were subdued, had laid down their arms, indeed against their wills, but continued enemies to us in their hearts. With these men, though they were the greatest enemies they had in the world, and thirsted after their blood, did the Presbyterians, because they were not permitted to exercise a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all others, hold secret correspondence, and took measures very unworthy of what they had formerly both said and done. To such animosity did they at length arrive, that they would rather enthral themselves again to the king, than admit their own brethren to a share in their liberty, which they likewise had purchased at the price of their own blood. They chose rather to be lorded over once more by a tyrant, stained with the gore of so many of his own subjects, and breathing nothing but revenge against those who survived, than to see their friends and fellow-christians on the same footing of equality. The Independents, as they are called, were the only men that from first to last kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their victory. They refused, and wisely in my opinion, to make him king again, being then an enemy, who, when he was their king, had made himself their enemy; nor were they ever the less desirous of a peace; but they very prudently dreaded a new war, or a perpetual slavery, under the name of a peace."*

The intentions of the army having been communicated to Charles in the Isle of Wight, he was entreated to make his escape. But having given his promise to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during their negotiation with him, nor for twenty days after its conclusion, he would not listen to any persuasions which might have in-

* Pro populo Anglicano Defensio.

duced him to hazard the infringement of that promise. In vain did his attendants urge that a promise given to the parliament could no longer be binding, since they could no longer protect him from the violence which he had reason to apprehend from other persons, to whom he was not placed under any similar engagements. The king refused to indulge such refinements of casuistry on a subject so closely connected with his honour; and resolved to endure even the most extreme rigours of fortune, rather than expose himself to the charge of having violated his pledge.

About the middle of December, instructions were given to Colonel Harrison to proceed to Hurst Castle, in order to make arrangements for the removal of the king to the palace of Windsor, preparatory to his trial. His arrival at midnight created a deep alarm among the attendants of his majesty; the more especially because this very officer had been named in a letter received by Charles, during the treaty of Newport, as having engaged to put an end to his life by assassination. But the fears entertained by the royal household were altogether unfounded. Harrison was a violent republican, and probably thirsted for the blood of his unfortunate sovereign; but he has been described by those who knew him, as being quite incapable of acting the part of a murderer. On the second day thereafter, the king was escorted from his gloomy prison by a troop of horse, under the command of Colonel Cobbet, the same person who, a few weeks before, had conducted him from Carisbrooke Castle; and on the 23d of December, the melancholy cavalcade arrived at the palace already mentioned, where its former master immediately found himself a neglected captive; stripped of all the honours and obeisance which were due to his rank, and which had not till now been denied to him by any of his keepers.

Meanwhile the Commons passed a vote that such

expedients as might be offered for settling the peace and government of the kingdom should be taken into immediate consideration. With this view, a pivate meeting was held by Cromwell, who called to his assistance Whitelocke and Widdrington, the commissioners of the great seal, Lenthal the speaker, and Dean, one of his most trusty adherents. After two sittings, the lawyers proceeded to draw up some resolutions as founded on the deliberations in which they had been employed; comprehending a plan for the return of the secluded members to their duty in parliament; an answer of the Lower House to the messages of the army; and a proclamation to be issued by the Lords and Commons for the settlement of the nation. But it is not without reason Mr. Godwin remarks, "that as the king had been already sent for to undergo a public trial, there could be no serious meaning on the part of Cromwell in these meetings. He sought them probably the better to conceal till the last moment his real designs. And it appears that he managed these conferences with such address, as to bring Whitelocke and Widdrington, two of the first lawyers of the day, to lend their countenance in a great degree to the new plan of government, although they had both before hesitated to attend their duty in parliament. It is a curious circumstance, handed down to us on the same authority, that Cromwell at this time lay in one of the king's rich beds in Whitehall, and in this posture gave audience to some of the most considerable persons in the nation."*

Various attempts, we are told, were made to induce Cromwell and his council of officers to depart from their resolutions of putting the king to death. The states of Holland interposed through the usual diplomatic channel, but without effect. The queen

* Whitelocke, December 19, 1648; Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 654.

wrote to the parliament, entreating that she might have a pass to return to England, with the view of prevailing upon her husband to give them satisfaction; or, if she could not succeed in obtaining concessions, that she might at least have it in her power to assist him in his great extremity. Her letter was laid aside unread. It is farther reported, that Colonel John Cromwell, a relation of the future Protector, who had found employment in the service of the Dutch provinces, was commissioned by the Prince of Wales, then resident at the Hague, to proceed to London, with full powers to grant any conditions which the lieutenant-general might demand, if he would consent to preserve the life of Charles.

The colonel is said to have been encouraged to undertake this mission, by the recollection of an assurance given to him some time before by Oliver, that he would rather draw his sword in favour of the king than allow the republicans to make any attempt on his person. Upon his arrival in the metropolis, he found that his kinsman had shut himself up so closely in his chamber, and issued such strict orders that no one should be admitted to him, that it was not without some difficulty he obtained an interview. The envoy did not fail to describe the action about to be perpetrated in the very darkest colours, and especially the horror which it would excite in all foreign countries; adding, that of all men he least expected that his relation should have a hand in so flagitious a crime, after the protestation which he had formerly made on behalf of his sovereign.

Whereupon, says Heath, Cromwell fell to his old shifts, telling him that it was not he but the army who were about to inflict justice on the king; that it is true he did once use such words as those which the colonel had repeated, but times were now altered, and Providence seemed to dispose things otherwise. He added, that he had prayed and fasted

for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the visiter fastened the door, which till then had continued open, and going close up to Cromwell, said, "Cousin, it is no time to dally with words in this matter; look you here"—showing his credentials and a carte blanche with which he had been supplied—"it is in your power not only to make yourself, but your posterity, family, and relations happy and honourable for ever: otherwise, as they have changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to wipe it away." Here Cromwell seemed to be shaken in his resolution, and to ponder on the communication which had just been made to him. After a little space, he replied, "Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it: and do you go to your inn, but go not to bed till you hear from me: I will confer and consider farther about the business." The colonel did so; and about one o'clock, a messenger came to him and told him he might go to bed, and expect no other answer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been seeking God, as Cromwell himself had also done, and it was resolved by them all that the king must die.*

The interview now described, is understood to have taken place only two days before the execution of Charles; and there is no doubt that Oliver had already firmly resolved to co-operate with his military tribunal, in accomplishing that bold and unprecedented measure. Bishop Burnet, on the authority of General Drummond, afterward Lord Strathallan, relates an anecdote which removes all obscurity which might otherwise attach to the views of the

*Heath's Flagellum, p. 67; Critical Review of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 116.

republicans. This gentleman happened to be with Cromwell when the commissioners from the Scottish parliament sent to protest against putting the king to death, came to argue with him. Cromwell bade Drummond stay and hear their conference, which he did. They began, says he, in a heavy languid style to lay indeed great loads upon the king; but they still insisted on that clause in the covenant by which they swore that they would be faithful in the preservation of his majesty's person. With these they showed upon what terms Scotland, as well as the two Houses had engaged in the war, and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the king they all along published; which would now appear, to the scandal and reproach of the Christian name, to have been false pretences, if, when the king was in their power, they should proceed to extremities. Upon this, Cromwell entering into a long discourse on the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan, replied, "that he thought a breach of trust in a king ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever. He said, as to their covenant, they swore to the preservation of the king's person in the defence of the true religion; if then it appeared that the settlement of the true religion was obstructed by the king, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer. He said also, that their covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom public justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining Montrose, but small offenders, acting by commission from the king, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty?" Drummond said Cromwell had plainly the

better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles.*

Among the intercessors with Cromwell for the life of Charles, there is mentioned the name of his son Richard, afterward lord protector; who is said to have thrown himself at his feet, and begged that he would not stain his hands in the blood of his sovereign. There were other members of his family who were equally averse to the tragical issue which was then contemplated, and not less urgent to dissuade him from its perpetration; but he had gone too far to retract with safety either to his own interest or person, and had implicated in the guilt of the design several bold spirits who could discover no indemnity for themselves except in its full completion.

It was, throughout, characteristic of Cromwell's policy that, in all matters of importance, he appeared to follow, rather than to lead; and even, on some occasions, to require a degree of compulsion to do the very things which he was most desirous to perform, and to allow those things to take place which he had determined to see accomplished. He insensibly pervaded others with his sentiments and communicated to them his plans: and hence in many cases his instruments had the strong feeling and consciousness of free agency, and proceeded to realize his intentions as if they had originally sprung up in their own minds. So completely, indeed, could he separate himself from the designs which he had stimulated others to pursue, that, on some great emergencies, he could call in question, when they proceeded from his inferior partisans, his own favourite opinions, and condemn, too, in them the very conduct for which he had himself supplied

* Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 71, Oxford edition 1823.

both the occasion and the motive. For example, although, after the meeting of the officers at Windsor, there cannot be the slightest doubt that he was resolved to bring Charles to the scaffold, yet, when the idea of capital punishment was first started in the lower house of parliament, he expressed the utmost surprise and indignation. "When it was first moved in the House of Commons," says Clement Walker, "to proceed capitally against the king, Cromwell stood up and told them, that if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, though he were not provided on the sudden to give them consent."*

But it was only when he saw others too forward that he recommended reflection and delay. When, on the other hand, he discovered a tendency to hesitate in the execution of any of his great plans, he became violent, and even impetuous—condemning with a loud voice the faint and unbelieving hearts which were inclined to make terms with the oppressor, or, as he worded it, to return back to Egypt. When, for instance, he was opposed by one who wished to avoid extremities, he exclaimed that he would cut off Charles's head with the crown on it. When, too, on the last day of the trial, the members, on the motion of Mr. Downes, adjourned into the Court of Wards, and were pressed by the same individual in the most pathetic terms, to give the king liberty to make some propositions to the parliament for the settlement of the nation, as his majesty had just before desired in the presence of his judges, "Cromwell did answer with a great deal of storm. He told the president that now he saw what great reason the gentleman had to put such a great trouble upon them; saith he, sure he

* History of Independency, part ii. See note F.

doth not know that he hath to do with the hardest-hearted man that lives upon the earth; however, it is not fit that the court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man; and he desired the court, without any more ado, would go and do their duty."*

But, upon the whole, Cromwell did not take an active part in the trial of the king. The court, which originally consisted of one hundred and fifty individuals, gradually diminished in number; and on the 29th of January, 1649, when the warrant for execution was produced, there were only fifty-nine who would consent to sign it.† Various statements founded on the evidence produced during the trial of the regicides, after the restoration, have come down to our times, which, if true, reflect little honour on the gravity of the Protector, especially on an occasion so extremely solemn. It was said by several witnesses, that he laughed and jeered in the Court of Wards during the adjournment already mentioned; and when he was called upon to sign the warrant, he marked Henry Martin's face with ink, and permitted the other to use the same freedom with him. This strange jocularity bears some resemblance to the throwing of the cushion at Ludlow's head while deliberating on the fate of the unhappy monarch, and presents such a whimsical association of ideas, as must defy the analysis of the most expert metaphysician. We can understand much better the narrative of Sir Purbeck Temple, one of the commissioners appointed to try the king, but who refused to sit, when he tells us that he hid himself to see and hear what was transacting in the Painted Chamber, where the committee of the high court of justice was assembled to contrive how they should regulate their novel proceedings. When they were so employed, news

* Exact and Perfect Narrative of the Trial of the Regicides, p. 168.
† See Note G, at the end of the volume.

was brought, says he, that his majesty was landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs, upon which Cromwell ran to the window to look at him as he came up the garden, but returned "as white as the wall."

Colonel Hunks, one of the individuals to whom the warrant for execution is addressed, declares that a little before the king's execution, he was in Ireton's chamber, where Harrison was also present, together with Cromwell, Hacker, Phayer, and Axtell. The warrant was produced and read by Hacker, during which Oliver addressed himself to Hunks, and desired him, in virtue of that document, to draw up an order for the execution. "I refused; and upon refusing of it, there happened some cross passages. Cromwell would have no delay. There was a little table that stood by the door, and pen, ink, and paper being there, Cromwell stooped and writ; I conceived he wrote that which he would have had me to write; as soon as he had done writing, he gave the pen over to Hacker. He stoops down and did write; I cannot say what he writ: away goes Cromwell and then Axtell; we all went out; afterward they went into another room; immediately the king came out and was murdered."

It is well known that Fairfax, who was now a member of the House of Peers, refused, in concurrence with all that body, to sanction the trial of his majesty. A rumour, which, however, appears to be without foundation, has been preserved by history that he meant to employ a part of the army—his own regiment, if no other would join—to prevent the execution of the sentence. This being suspected, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison coming to him, after their usual manner of deceiving, endeavoured, says Perinchief, "to persuade him that the Lord had rejected the king, and with such like language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him; concealing that they had that very morning signed the warrant for the assassination. They

also desired him with them to seek the Lord by prayer, that they might know His mind in the thing. Which he assenting to, Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by compact was to draw out his profane and blasphemous discourse to God to such a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately sent their instrument to hasten; of which when they had notice that it was passed, they rose up and persuaded the general that this was a full return of prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure, they were to acquiesce in it."*

Heath tells the story with some variety in the circumstances, but likewise with such an air of romance as not to conciliate the belief of an unprejudiced reader. "The very same day appointed for the murder, Cromwell and the officers assembled together, to consider of some means, if possible (with security to the nation), of saving the king's life; and many tedious expedients were offered by some not so bloody as the rest, and a speedy remonstrance to the parliament proposed, and that in the meanwhile the king should be respited. Cromwell seemed very forward, expressing how glad he should be if such a thing could be effected; for he was not ignorant, he said, what calumny that action would draw upon the army, and themselves in particular, though they did nothing therein but in obedience to the parliament. But, he added, before we proceed in so weighty a matter, let us seek God, to know his mind in it. Hereunto they agreed, and Oliver began a long-winded prayer, and continued in it till a messenger whom he had appointed for that purpose, came rapping at the door, and hastily told them that they need not trouble themselves about the king, for the work was done, which being unexpected to many of them, did at present astonish them; while Cromwell,

* Perinchief's Life of Charles the First.

holding up his hands, declared to them it was not the pleasure of God he should live, and therefore he feared they had done ill to tempt Him against His will, or words to that effect."*

It is not improbable that Cromwell and his friends were engaged in some sort of devotional exercise while the execution was going forward, and that the officer who announced the completion of it, may have found them still upon their knees; but whether the object was to sooth their own consciences, or merely to ward off the expedients of those who were not "so bloody as the rest," must for ever remain undetermined. That such deceit and violence were not thought quite unbecoming the character of religious professors, was not only proved by the conduct of that singular generation, but even acknowledged by them on the ground of principle.

"I had much discourse," says Bishop Burnet, "on this head, with one who knew Cromwell well, and all that set of men; and asked him how they could excuse all the prevarications, and other ill things, of which they were visibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me they believed there were great occasions, in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality; such were the practices of Ehud and Saul, Samson and David; and by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules."†

It is doubtful whether the bishop may not have formed an incorrect judgment when he declared, "that Ireton was the person who drove on the king's death; for Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it. Ireton had the principles and the temper of a Cassius in him; he stuck at nothing that might turn England into a commonwealth; and he found in Cook and Bradshaw, two

* Flagellum, p. 69.
† Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 78.

bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it. Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day. The Presbyterians and the body of the city were much against it, and were everywhere fasting and praying for the king's preservation. There was not above eight thousand of the military about town; but these were selected out of the whole army as the most engaged in enthusiasm; and they were kept at prayer in their way almost day and night, except when they were upon duty, so that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury that struck a terror into all people."

Mark Noble, a mild and lenient writer, remarks, "that Cromwell's hypocrisy to the public, and jocularity throughout the dreadful tragedy of the king's trial and execution—though great part of it was forced, and only a cover to hide the perturbation of his mind within—gave greater pain than the action itself. There might be the primary principle of nature, self-defence, to plead in his justification, at least extenuation, in putting the king to death; but none to indulge a vein of mirth and pleasantry in the misfortunes of any one, particularly a person of so high a degree, and who stood in so sacred a relation to him as his sovereign; yet, during the last scenes of the king's life he talked jestingly, and acted buffoonery; and this, too, when he was professing himself only guided by Providence, and lamenting the condition of his sovereign, whose lamentable fate he was fixing. It is certain that he went to feast his eyes upon the murdered king; and some say, put his finger upon the neck, to feel whether it were entirely severed, and viewing the inside of the body, observed how sound it was, and how well made for longevity. Bowtell, a private soldier, said, "that Cromwell could not open the coffin with his staff, but taking the other's sword, effected it with the hilt of it;" while he was inspecting the body,

Bowtell asking him what government they should have now, he said, "the same that then was." There was no excuse for this; yet did he before, during the trial and execution, mock his Maker by hypocritical prayers; and at those times and after, would shed tears for his master's unhappy situation and death."*

The death of the king alienated for ever from Cromwell all the more moderate of the English people, who had continued to believe that a treaty with his majesty was not altogether impracticable. No one was any longer permitted to doubt that personal motives weighed more with the ambitious soldier than the love of country; and that, in hastening the execution of his sovereign, he had yielded to the impulse of a selfish apprehension, rather than to the desire which he professed to entertain of vindicating the injured rights of his fellow subjects. At the same time, he brought dishonour upon the cause for which he had appeared in the field with so much advantage: he threw a stain upon the patriotism of others, who sincerely laboured to renew the constitution, and thereby to place on a firmer basis the privileges of the people and the just authority of the sovereign: and, by disgusting the nation with a tyranny more intolerable than any that had ever been inflicted by a legitimate prince, he paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy, in the same undefined and arbitrary form in which it originally descended to the House of Stuart.

In return for this treachery to his friends and his own better principles, Cromwell attained indeed to the enjoyment of a power more extensive in itself, and less restricted in its exercise, than had been possessed by any hereditary monarch on the throne of England: but which, in the end, so far from affording him any real satisfaction, only imbittered

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 118.

his days and diminished their number. He felt himself surrounded with anxiety, suspicion, and even terror for his personal safety; knowing that he was envied by some, hated by others, ridiculed by a third party, and regarded with aversion by the great body of the people. He continued, at the same time, to be corroded by the workings of an ambition which he was not allowed to gratify. He aspired to the crown and sceptre, although warned that he could not enjoy them but at the expense of his life; cherishing the dream that he might be the founder of a new dynasty, while he saw every reason to fear that, at his death, his family would immediately fall back into the same obscurity from which he had succeeded in giving to it a momentary elevation.

At all events, the execution of Charles opened up for him a wider field wherein to display his peculiar talents, and to pursue his favourite objects. Henceforth we shall contemplate him at the head of the government; acting with a degree of energy and success, which have secured for his administration a lasting fame, and which, in some degree, compensated to his contemporaries the severity and exactions which he found it necessary to impose.

NOTES.

NOTE A, p. 40.

THE following notices may be adduced in support of the opinion, that Cromwell was for some time engaged in the business of brewing.

Butler, speaking of the knight's dagger, says—

"It had been 'prentice to a brewer,
Where this and more it did endure;
But left the trade, as many more
Have lately done on the same score."

The author of Oliver's Court remarks—

"Who, fickler than the city ruff,
Can change his brewer's coat to buff,
His dray-cart to a coach, the beast
Into two Flanders' mares at least;
Nay, hath the art to murder kings,
Like David, only with his slings."

Another writer, in allusion to the House of Commons, observes—

"'Tis Noll's old brewhouse now, I swear,
The Speaker's but his skinker,
Their members are like th' council of war,
Carmen, pedlers, tinkers."

A Song, styled "The Protecting Brewer," given in the collection of "Loyal Songs."

A brewer may be a burgess grave,
And carry the matter so fine and so brave,
That he the better may play the knave,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may be a Parliament man,
For there the knavery first began—
And brew most cunning plots he can,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may put on a *Nabal* face,
And march to the wars with such a grace,
That he may get a captain's place,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may speak so wondrous well,
That he may rise (strange things to tell),
And so be made a colonel,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may make his foes to flee,
And raise his fortunes so, that he
Lieutenant-general may be,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may be all in all,
And raise his powers both great and small,
That he may be a Lord General,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may be like a fox in a cub,
And teach a lecture out of a tub,
And give the wicked world a rub,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer, by's excise and rate,
Will promise his army he knows what,
And set upon the college gate,
Which nobody can deny.
Methinks I hear one say to me,
Pray, why may not a brewer be
Lord Chancellor o' th' University?
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may be as bold as *Hector*,
When as he had drunk his cup of nectar;
A brewer may be a Lord Protector,
Which nobody can deny.
Now here remains the strangest thing,
How this brewer about his liquor did bring,
To be an emperor or a king,
Which nobody can deny.
A brewer may do what he will,
And rob the church and state, to sell
His soul unto the devil in hell,
Which nobody can deny.

In the song of the Sale of Religious Household Stuff given by the same gentleman, are these two lines :—

"And here are Old Noll's brewing vessels,
And here are his dray and his slings."

Mr. Walker, who paid so dear for writing his sentiments, in the History of Independency, after prophesying that Cromwell (then lieutenant-general to Fairfax) would assume the supreme sway, says, "then let all true saints and subjects cry out with me, 'God save King Oliver and his brewing vessels;'" and in another place, speaking of Harry Parker, whom he calls Observator, he says that he is returned from Hamburg, and "that he is highly preferred to be a brewer's clerk (alias secretary to Cromwell)." Worm, in Cowley's "Cutter of Colman Street," has a reference to Cromwell, when, speaking in derision of Cutter's learning, he asks him, "What parts hast thou? Hast thou scholarship enough to be a brewer's clerk?"

NOTE B, p. 60.

NOTHING is heard now among the brethren but triumph and fury, singing and mirth for their happy success (thanks to the devil first, and next to Noll Cromwell's nose) against the Scots, whom they vaunt to have beaten to dust. Monro, one of the best soldiers in Christendom, is coming on with a powerful army to give Noll another field sight—he will find hard play here, for these will not be laughed out of their loyalty, nor frightened out of themselves with the blazing of his beacon nose.—*Parliament Porter*, August 28, 1648.

Then Mr. Cromwell, to show that this was no time to speak sense and reason, stood up, and the glow-worm glistening in his beak, he began to spit fire; and as the devil quoted Scripture against our Saviour, so did he against his sovereign, and told the House, it is written, "Thou shalt not suffer a hypocrite to live;" and what then, I pray you, will become of himself?—*Mercur. Prag.* January 4, 1648.

Division in the army grows great; superiority is the thing looked upon, and Cromwell thinks he deserves it best, which Henry Martin is impatient to suffer; and Pride, stepping between them, makes great words to fly, in so much that *Ruby Nose* drew his dagger in the House on Saturday, and clapping it on the seat by him, expressed great anger against Henry and his levelling crew.—*Mercur. Prag.* March 25, 1648.

Nor is the malice of that bloody coward Cromwell yet half satisfied with the last gill of royal blood, drawn off from the father, but is now brewing more mischief towards his royal son, King Charles the Second, who, in spite of all the brewers and bakers, cobblers, pedlers, and tinkers, in the parliament and army, is rightful king of Great Britain. Sure Cromwell intends

to set up his trade of brewing again, for the other day, being in the presence of the Duke of Gloucester, he stroked him on the head, and like a merciful protector, said, "Sirrah, what trade do you like best? Would not a shoemaker be a good trade for you, or a brewer? And for that little gentlewoman, your sister, (meaning the Lady Elizabeth), if she will be ruled, I will provide her a husband; one of Colonel Pride's sons, or one of my own, if either of them like her, or can love her." The duke told him, "that being a king's son, he hoped the parliament would allow him some means out of his father's revenue, to maintain him like a gentleman, and not put him an apprentice like a slave." *Nose* Al——ty makes answer, "Boy, you must be an apprentice, for all your father's revenue will not make half the satisfaction for the wrong that he hath done the kingdom;" and so *Nose* went blowing out.—*Mercur. Elenct.* February 28, 1649.

Note C, p. 81.

It is remarked by Butler, when speaking of the cause for which the patriots engaged against Charles, that they were all ready to do and suffer, without precisely knowing the real object, civil or religious, which carried them into the field.

> "When hard words, jealousies, and fears,
> Set folks together by the ears,
> And made them fight like mad or drunk
> For dame Religion, or for punk;
> Whose honesty they all durst swear for,
> Though not a man of them knew wherefore."

An ingenious Italian, in the reign of Elizabeth, gave this character of the Puritans: "That the common people were wiser than the wisest of the nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were better able to judge of predestination, and what laws were fit to be made concerning church government, and what were fit to be obeyed or demolished; that they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience than the most learned colleges in Italy; that men of slightest learning, or at least the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or a super, or a re-reformation of religion. And in this they appeared like that man who would never cease to whet and whet his knife till there was no steel left to make it useful."—*Hooker's Life, by Walton.*

The Dissenters, many of whom before the war had got into parish churches, preached the people into rebellion, incited them

to take arms and fight the Lord's battles, and destroy the Amalekites root and branch, hip and thigh, and to root out the wicked from the earth. They told the people that they should bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron; and one of them (Durnan at Sandwich) prayed to God "that the king might be brought to Parliament in chains of iron." It has been fully made out that many individuals were drawn into the war by the direful imprecations pronounced from the pulpit by seditious preachers. Dr. South mentions he had it from the mouth of Axtell, one of the regicides, "that he, with many more, went into that execrable war, with such a controlling horror upon their spirits from those public sermons, especially of Brookes and Calamy, that they verily believed they should have been accursed by God for ever, if they had not acted their part in that dismal tragedy." It is not, therefore, at all wonderful that Cromwell should have found himself in the predicament which he himself described when he said, "I know what I would *not* have, but I do not know what I *would* have."

NOTE D, p. 114.

THE interest which attaches to the character of Lord Falkland, will form an apology for inserting the following anecdote, already so well known to all who have perused the annals of the Civil War.

While he was with the king at Oxford, his majesty went one day to see the public library, where he was showed, among other books, a Virgil, nobly printed, exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the king, would have his majesty make a trial of his fortune by the Sortes Virgilianæ, a usual kind of divination in ages past, made by opening a Virgil. The king opening the book, the passage which happened to come up was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas, iv. 615, &c.

"At, bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna suorum
Funera: nec quum se sub leges pacis iniquæ
Tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
Sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus arena."

Which is thus translated by Dryden:

"Oppress'd with numbers in the unequal field,
His men discouraged and himself expell'd,
Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects and his son's embrace.

First let him see his friends in battle slain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace;
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
But fall untimely by some hostile band,
And lie unburied on the barren sand!"

King Charles seeming concerned at this accident, the Lord Falkland, who observed it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the king's thoughts from any impression the other might make upon him: but the place Lord Falkland stumbled upon was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the king's; being the following expressions of Evander upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, Æn. xi. 152.

"Non haec, O Palla! dederas promissa petenti,
Cautius ut saevo velles te credere marti.
Haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis,
Et prædulce decus primo certamine posset.
Primitiæ juvenis miseræ! bellique propinqui
Dura rudimenta!

Of which Dryden has given us the following translation:—

"Oh, Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted word
To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword;
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew
What perils youthful ardour would pursue;
That boiling blood would carry thee too far,
Young as thou wert, in danger's race to war.
O curs'd essay of arms, disastrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields and fights to come!"

Note E, p. 218.

It is generally believed by historians, that the flight of the king from Hampton Court was contrived by Cromwell, when he found there was no longer any prospect of reconciling Charles to the army on the terms which Ireton had suggested. Mrs. Hutchinson endeavours to protect the character of both these officers against the charge, to which their conduct appears to have exposed them, that they meant to aggrandize themselves and families at the expense of the cause for which they had engaged; but she says nothing as to their knowledge of the king's inten-

tion to withdraw from his palace. "To speak the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time so incorruptibly faithful to his trust, and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise even his own usual dissimulations on this occasion." This testimonial is of some value as far as it respects the honesty of the lieutenant-general's intentions in conducting the negotiation with Charles at Hampton Court. But it leaves untouched the other point, not less important to the sincerity of his views, which relates to the secret instigations which induced his majesty to become a voluntary prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle.

The following statement conveys the opinion of Lord Clarendon on this head; and as it appears to have been written immediately after the event, and before the death of the king, it may be regarded as conveying the impression which was made among the royalists at the time. Alluding to the turbulent conduct of the agitators and levellers, he says,

"You must understand this dislike of theirs against those proceedings, was not out of any good affection towards the king, but only having engaged their creatures long since to intend his ruin, and that rabble having, as they thought, a fit opportunity to set about it, began upon a sudden to strive so furiously, that they almost spoiled all. So that the grand steersmen of the plot, were necessitated, in regard they saw the constitutions of the people would not bear so open and hurried a course against their king, to take them off with might and main. And hereby they took occasion to communicate counsels with such in the army, whose hearts were truly loyal to act under most specious pretences, to ingratiate themselves, obtain credit and confidence, and obscure their design; which must be effected another way with subtility. In prosecution hereof, all friendship was pretended towards his majesty, a friendly correspondence held, and daily intelligence given him of all that was done, or intended, by the agitators, and the guards doubled to preserve his person from assassins: and all this, not out of any good-will (though so pretended), but only in order to their design to strike terror to his majesty, and by this stratagem work in him a willingness to remove from Hampton Court (as a place not secure) to some other of more safety, where he might be out of the reach of the agitators, and parley with the parliament touching the settlement of the kingdom. Thus, partly by fright, and partly by feigned friendship, seconded with high promises, they prevailed so far upon the good king and his friends that were about him, to make a pretended escape from Hampton Court, and commit himself to their mercy under the power of Hammond. So that they are now arrived to the height of their wishes, having by these sleights withdrawn him from Hampton Court, that place where they perceived him to be so eyed and adored by his people;

and where he was courted and looked upon as stepping into the throne again at Westminster; and where it had been impossible to have kept him long from the rescue of a popular insurrection, and altogether dangerous to have used any extremity towards him. But now, having him cooped up thus, as it were out of the world, what the consequence will be any man may collect, that is neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet."—*Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xliii.

Note F, p. 249.

The connexion of Cromwell with the levellers has never been clearly discovered. There is no doubt that both he and Ireton encouraged them to a certain extent, on the same principle that they countenanced the agitators; and it is equally certain, that both these classes of men suspected the views of Oliver, and became his enemies. Mrs. Hutchinson (vol. ii. p. 129) says, that the levellers "were they who first began to discover the ambition of Lieutenant-general Cromwell and his idolators, and to suspect and dislike it. About this time he was sent down, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north. When he went down, the chiefe of these levellers, following him out of the towne to take their leaves of him, received secret professions from him of a spirit bent to pursue the same just and honest things that they desired; and they went away with great satisfaction, till they heard that a coachful of Presbyterian priests, coming after them, went away no lesse pleased: by which it was apparent that he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his credit with both."

The following paper expresses so closely the sentiments of Cromwell and Ireton, that it is impossible not to suspect that the hand of the latter was employed in drawing it up.

An Agreement of the People for a firm and present Peace, upon grounds of Common Right and Freedom; and as it was proposed by the Agents of the Five Regiments of the Horse, and since by the General Approbation of the Army, offered to the Joint Concurrence of all the Free Commons of England.

Having by our late labours and hazards made it appear to the world at how high a rate we value our just freedom, and God having so far owned our cause as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands: we do now hold ourselves bound, in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future, to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another war; for, as

it cannot be imagined that so many of our countreymen would have opposed us in this quarrel, if they had understood their own good; so may we safely promise to ourselves, that when our common rights and liberties shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed that seek to make themselves our masters; since, therefore, our former oppressions, and scarce yet ended troubles, have been occasioned either by want of frequent national meetings in council, or by rendering those meetings ineffectual: We are fully agreed and resolved to provide, that hereafter our representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended: In order whereunto we declare,

1st, That the people of England being at this day very unequally distributed, by counties, cities, and burroughs, for the election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of the inhabitants. The circumstances whereof, for number, place, and manner, are to be set down before the end of this present parliament.

2d, That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in authority, this present parliament be dissolved upon the last day of September, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1648.

3d, That the people do of course chuse themselves a parliament once in two years, viz. upon the first Thursday in every second March, after the manner as shall be prescribed before the end of this parliament, to begin to sit upon the first Thursday in April following, at Westminster, or such other place as shall be appointed from time to time by the preceding representatives; and to continue till the last of September then next ensuing, and no longer.

4th, That the power of this, and all future representatives of this nation, is inferior only to theirs who chuse them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account magistrates and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace; to the treating with forraign states, and generally to whatsoever is not expressly or implyedly reserved by the represented to themselves, which are as followeth:

1. That matters of religion and the ways of God's worship are not at all intrusted by us to any human power, because therein we cannot remit or exceed a tittle of what our consciences dictate to be the minde of God without wilful sin; nevertheless the publicke way of instructing the nation (so it be not compulsive) is referred to their discretion.

2. That the m tter of impressing and constraining any of us

to serve in the wars, is against our freedom, and therefore we do not allow it in our representatives; the rather, because money (the sinews of war) being always at their disposal, they can never want numbers of men apt enough to engage in any just cause.

3. That after the dissolution of this present parliament, no person be at any time questioned for any thing said or done in reference to the late publicke differences, otherwise than in execution of the judgment of the present representatives or House of Commons.

4. That in all laws made, or to be made, every person may be bound alike; and that no tenure, estate, charter, degree, birth, or place, do confer any exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings whereunto others are subjected.

5. That as the laws ought to be equal, so they must be good, and not evidently destructive to the safety and well-being of the people.

These things we declare to be our native rights; and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities against all opposition whatsoever, being compelled thereunto not only by the examples of our ancestors, whose blood was often spilt in vain for the recovery of their freedoms, suffering themselves, through fraudulent accommodations, to be still deluded of the fruit of their victories; but also by our own woeful experience, who, having long expected, and dearly earned, the establishment of these certain rules of government, are yet made to depend, for the settlement of our peace and freedom, upon Him that intended our bondage, and brought a cruel war upon us.

Note G, p. 250.

The Warrant For Beheading Charles 1st.

At the high Co'rt of Justice for the tryinge and judginge of Charles Steuart, King of England, January 29th, Anno Dom. 1648.

Whereas, Charles Steuart, Kinge of England, is and standeth convicted, attaynted, and condemned of High Treason, and other high crymes. And sentence, upon Saturday last, was pronounced against him by this Co'rt, to be putt to death, by the severinge of his head from his body. Of wch sentence, execuc'on remayneth to be done. These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed, in the open Streete, before Whitehall, upon the morrowe, being the Thirtieth day of this instante month of January, betweene the hours of Tenn

in the morning, and Five in the afternoon of the same day, wth full effect. And for soe doing, this shall be yor sufficient warrant. And these are to require All officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of England, to be assistinge unto you in this service. Given under or Hands and Seals.

To Collonell Francis Hacker, Collonell Huncks, and Lieutenant-Collonell Phayre, and to every of them.

[Seals.]	[Seals.]	[Seals.]
Jo. Bradshawe,	Ri. Deane,	Tho. Horton,
Tho. Grey,	Robert Tichborne,	J. Jones,
O. Cromwell,	H. Edwardes,	John Frenne,
Ewd. Whalley,	Daniel Blagrave,	Gilbt. Millington,
M. Livesey,	Owen Rowe,	G. Fleetwood,
John Okey,	Willm. Perfoy,	J. Alured,
J. Davers,	Ad. Scrope,	Robt. Lilburne,
Jo. Bourchier,	James Temple,	Will. Say,
H. Ireton,	A. Garland,	Anth. Stapley,
Tho. Mauleverer,	Edm. Ludlowe,	Gre. Norton,
Har. Waller,	Henry Marten,	Tho. Challoner,
John Blakiston,	Vint. Potter,	Tho. Wogan,
J. Hutchinson,	Wm. Constable,	John Venne,
Willi. Goff,	Rich. Ingoldesby,	Gregory Clement,
Tho. Pride,	Will. Cawley,	Jo. Downes,
Pe. Temple,	Jo. Barkstead,	Tho. Wayte,
T. Harrison,	Isaa. Ewer,	Tho. Scott,
J. Hewson,	John Dixwell,	Jo. Carew,
Hen. Smyth,	Valentine Wauton,	Miles Corbet.
Per. Pelham,	Symon Mayne,	

A most excellent fac-simile of this warrant was engraved by the Society of Antiquarians, on a large sheet, in 1750.

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